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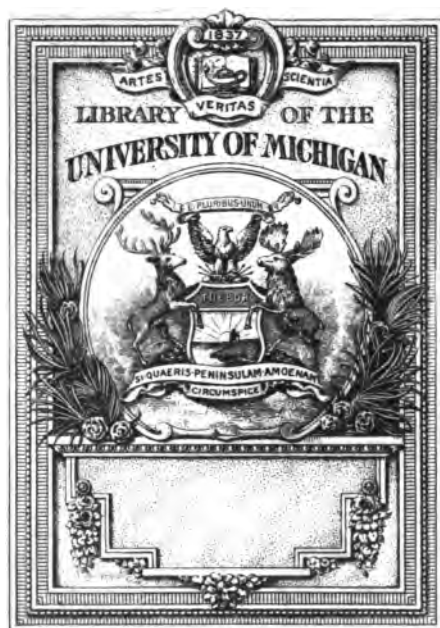
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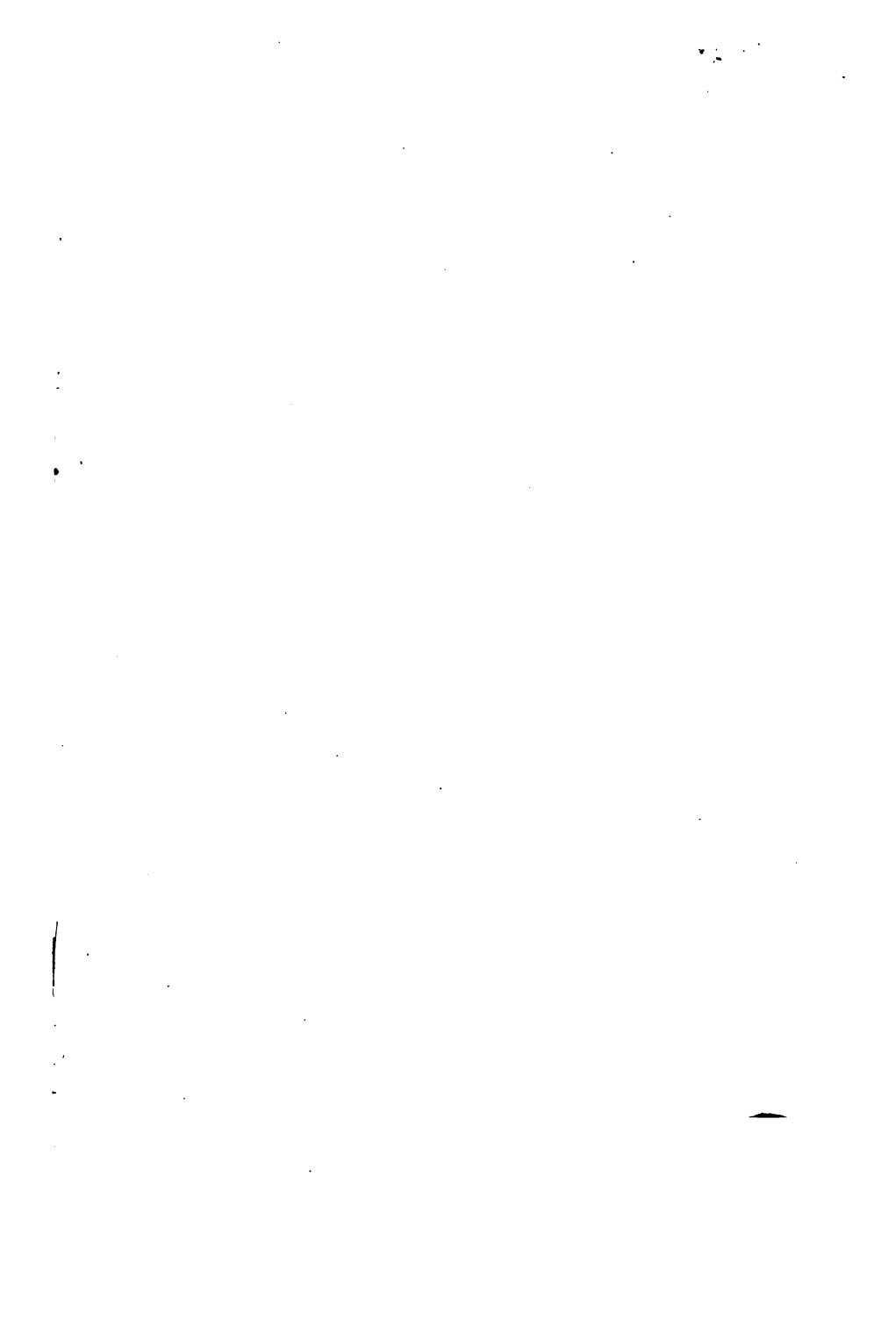
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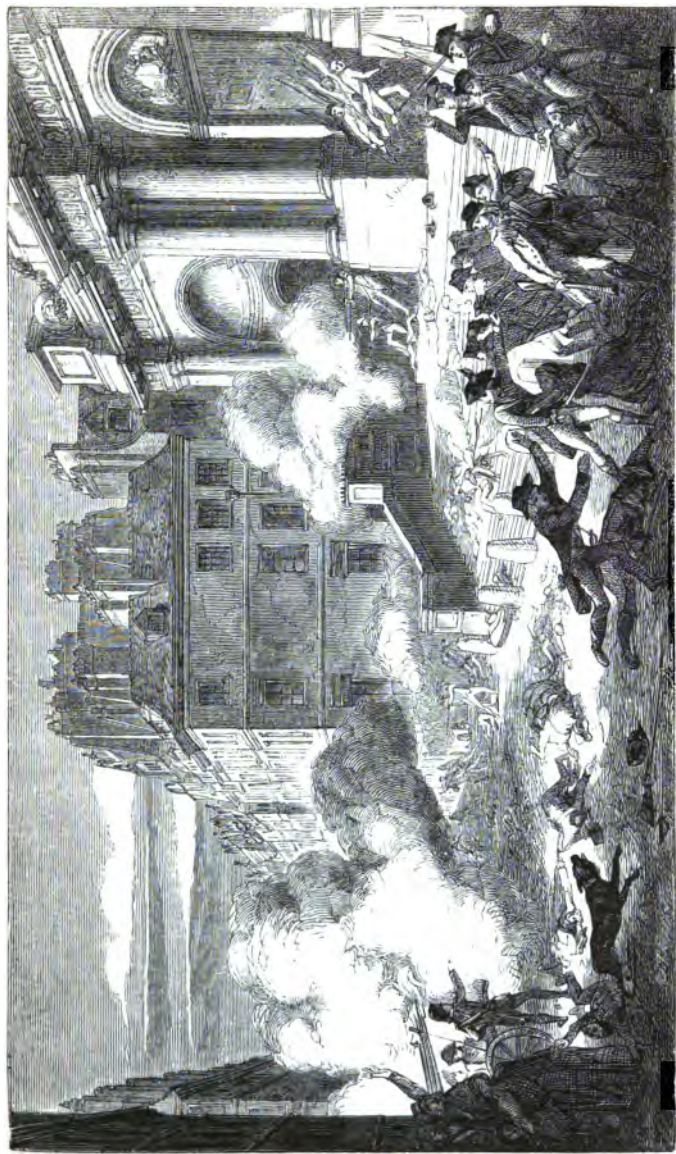
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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

C. Mcbrist

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN MDCCLXXXIX

TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCXV

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART.

F. R. S. E.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XIV.

REIGN OF TERROR: FROM THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS TO THE DEATH OF DANTON.—JUNE 2, 1793—MARCH 31, 1794.

1. "THE rule of a mob," says Aristotle, "is the worst of tyrannies;"* and so experience has proved it, from the caprice of the Athenian democracy to the proscriptions of the French Revolution. The reason is one which always holds, and must remain unaltered while society remains. In contests for power, a monarch has, in general, to dread only the efforts of a rival for the throne; an aristocracy, the ascendancy of a faction in the nobility; the populace, the vengeance of all the superior classes in the state. Hence, the safety of the first is usually secured by the destruction of a singlerival and his immediate adherents; the jealousy of the second extinguished by the proscription or exile of a limited number of families; but the terrors of the last require the destruction of whole ranks in society. They constantly feel that, if they do not destroy the superior classes in the state, they will, in the long run, fall again under their influence, and their leaders in consequence be subjected to punishment. Hence the envenomed and relentless animosity by which they are actuated towards them. Similar feelings are not experienced in nearly the same degree by the holders of property on the resumption of power, because they are not felt to be necessary

for the securing of their authority. Measures dictated by the dread of individuals become unnecessary when they have perished; those levelled against the influence of classes require to be pursued till the class itself is destroyed.

2. It was not a mere thirst for blood which made Marat and Robespierre declare and act upon the principle, that there could be no security for the Republic till two hundred and sixty thousand heads had fallen. Hardly any men are cruel for cruelty's sake; the leaders of the Jacobins were not more so than the reckless and ambitious of any other country would be, if exposed to the influence of similar passions. Ambition is the origin of desperate measures, because it renders men sensible only of the dictates of an insatiable passion: terror is the most common source of cruelty. Men esteem the lives of others lightly when their own are at stake. The revolutionary innovations being directed against the whole aristocratic and influential classes, their vengeance was felt to be implacable, and no security could be expected to the democratic leaders, till their whole opponents were destroyed. Thence the incessant, and often ridiculous, dread of a counter revolutionary movement, which was evinced by the democratic party, and which so often impelled them into the

* "Τὸν τῶν τυχάνοντων πλειονότητα ἢ δημοκρατία."—ARISTOTLE, *De Politicis*.

most sanguinary measures, when there was in reality no danger to be apprehended.* In the strife of contending classes, the sphere of individual vengeance was fearfully augmented. Not one, but fifty leaders had terrors to alay, rivals to extinguish, hatred to gratify. Amidst the contests for influence, and the dread of revenge, every man sacrificed his individual to his political connexions: private friendship, public character, yielded to the force of personal apprehension, or the vehemence of individual ambition. A forced coalition, between the most dissimilar characters, took place from the pressure of similar danger; friends gave up friends to the vengeance of political adversaries; individual security, private revenge, were purchased by the sacrifice of ancient attachment.

3. France experienced the truth of these principles with unmitigated severity during the later stages of the Revolution. But it was not immediately that the leaders of the victorious faction ventured upon the practical application of their principles. The first feeling with the multitude, on the overthrow of the Girondists, was exultation at the victory they had gained, and unbounded anticipations of felicity from the assumption of power by the most popular and vehement of their demagogues. The most extravagant joy prevailed among the Jacobins at their decisive triumph. "The people," said Robespierre, "have by their conduct confounded all their opponents. Eighty thousand men have been under arms nearly a week, and not one shop has been pillaged, not one drop of blood shed. They have proved by that whether the accusation was well founded, that they wished to profit by the disorders to commit murder and pillage. Their insurrection was spon-

taneous; the result of a universal moral conviction; and the Mountain, itself feeble and irresolute, showed that it had no hand in producing it. The insurrection was a great moral and popular effort, worthy of the enlightened people among whom it arose. The people of Paris have afforded an example which may well make all the monarchs of the earth tremble, and silence the calumnies they pour forth against us. All we have to do now is to complete our triumph, and destroy the Royalists. We must gain possession of the committees, and spend our nights in framing good laws." Under such plausible colours did the Revolutionists veil a movement which destroyed the only remnants of virtue in the democracy, and delivered over France in fetters to the Reign of Terror.

4. The aspect of the Convention, after this great event, was entirely changed from what it had ever been before. Terror had mastered its resistance; proscription had thinned its ranks. The hall was generally silent. The right, and the majority of the centre, never voted, but seemed, by their withdrawal from any active part, to condemn the whole proceedings of the Jacobins, and await intelligence from the provinces as the signal for action. The debates of the legislature, as they appear in the *Moniteur*, suddenly contract into nothing. All the decrees proposed by the ruling party were adopted in silence without any discussion. By a decree of the Convention, the whole power of government was vested in the hands of the Decemvirs till the conclusion of a general peace. They made no concealment of the despotic nature of the authority with which they were thus invested. "You have nothing now to dread," said St Just, "from the enemies of freedom; all we have to do is to make its friends triumphant, and that must be done at all hazards. In the critical situation of the Republic, it is in vain to re-establish the constitution: it would offer impunity to every attack on liberty, by wanting the force to repress such. You are too far removed from conspiracies to

* So true are the words of Metastasio—

— "E in qual funesta entr'al
Necessità d'esser malvagio! A quanti
Delitti obbliga un solo! E come, oh Dio,
Un estremo mi porta all'altro estremo!
Son crudel, perchè temo, e temo appunto,
Perchè son sì crudel. Congiunta in guisa
E al mio timor la crudeltà, che l'una
Nell' altro si trasforma, e l'un dell'altra
È cagione ed effetto."

Ciro, Act ii. scene 3.

have the means of checking them; the sword of the law must be intrusted to surer hands; it must turn everywhere, and fall with the rapidity of lightning on all its enemies." In silent dread the Assembly and the people heard the terrible declaration; its justice was universally acknowledged. All now saw that the insupportable evils of anarchy could only be arrested by the sanguinary arm of despotism.

5. But the necessity of some central executive power was speedily felt, to make head against the innumerable dangers and difficulties, external and internal, in which France was involved. The administration had been in the hands of the Girondists; some central power was indispensably required, on their overthrow, to put a period to the anarchy which threatened the country. The Committee of Public Salvation presented the skeleton of a government already formed. Created some months before, it was at first composed of the neutral party; the victorious Jacobins, after the 31st May, found themselves in possession of its power. Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, were successively elected members, and speedily ejected Héroult de Séchelles, and the other partisans of Danton.* To the ruling Jacobins, the different departments of government were assigned: St Just was intrusted with the duty of denouncing its enemies; Couthon with bringing forward its general measures; Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois with the management of the departments; Carnot was made minister of war; Barère, the panegyrist and orator of the government; Robespierre, general dictator over all.

6. While the practical administration of affairs was thus lodged with despotism

* The Committee of Public Salvation was not immediately altered after the 31st May. On 10th July it was changed, and Barère, Jean-Bon St André, Gasparin, Couthon, Thuriot, St Just, Prieur (de la Marne), Héroult de Séchelles, and R. Lindet were chosen members. On 27th July Robespierre was elected in room of Gasparin; Carnot and Prieur (de la Côte d'Or) were added on the 14th August; and Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Garamain, on the 6th September.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xlviii. 147.

power in the hands of the Committee of Public Salvation, the general superintendence of the police was vested in another Committee, styled of General Safety, subordinate to the former, but still possessed of most formidable authority. Inferior to both in power, and now deprived of much of its political importance by the vast influence of the Committee of Public Salvation, the municipality of Paris began to turn its attention to the internal regulation of the city, and there exercised its power with the most despotic rigour. It took under its cognisance the police of the metropolis, the public subsistence, the markets, the public worship, the theatre, the courtesans, and framed on all these subjects a variety of minute and vexatious regulations, which were speedily adopted over all France. Chaumette, its public accuser, ever sure of the applause of the multitude, especially when he tormented their creditors, exerted in all these particulars the most rigorous authority. Consumed by an incessant desire to subject everything to new regulations, continually actuated by the wish to invade domestic liberty, this legislator of the market-places and warehouses became daily more vexatious and formidable; while Pache, the mayor, indolent and imperturbable, agreed to everything which was proposed, and left to Chaumette all the influence of popularity with the rabble.

7. The correspondence which the Jacobins carried on over all France, with the most ardent and factious in the towns and villages, speedily gave them the entire direction of the country, and rendered the Committee of Public Salvation at Paris, resting on the support of their central club, altogether irresistible from one end of the Republic to the other. It was the command which that party, as the most violent of the Revolutionists, had everywhere obtained of the magistracies, which was the secret of this terrible power. The Jacobins of Paris were the incarnation of the whole civil and military force of the commonwealth; the Committee of Public Salvation was the incarnation of the Jacobins of Paris; and Robespierre was the Avatar who

personified the Committee of Public Salvation. The democratic party, in possession of all the municipalities in the departments, in consequence of their being elected by universal suffrage—armed with the powers of a terrible police, intrusted with the right of making domiciliary visits, of disarming or imprisoning the suspected persons—soon obtained irresistible authority. In vain the armed sections and battalions of the national guard in some places strove to resist; want of union and organisation paralysed all their efforts. In almost all the provincial towns of France they had courage enough to take up arms, and sometimes endeavoured to withstand the dreadful tyranny of the magistracies; but these bodies, based on the support and election of the multitude, in the end everywhere prevailed over the whole class of proprietors, and all the peaceable citizens, who in vain invoked the liberty, tranquillity, and security to property, for the preservation of which they were enrolled. This was, generally speaking, the situation of parties over all France, though the strife was more ardent in those situations where the masses were densest, and danger most evidently threatened the revolutionary party.

8. The spirit of faction had been for long, in an especial manner, conspicuous at Lyons. A club of Jacobins had some time previously been there formed, composed of deputies from all the clubs of note in the south of France, at the head of which was an ardent Republican, of Italian origin, named Chaliér, a man of the most atrocious character, who was at the same time an officer of the municipality and president of the civil tribunal. The Jacobins had got possession of all the offices in the municipality except the mayoralty, which was still in the hands of a Girondist of the name of Nevière. The Jacobin Club made use of the utmost efforts to displace him, loudly demanded a Revolutionary Tribunal, and paraded through the streets a guillotine recently sent down from Paris, "to strike terror into the traitors and aristocrats." Chaliér was at the head of all these revolutionary movements, and with such

success were his efforts attended, that, for four days in August 1792, the city of Lyons was the prey of anarchy and murder, and the whole of the autumn of that year, and spring of 1793, had been passed in the most vehement strife between the two parties. A list of eight hundred persons, who had signed a petition in favour of moderate government, was kept by Chaliér, and they were all doomed to death: the day of the massacre being fixed for the 9th May, when also a Revolutionary Tribunal was to be established. On the other hand, the armed sections, composed of the shopkeepers and better class of citizens, who were strongly attached to the principles of the Girondists, vigorously exerted themselves to resist the establishment of a tribunal which was shedding such torrents of blood in the capital. Everything already announced that desperate strife of which this devoted city so soon became the theatre.

9. In the other towns in the south of France the Girondists were all-powerful, and the utmost horror at the anarchical party, who had obtained the ascendancy at Paris and in the northern provinces, was already conspicuous. Rennes, Caen, Evreux, Marseilles, Toulouse, Nîmes, Saintes, Grenoble, Bayonne, all shared their sentiments. Almost all the deputies who formed the party of the Gironde came from these towns, and their principles perfectly represented the feelings by which the great majority of the better class of citizens was animated. From the mouth of the Rhone to that of the Garonne, these sentiments were nearly universal, and in some even the municipalities were in the hands of the moderate party. At Bordeaux these principles were so strong that they already bordered on Royalist feelings; while the whole country, from the Gironde and the entrance of the Loire, by the shores of the ocean to the mouth of the Seine, was openly attached to the ancient institutions of the country, and beheld with undisguised horror the atrocities with which the Revolutionary party at Paris had already stained their career.

10. Such was the state of public feel-

ing in France, when the Revolution of 31st May, and the fall of the Girondists, took place. That catastrophe set the whole of the southern departments into a flame; the imprisonment of the deputies of the national representatives by the mob of Paris, the open assumption of government by the municipality of that city, excited the most profound indignation. In most of the cities the magistracy had fallen, as already observed, into the hands of the Jacobins, who were supported by the parent club at Paris and the Executive; while the armed sections were attached to the opposite views. The catastrophe of the Girondists at Paris brought these conflicting powers almost everywhere into collision. At Evreux, the Jacobin authorities were put under arrest, and an armed force of four thousand men was organised; at Marseilles, the sections rose against the municipality, and violently seized possession of the magistracy; at Lyons, a furious combat took place—the sections took the Hotel de Ville by assault, dispossessed the magistracy, shut up the Jacobin Club, and gained the command of the city. At Bordeaux, the arrest of the Girondists, of whose talents the inhabitants were justly proud, excited the most violent sensation, which was brought to a crisis by the arrival of several of the fugitive deputies, who announced that their illustrious brethren were in fetters, and in hourly expectation of death. Cries of fury were immediately heard in all the streets; a general feeling of indignation and of despair impelled the citizens to their several rallying-points. The armed sections were quickly in motion, and the municipal authorities, elected during the first fervour of the Revolution, wrote to the executive council at Paris, that they were deprived of all power, and unable to say what events a day might bring forth.

11. On the 13th June the department of Eure gave the signal of insurrection. The plan agreed on was, that four thousand men should march upon Paris to liberate the Convention. Great part of Normandy soon followed the example, and all the departments of Brittany were ere long in arms. The whole valley of

the Loire, with the exception of that which was the theatre of the war of La Vendée, proposed to send deputies to Bourges to depose the usurping faction at Paris. At Bordeaux the sensation was extreme. All the constituted authorities assembled together; erected themselves into a committee styled of Public Salvation; declared that the Convention was no longer free; appointed an armed force, and despatched couriers into all the neighbouring departments. Marseilles sent forth a determined petition; the whole mountaineers of the Jura were in a ferment; and the departments of the Rhone, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees, joined themselves to the vast confederacy. So far did the spirit of revolt proceed, that at Lyons, as already detailed, a prosecution was instituted against Chaliier and the leaders of the Jacobin Club, whose projects for a repetition of the massacres of September at Paris had now been fully brought to light; and deputies, to concert measures for their common safety, were received from Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen. Seventy departments were in a state of insurrection; and fifteen only remained wholly devoted to the faction which had mastered the Convention.

12. Opinions were divided at Paris how to meet so formidable a danger. Barère proposed, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, that the revolutionary committees, which had become so formidable throughout France from their numerous arrests, should be everywhere annulled; that the primary assemblies should be assembled at Paris to name a commander of the armed force in lieu of Henriot, who had been denounced by the insurgents; and that thirty deputies should be sent as hostages to the provinces. But the Jacobins were not disposed to any measures of conciliation. Robespierre adjourned the consideration of the report of the committee; and Danton, raising the voice so well known in all the perils of the Revolution, exclaimed—"The Revolution has passed through many crises, and it will survive this as it has done the others. It is in the moments of a great produc-

tion that political, like physical bodies, seem menaced by an approaching destruction. The thunder rolls, but it is in the midst of its roar that the great work which is to consummate the happiness of twenty-five millions of men will be accomplished. Recollect what happened at the time of the conspiracy of Lafayette. In what state were we then? The patriots proscribed or oppressed; civil war threatening everywhere. Now we are in the same situation. It is said the insurrection in Paris has occasioned disturbances in the departments! Let us declare in the face of the universe, that Paris glories in the revolt of 31st May, and that, without the cannon of that day, the conspirators would have triumphed, and we should have been slaves!" In this spirit the Convention, instead of yielding, adopted the most vigorous measures, and spoke in the most menacing strain. They declared that Paris, in placing itself in a state of insurrection, had deserved well of the country; that the arrested deputies should forthwith be lodged in prison like ordinary criminals; that a call of the Convention should be made, and all those absent without excuse be instantly expelled, and their place supplied by new representatives; that all attempts at correspondence or coalition among the departmental authorities were illegal, and that those who presided in them should forthwith be sent to Paris. They annulled the resolution of the department of the Eure, ordered all the refractory authorities to be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and sent the most ardent Jacobins into the provinces to enforce submission to the central government.

13. These vigorous measures effectually broke this formidable league. The departments, little accustomed to resist the authority of the government at Paris, returned one by one to submission. Hostile preparations were made at Bordeaux, Lyons, Rouen, and Marseilles; but the insurgents, without a leader or central point of union, and destitute of all support from the nobility and natural chiefs of the country, were unable in most places to struggle with the energetic Committee of Public

Salvation, wielding at will the army, the Jacobin clubs, and the municipalities. France now felt the fatal consequences of the centralisation of all power in Paris by the Constituent Assembly, of the democratic election of all the provincial authorities by universal suffrage, and of the general desertion of their country by the emigrant noblesse. These causes had utterly prostrated the strength of the provinces, and already everywhere established in absolute force the despotism of the capital. They continued their preparations, however, and refused to send the proscribed authorities to Paris; but their ardour gradually cooled, and in two months the germ of revolt existed only in vigour at Lyons, Toulon, and Marseilles, where it brought about those bloody catastrophes which have been already recorded.

14. The great engine which the Jacobins made use of to inflame the popular passions against their opponents, and counteract the general burst of indignation which followed in the departments the proscription of the Girondists, was the charging them with the project of destroying the unity of the Republic, and establishing, instead of one mighty state, a federal union of small republics. That this project was entertained by many of the Girondists is certain; nor indeed could they well avoid anxiously wishing for the establishment of such a system, considering the incalculable evils which they saw coming on their country and themselves, by the centralisation of all power in the hands of a violent and sanguinary faction at Paris, and the apparent prosperity and happiness which, under the federal system, the United States were enjoying. But the Jacobins, by incessantly representing that design as amounting, as in fact it did, to a partition of France, and as rendering it wholly unable to resist the attacks of the European monarchies, succeeded in generally rousing the national spirit against the fallen party, and cooling the ardour of those in the departments who had taken up arms in their defence. On the other hand, the leading principle of the Jacobins, which in a great degree produced their popu-

larity in Paris, was the constant determination they evinced and acted on, to centralise everything in the capital, and render it all in all over France.* Meanwhile the reaction at Lyons, where, during the first burst of public indignation at the arrest of the Girondists, the federal party had gained an entire ascendancy, became terrible. The Revolutionary Tribunal, established by the Jacobins for the destruction of their enemies, now seized by another party, was worked with fearful efficacy against themselves. Numerous arrests took place; and in July alone, eighty-three persons were ordered to be brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Lyons; and though one only of these, Chalier, suffered death, yet it was attended with circumstances of a very shocking kind. Though his crimes richly deserved that punishment, yet was his execution peculiarly horrible. Four times the guillotine (as yet a novel instrument in that region) missed its blow, and his head was at length severed from his body by means of a knife.

15. The Convention shortly after, now wholly under the power of the Jacobins, proceeded to the formation of a constitution, the most democratic that ever existed upon earth. Eight days completed the work. Every Frenchman of twenty-one years of age was entitled to exercise the rights of a citizen; a deputy was named by every fifty thousand citizens. On the 1st of May of every year, the primary assemblies were to meet, without any convocation, to renew the deputies. It was adopted without discussion, and instantly circulated over all France. "The most democratic constitution that ever existed," said Robespierre in the Jacobins, "has issued from the bosom of an assembly composed of counter-revolutionists, now purged of its unworthy members. We can now offer to the universe a constitutional code, infinitely superior to any that ever existed, which exhibits the

sublime and majestic image of French regeneration. We may now despise the efforts of calumny; we can say—There is the answer of the patriot deputies; there is the work of the Mountain." Chabot answered—"In this constitution, so loudly praised, I see a power at once colossal and libertine. When you establish so powerful an executive, you sow anew the seeds of royalty. I am told that this power has no *ecto*; but what does that signify? I am asked, what will be the guarantee of liberty? I answer, the guillotine."

16. But there never was a greater mistake than to imagine that this constitution, so republican in form, conferred any real liberties on the people. Its only effect was to concentrate the whole authority of the state in the hands of a few popular leaders. Thenceforward the Committee of Public Salvation at Paris exercised, without opposition, all the powers of government. It named and dismissed the generals, the judges, and the juries, appointed the provincial authorities, brought forward all public measures in the Convention, and launched its thunder against every opposing faction. By means of its commissioners it ruled the provinces, generals, and armies, with absolute sway; and soon after, the Law of Suspected Persons placed the personal freedom of every subject at its disposal: the Revolutionary Tribunal rendered it the master of every life; the requisitions and the maximum, of every fortune; the accusations in the Convention, of every member of the legislature. The Law of the Suspected, which augmented so prodigiously this tremendous power of the Decemvirs, passed on the 17th September. It declared all persons liable to arrest, who, "either by their conduct, their relations, their conversation, or their writing, have shown themselves the partisans of tyranny or of federation, or the enemies of freedom; all persons who have not discharged their debts to the country; all nobles, the husbands, wives, parents, children, brothers, sisters, or agents of emigrants, who have not incessantly manifested their devotion to the Revolution." Under this law, no person had

* "To develop the idea that Paris is the real sphere of the Republic, the centre of Government, a never-failing army; that it can exist only by the revenues drawn from the departments."—*Notes de PAYAN, agent de ROBESPIERRE. Papiers inédits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE, II. 308.*

any chance of safety, but in going the utmost length of revolutionary fury.*

17. The established revolutionary committees were declared the judges of the persons liable to arrest. Their number augmented with frightful rapidity; Paris had soon forty-eight. Every village throughout the country followed its example in instituting them. The number of revolutionary committees, which sprang up in every part of the kingdom to carry into execution this terrible law, was almost incredible. Fifty thousand were soon in operation, from Calais to Bayonne. Five hundred thousand persons, drawn from the dregs of society, disposed in these committees of the lives and liberties of every man in France. With generous resolution, some men entered them with the design of arresting their oppression: they were soon expelled, to make way for more obedient ministers of the will of the dictators. Every member of these committees received three francs a-day, and their number was no less than 540,000. It may readily be conceived that, in a starving community thirsting for gold, the revolutionary committees were not long of being filled up, with such encouragement. According to the calculations of Cambon, the finance minister to the Convention, they cost the nation annually 591,000,000 of francs in assignats, or about £24,000,000 ster-

ling. In the immense number of the most active, ambitious, and wicked of the people who were enlisted on the side of the revolutionary government, and personally interested in its preservation, is to be found the real secret of the firm establishment and long continuance of the Reign of Terror.

18. The calculations of these inferior agents of cruelty soon outstripped those of their masters. Marat had asserted that 260,000 heads must fall before freedom was secure. The revolutionary committees discovered that 700,000 persons must be sacrificed. The prisons were ere long crowded with victims in every town in France. A more speedy mode of disposing of them was proposed than the massacre of 2d September. "Let them quake in their cells," said Collot d'Herbois in the Convention: "let the base traitors tremble at the successes of our enemies: let a mine be dug under the prisons, and at the approach of those whom they call liberators, let a spark blow them into the air." The retreat of the allied armies rendered unnecessary the inhuman proposal at that moment; and famine, pestilence, and the guillotine soon made its renewal superfluous. Such was the rapidity of the executions that it exceeded, not only anything ever witnessed, but anything hitherto deemed possible. "In the name of equality," says

* This atrocious law, as explained by a decree of the municipality of Paris, which was circulated over all France, gave the following definition of suspected persons: 1. All those who, in the assemblies of the people, attest their enthusiasm by cries, menaces, or crafty discourses. 2. All those who more prudently speak only of the misfortunes of the Republic, and are always ready to spread bad news with an affected air of sorrow. 3. All those who have changed their conduct and language according to the course of events, who were mute on the crimes of the Royalists and Federalists, and loudly exclaim against the slight faults of the Republicans. 4. All those who bewail the situation of the farmers or avaricious merchants who have had their property taken from them by the forced requisitions. 5. Those who have the words, "Liberty," "Country," and "Republic" in their mouths, who frequent the society of priests, gentlemen, Feuillants, Moderates, or Aristocrats, or take an interest in their sufferings. 6. Those who have not taken an active part in supporting the cause of the people, and excuse themselves for their lukewarmness

by alleging their patriotic gifts, or services in the national guard. 7. Those who testified indifference on the proclamation of the Republican constitution, or have expressed vain fears as to its durability. 8. All those who, if they have done nothing against liberty, have done nothing for it. 9. All who do not attend regularly the meetings of their sections, and allege, as an excuse, that they do not like to speak in public, or that their time is occupied by their private affairs. 10. Those who speak with contempt of the constituted authorities, the insignia of the law, the popular societies, or the defenders of liberty. 11. Those who have signed any anti-revolutionary petitions, or frequented societies or clubs of the higher classes. 12. All who were partisans of Lafayette, or served under him in the execution of the Champ de Mars.—Under these ample clauses, every one was embraced who was obnoxious to the Revolutionists; and the number of prisoners in Paris alone was raised in a few days from three hundred to three thousand, embracing all that remained of the elegance of the Faubourg St Germaine.—*Hist. Parl.* xxix. 108-112.

the Republican annalist, "they established a band of permanent assassins; in the name of liberty, they transformed our cities into bastilles; in the name of justice, they everywhere erected a tribunal to consummate murders; in the name of humanity, they poured forth everywhere rivers of blood. Robbery was unpunished, spoliation decreed, divorce encouraged, prostitution pensioned, irreligion lauded, falsehood rewarded, tears interdicted. An eye wet with pity led to the scaffold. Infancy, old age, grace, beauty, genius, worth, were alike conducted to the guillotine. A general torpor paralysed France: the fear of death froze every heart; its name was inscribed on every door."

19. This terrible power was everywhere based upon the co-operation of the multitude. That formidable body generally aided in extending the Reign of Terror;—in the clubs, by incessant denunciations of the opulent or respectable classes; in the committees, by multiplying the number of vindictive committals. They supported the sword of the Decemvirs, because it fell upon the class above themselves, and opened to the indigent the wealth and the employments of the better ranks in the state: because it flattered them by the possession of power, which they were wholly disqualified to exercise; and ruined the higher ranks, whom they had been taught to regard as their natural enemies. These revolutionary measures were executed over the whole extent of France with the last severity. Conceived by the most ardent minds, they were violent in principle; carried into effect far from the leaders who framed them, they were rendered still more oppressive by the brutal character of the agents to whom their execution was intrusted. Part of the citizens were compelled to quit their homes, others were immured in dungeons as suspected; the barn-yards of the farmers, the warehouses of the merchants, the shops of the tradesmen, were forcibly emptied for the use of the armies or the government, and nothing but an elusory paper was given in exchange. The forced loans were exacted with the

utmost rigour. To one the commissioners said, "You are worth 10,000 livres a-year;" to another, "You have 20,000;" and, to save their heads from the guillotine, they were happy to surrender their property to these demands. No better picture can be desired of the tyranny of these despotic commissioners than is furnished by the report of one of their number to the Convention. "Everywhere," said Laplanche, who had been sent to the department of Cher, "I have made terror the order of the day; everywhere I have imposed heavy contributions on the rich and the aristocrats. From Orleans I have extracted fifty thousand francs; and in two days, at Bourges, I raised two millions: where I could not appear in person, my delegates have amply supplied my place. I have dismissed all federalists, imprisoned all the suspected, put all the Sans-culottes in authority. I have forcibly married all the priests, everywhere electrified the hearts and inflamed the courage of the people. I have passed in review numerous battalions of the national guard, to confirm their republican spirit, and guillotined numbers of Royalists. In a word, I have completely fulfilled my imperial mandate, and acted everywhere as a warm partisan of the Mountain, and faithful representative of the Revolution." The Convention approved of his proceedings.

20. To obliterate as far as possible all former recollections, a new era was established. They changed the divisions of the year, the names of the months and weeks. The ancient and venerable institution of Sunday was abolished; the period of rest fixed at every tenth day: time was measured by divisions of ten days; and the year was divided into twelve equal months, beginning on the 22d September. These changes were preparatory to a general abolition of the Christian religion, and substitution of the worship of Reason in its stead. About the same time, Mr Pitt was, by a decree of the Convention, declared an "enemy of the human race." In the same sitting, it was ordered that all the castles and chateaus in the interior should be demolished.

The splendid pile of Versailles narrowly escaped destruction : as it was, the whole magnificent furniture it contained, the accumulation of centuries, was broken up and sold, and the royal apartments were converted into barracks for the soldiers, by whom many of the finest of them were shamefully destroyed. Straw bivouacs were strewn, wood fires lighted, on the marble floors of the royal apartments ; the soldiers amused themselves with discharging their loaded muskets at the paintings of Le Brun on the walls. Notwithstanding the vigour and unrelenting severity of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris, it was far from answering the views of its founders, or the expectations of the multitude. On the 9th September, accordingly, it was remodelled, and its powers enlarged by a decree of the Convention, which is singularly instructive as to the rapid progress in the thirst for blood in the metropolis. By this decree the Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four chambers, each with co-ordinate powers, and all sitting at the same time. Each was to have its public accuser, judges, and juries. This was avowedly based on the necessity of proceeding at once against the moderates, who formed a numerous portion of the community. "The time has now arrived," said Chaumette, at the Jacobins, "when the moderates must undergo the same fate as the aristocrats." In the midst of these domestic changes, the Committee of Public Salvation did not lose sight of their inveterate hostility against England. On the 21st September, Barère, in the name of that body, brought forward a long and impassioned report, characterised by more than the usual amount of animosity against this country. "The hatred of kings and of Carthage," said he, "founded the Roman constitution ; the hatred of kings, of emigrants, of nobles, and of the English, ought to consolidate the French Republic. Frenchmen, Europeans, Neutral Powers, Northern Powers, you have the same interest as we in the safety of France. Carthage tormented Italy ; London torments Europe ;—it is a wolf placed on the

side of the Continent to devour it, a political excrescence which it is the first duty of liberty to destroy." In pursuance of these principles, the Convention passed two decrees, the first declaring that no goods or merchandise were, subsequent to 1st January 1794, to be imported into any harbours or colonies of the Republic, except directly, and in French vessels ; the second totally prohibiting all coasting trade in France, or colonial trade between France and her colonies, but in French vessels, under pain of a fine of 3000 francs and confiscation of the vessel and cargo.

21. But all these changes, important as they were, yielded in magnitude to the decree of the Convention on October 10, on the new organisation of the government. This decree was based on a minute and able report by St Just in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, which fully admitted the deplorable internal state of the Republic, and the total inefficacy of all the measures hitherto taken for the establishment of a regular government, in lieu of the monarchy which had been overthrown. "The administration of the armies," said he, "is overrun by brigands. They sell the rations of the horses ; the battalions are in want of cannon and draught animals to draw them ; subordination is at an end ; all the world robs and sets the government at defiance. The law of the maximum has proved entirely nugatory ; the enemies of the people, more rich than they, buy the provisions above the maximum ; the markets are overruled by the cupidity of sellers ; the price of provisions is lowered, but the provisions themselves have disappeared. The cultivators, wherever they could, have sold their produce to our enemies in preference to ourselves. The commissaries of the armies, the agents of all kinds, have pillaged at least three milliards (£120,000,000), and from the very enormity of their gains they have derived additional means of corrupting the people. The rich have become richer in spite of the taxes laid on them ; the dreadful misery of the people has improved their relative situation.

Every one has pillaged the state. There is not a single military commander who is not, at this moment, founding his fortune on treachery in favour of the cause of kings. The highest officers of government are still worse. All places are bought, and it is no longer men of property who buy them. Scoundrels purchase on the prospect of plunder: if you chase one from one place, ten enter in at another. The agents of the hospitals have sold their provisions to La Vendée. The commissaries for the armies have become the worst of monopolisers. The assignats have hitherto constituted the strength of the state, but let us not deceive ourselves; if they are not withdrawn from circulation, their holders will enter into competition with the cultivators and the producers, and industry will be ruined. The government has lost half their value in the sale of the national domains; the Republic is the prey of twenty thousand fools or villains who corrupt or cheat it. Government is overwhelmed with correspondence; the bureaux have succeeded to the monarchy; *the demon of writing has invaded the state*, and subordination is at an end. I understand now the wisdom of the Egyptians and the Romans; *they wrote little and thought much*: government cannot exist without laconism in style. The public service has ceased to be a profession, it has become a trade. The government is a hierarchy of errors and crimes." Such is a picture of revolutionary France drawn by one of the most ardent of the revolutionists. Contrast it with the worst periods of the monarchy, as drawn by the bitterness of its opponents.

22. The remedy proposed by St Just, and adopted by the Convention, for these disastrous evils, consisted in a prodigious increase of the power of the executive. By the decree which passed on his motion, the government of France was declared revolutionary till peace; and the executive council, the ministers, the generals, the whole constituted bodies, were placed under the direction of the Committee of Public Salvation, which was to render an account of its proceedings every eight

days to the Convention. The revolutionary laws were to be executed rapidly; the government was to correspond directly with the districts; all the generals were to be nominated by the Convention, on the recommendation of the Committee of Public Salvation. The grain produced in every district was to be calculated, the amount needed for the subsistence of its inhabitants ascertained, and the remainder subjected to requisition for the public service. Paris was to be provisioned in this way for a year. A revolutionary army was to be raised to enforce these requisitions, and repress all counter-revolutionary movements, which was to be under the direction of the Committee of Public Salvation; a new court was to be established, named by the Convention, to punish embezzlers of the public money, and make public officers render an account of their fortunes. It may safely be affirmed that this decree, coupled with that of suspected persons which had been passed a few weeks before, vested more absolute power in the Committee of Public Salvation than had ever before been wielded by any government upon earth.

23. Meanwhile the prisons of Paris exhibited an extraordinary spectacle. Filled at once with ordinary malefactors, and with all that yet remained of dignity, beauty, or virtue in the Republic, they presented the most unparalleled assemblage that modern Europe had yet seen of unblushing guilt and unbending virtue, of dignified manners and revolutionary vulgarity, of splendid talent and frightful atrocity. In some, where the rich were allowed to provide for their own comforts, a singular degree of affluence, and even elegance, for some time prevailed; in others, the most noble captives were weeping on a couch of straw, with no other covering than a few filthy rags. The French character, imbued beyond any other in Europe with elasticity, and capability to endure misfortunes, in many instances rose superior to all the horrors with which the jails were surrounded. From the multitude and lustre of their fellow-sufferers, every one felt his own calamities sensibly softened. By degrees the

ordinary interests of life began to exert their influence even on the verge of the tomb. Poetry enchanted the crowded cells by touching strains, eloquence exerted its fascinating ascendant, beauty renewed its silken chains. The female captives of rank became attentive to their dress; intimacies and attachments were formed; and, amidst all the agitation and agony consequent on their protracted sufferings, the excitements of a happier existence were felt even to the foot of the scaffold. By degrees, as the prosecutions became more frequent, and numbers were daily led out to execution, the sense of common danger united them in the bonds of the strongest affection; they rejoiced and wept together; and the constant thinning of their number produced a sympathy among the survivors, which outlived every other feeling of existence.

24. General Custine, who commanded the army of Flanders at the time of the capture of Valenciennes by the English, was denounced by the agents of the Convention, and shortly after brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, charged with having entered into treacherous correspondence with the Allies, and of having been the means of causing Frankfurt, Mayence, and Valenciennes to fall into the hands of the enemy. When the state of the armies, described in the report already quoted by St Just, is considered, it will not be deemed surprising that disasters befell the forces of the Republic. The only thing really surprising is, that France was not conquered. The prosecutors entirely failed in adducing any satisfactory evidence against him. His beautiful and gifted daughter-in-law in vain sat daily by his side, and exerted herself to the utmost in his behalf; General Baraguay d'Hilliers, with generous courage, supported him by his military knowledge and experience. Her grace, and the obvious injustice of the accusation, produced some impression on the judges, and a few inclined to an acquittal; immediately the Revolutionary Tribunal itself was complained of at the Jacobin Club.

25. "It gives me great pain," said Hébert, at that great centre of the Re-

volution, "to be obliged to denounce an authority which was the hope of the patriots, and hitherto has so well deserved their confidence. But the Revolutionary Tribunal is on the point of absolving a guilty person, in favour of whom the beauties of Paris are moving heaven and earth. The daughter of Custine, as skilful an actress in this city as her father was at the head of the armies, solicits every one on his behalf." Robespierre made some cutting remarks on the spirit of chicanery and form which had taken possession of the Tribunal, and strongly advocated his condemnation. The municipality of Paris, on the motion of Hébert, passed a decree prohibiting the fair supplicants (*jolies intrigantes*) from obtaining entrance to any of the jails or police-offices. The consequences were decisive; General Custine was at length found guilty, and condemned amidst the rapturous applause of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who filled the court. Young Madame Custine narrowly escaped death, in consequence of the noble part she had taken in his defence. When she appeared on the stair on leaving the court, a savage cry arose in the mob; the vociferations of the people, and their gestures, showed they were preparing to murder her on the spot. If she had sunk down, she would have been instantly torn in pieces; even the appearance of faltering would have proved fatal. Uncertain whether to advance or recede, she hesitated a moment, and the people were just springing forward to seize her, when an unknown woman in the crowd secretly pressed her hand, and taking the child, which she carried in her arms, from her breast, gave it to her with the words, "Return it at the bottom of the stair." She did so, and, protected by the infant citizen, escaped unhurt, and gave back the child; but she never saw her deliverer more.* Custine was sent to the scaffold, and, though shaken for a moment, died firmly. The crowd murmured because he appeared on the fatal chariot with a

* This curious incident is perfectly authenticated. — *La Russie en 1839, par Marquis Custine*, i. 39—the son of the person thus marvellously saved.

minister of religion by his side, and knelt to pray on the steps of the scaffold before he ascended. General Houchard, the second in command, who had denounced Custine, notwithstanding his recent success over the Allies at Hond-schoote, shortly after shared the same fate; and Baraguay d'Hilliers, reserved for higher destinies, was sent to prison, from whence he was only delivered by the fall of Robespierre.

26. Marie Antoinette was the next victim. Since the death of the king, his unfortunate family had been closely confined in the Temple; the princesses had themselves discharged all the duties of menial servants to the queen and the dauphin. A project had been formed, with every appearance of success, for her escape: she at first listened to the proposal, but, on the evening before it was to be carried into execution, declared her resolution never to separate from her son. "Whatever pleasure it would give me," said she, "to escape from this place, I cannot consent to be separated from him. I can feel no enjoyment without my children; with them, I can regret nothing." Even in the solitude of her confinement, the cares of his education were sedulously attended to; and the mind of the young king already comprehended the duties of royalty. The Revolution of 31st May, however, was felt in its full severity by the prisoners in the Temple, as well as all the other captives in France. Hébert insisted that the family of the tyrant should not be better treated than a family of Sans-culottes; and he obtained a decree from the magistrates, by which every species of luxury was withdrawn. Their fare was reduced to the humblest kind; oil wicker lamps became their only light, and their dress the coarsest habiliments. He himself soon after visited the Temple, and took from the unhappy prisoners even the little movables on which their only comfort depended. Nothing was found tending to inculpate them, but that did not alleviate the severity of their treatment; from the queen they took a stick of sealing-wax, from the princess-royal a prayer for France. They carried off, "as a suspicious article," soon after,

the last hat worn by Louis, which the queen was striving to preserve as a relic. Eighty-four louis, which the Princess Elizabeth had received from the Princess Lamballe, and which she had hitherto concealed, could not elude this rigorous search, and were taken away.

27. Soon the barbarity of the government envied the widowed and captive queen even the pleasure of beholding her son. The discovery of an abortive conspiracy for their liberation was made the ground for separating the dauphin from his mother, and delivering him to the inhuman Simon, the agent and friend of Robespierre. In vain the young prince demanded to see the decree which authorised this cruel separation. His mother, weeping, resisted for above an hour, with the little boy clinging to her neck; but at length she was forced to let him go by the threat of instantly putting him to death. When removed, this poor child remained two days without taking nourishment. After he was for ever withdrawn from her sight, his beautiful fair locks, which still fell in profuse curls over his shoulders, were cut off, he was dressed in coarse garments, and compelled to wear the *bonnet rouge*, and the pantaloons and coat which composed the dress called "*à la Carmagnole*." All the cruel treatment of Simon, however, could not extinguish the native generosity of his disposition. "Capet," said he, "if the Vendéans were to succeed in delivering you, and placing you on the throne, what would you do with me?"—"I would pardon you," replied the infant monarch. "What am I to do with the child?" said Simon to the Committee of Public Salvation:—"Banish him!"—"No."—"Kill him!"—"No."—"Poison him!"—"No."—"What then?"—"Get quit of him." These instructions were too faithfully executed. By depriving him of air, exercise, and wholesome food, by keeping him in a continual state of squalid filth, the unfortunate child was at length brought, during the next year, to his grave, without imposing upon his keepers the necessity of actual violence.

28. On the 1st August the design of destroying the queen was for the first

time brought forward in the Convention. The Committee of Public Salvation had been divided on the step. Robespierre resisted it; but Barère, Billaud Varennes, and the party who ultimately destroyed him, carried the point against his opposition. "How," said Barère, "do the enemies of the Republic still hope for success? Is it because we have too long forgotten the crimes of the Austrian? Is it because we have shown so strange an indulgence to the race of our ancient tyrants? It is time that this unwise apathy should cease—it is time to extirpate from the soil of the Republic the last roots of royalty. As for the children of Louis the conspirator, they are hostages for the Republic. The charge of their maintenance shall be reduced to what is necessary for the sustenance of two individuals. But behind them lurks a woman, who has been the cause of all the disasters of France, whose share in every project adverse to France has long been known. National justice claims her as its own. It is to the Tribunal appointed for the trial of conspirators that we must send her. It is thus alone that you can make Francis and George, Charles and William, sensible of the crimes which their ministers have committed." In pursuance of these views, he proposed that Marie Antoinette should be forthwith sent to the Conciergerie, separated from her family, and brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and that all the members of the house of Capet, with the exception of the two children in confinement, should be banished the French territory. A decree in these terms, like all the other decrees at this time, passed unanimously, without any debate.*

29. On the 2d August the queen was torn from her weeping sister and daughter, and confined alone in the prison of

the Conciergerie, the most rigorous of the many rigorous places of confinement at that time known in Paris. A narrow, gloomy, and damp apartment, a worn mattress, and a bed of straw, constituted the sole accommodations of one for whom the splendour of Versailles once seemed hardly adequate. She was detained there above two months in the closest confinement; her mild and heroic demeanour interested even the wife of the jailer on her behalf. Night and day a guard of gendarmes was kept in her small and wretched cell. But the fidelity of her devoted adherents won over these guardians of the municipality; some faithful friends visited her there, and a courageous priest, M. l'Abbe Magnien, at the hazard of his life, often administered to her the sacrament, which she received with the most devout gratitude.† Madame de Staël published a pamphlet, in which, with generous eloquence, she urged the impolicy as well as injustice of further severity against the royal family. "Women of France," she concluded, "I appeal to you: your empire is over, if ferocity continues to reign; your destinies are gone, if your tears fall in vain. Defend, then, the queen, by the arms which nature has given you: seek the infant, who will perish if bereaved of his mother, and must become the object of painful interest from the unheard-of calamities which have befallen him. Let him ask on his knees the life of his mother: childhood can pray; it can pray, when as yet it knows not the calamity which it would avert." But her efforts were in vain. On the 14th October Marie Antoinette was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

30. An immense crowd assembled to witness her trial. The spectacle of a QUEEN being tried by her subjects was as yet new in the history of the world. The populace, how much soever ac-

* "Robespierre," said Napoleon, "was by no means the worst character who figured in the Revolution. He opposed trying the queen. He was not an atheist, like many of his colleagues. He was a fanatic, a monster; but incorruptible, incapable of robbing or putting to death from personal enmity. He was an enthusiast, who really believed he was doing right."—O'MEARA, ii. 170.

† "I certify, moreover, that in the month of October 1793, I had the good fortune to get into the Conciergerie with Mademoiselle Fouché, and there to confess the Queen Marie Antoinette several times, to repeat mass, and administer the sacrament to her. MAGNIEN, April 4, 1854."—ALFRED NETTEMMENT, *Etudes Critiques sur les Girondins*, 78, 79.

customed to sanguinary scenes, were strongly excited by this event. Sorrow and confinement had whitened her once beautiful hair; her figure and air still commanded the admiration of all who beheld her; her cheeks, pale and emaciated, were occasionally tinged with a vivid colour, at the mention of those she had lost. Out of deference to her husband's memory, rather than from her own inclination, she pleaded to the court. Their interrogatories were of no avail; her answers, like those of the king, were clear, distinct, and unequivocal. As the form of examining witnesses was necessary, the prosecutors called the Count d'Estaing, who commanded the military at Versailles on the 5th October 1789. But though the queen had been his political opponent, he had too high a sense of honour to tell anything but the truth, and spoke only of her heroism on that trying occasion, and the noble resolution she had expressed in his presence to die with her husband, rather than obtain life by leaving him. Manuel, notwithstanding his hostility to the court during the Legislative Assembly, declared he could not depone to one fact against the accused. The venerable Bailly was next brought in: he now beheld the fruits of his democratic enthusiasm, and wept when he saw the queen. When asked if he knew "the woman Capet," he turned with a melancholy air to his sovereign, and profoundly bowing his head, said, "Yes, I know *Madame*." He then declared that he could say nothing against her, and that all the pretended accounts extracted from the young prince, relative to the journey to Varennes, were false. The Jacobins were furious at his testimony, and, from the violence of their language, he easily anticipated the fate which they reserved for himself. Recourse was then had to the testimony

of other witnesses. The monsters Hébert and Simon were examined; but what they had to declare amounted to nothing but proofs of the piety and affectionate disposition of the queen and the Princess Elisabeth. At last Hébert deposed * that the dauphin had informed him that he had been initiated into improper practices by his mother; the queen, overwhelmed with horror at the atrocious falsehood, remained silent. A jurymen having insisted that she should answer—"If I have not hitherto spoken," said she, "it is because nature refused to answer to such an accusation, brought against a mother." Turning to the audience with inexpressible dignity, she added, "I appeal to all the mothers who hear me, whether such a thing is possible."

"Abash'd the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is; and saw
Virtue in her shape how lovely—saw and pined
His loss: but chiefly to find here observed
His lustre visibly impair'd; yet seem'd
Undaunted †

It was of no avail; notwithstanding the eloquent and courageous defence of her counsel, she was condemned.

31. At four on the morning of the day of her execution, she wrote a letter to the Princess Elisabeth, worthy to be placed beside the testament of Louis. "To you, my sister," said she, "I address myself for the last time. I have been condemned, not to an ignominious death—it is so only to the guilty—but to rejoin your brother. Innocent, like him, I hope to emulate his firmness at the last hour. I weep only for my children: I hope that one day, when they have regained their rank, they may be reunited to you, and feel the blessing of your tender care. Let them ever recollect what I have never ceased to inculcate, that a scrupulous discharge of duty is the only foundation of a good life; friendship and mutual confidence

* The chief facts deposed to by Hébert were, "That he found a religious book belonging to her, in which there was one of the anti-revolutionary symbols, a burning heart pierced by an arrow, on which was written, 'Jesu, miserere nobis'—(Christ pity us). Another time he found in the chamber of Madame Elisabeth a hat which was recognised as having belonged to Louis Capet: this dis-

covery left no doubt on his mind that there were among his colleagues men base enough to serve tyranny. . . . That there could be no doubt, from what the child Capet said, that the mother and child had been guilty of incest" (a child of eight years old!)—*Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, No. 24, pp. 95, 96; *Hist. Parl.*, xxix. 354, 355.

† *Paradise Lost*, iv. 845.

its best consolation. May my son never forget the last words of his father, which I now repeat from myself—*Never to attempt to revenge our death.* I die true to the Catholic religion—the faith of my fathers, which I have never ceased to profess. Deprived of all spiritual consolation, I can only seek for pardon from Heaven. I ask forgiveness of all who know me; from you, in an especial manner, my sister, for all the pain I may have involuntarily given you. I pray for forgiveness to all my enemies for the evil they have done; and I now bid farewell to my aunts, brothers, and sisters. I have had friends: the idea of being separated from them is one of the greatest regrets I feel in dying. Let them know that in my last moments I thought of them. Adieu! my good and tender sister! may this letter reach you. Think ever of me; and I embrace you with all my heart, as well as those poor and dear infants. My God! how heart-rending it is to quit them for ever! Adieu! adieu! I am now to bid farewell to all but my religious duties.”*

32. When led out for execution, she was dressed in white. She had cut off her hair with her own hands. Placed in a chariot, with her arms tied behind her back, she was conducted by a long circuit to the place of execution, which was on the Place Louis XV., now the Place de la Révolution,† where her husband had perished. A constitutional priest was seated by her side. Thirty thousand armed men lined the streets, and ten times that number gazed on the spectacle. Her air, like that of Charlotte Corday, was calm and serene. She spoke little, but gazed with an expression of interest on the numerous revolutionary names and signs which had so altered the character of the metropolis since she last saw it. When the chariot stopped in the Place Louis XV.,

* The authenticity of this letter is placed beyond a doubt. It was taken as soon as written to Robespierre, found after his death among his papers by Courtois, and discovered among the latter's papers in 1815, when these were searched by order of government. A fac-simile of it is annexed to the Duchesse d'Angoulême's narrative. — *Biographie Universelle*, xxvii. 88. (MARIE ANTOINETTE).

† Now the Place Louis XV.

she turned her eyes to the Tuilleries, once the scene of her joys, and a bright flush suffused her countenance, which soon gave place to the former pallid hue. The people, roused by revolutionary emissaries, raised savage shouts of joy as she moved along; the queen, with a serene look, indicating pity rather than suffering, bore that last expression of popular fury. When the procession reached the fatal spot in the centre of the Place Louis XV., she ascended with a firm step the scaffold, and at the top of the stair trod accidentally on the foot of the executioner. “Pardon me, sir,” said she; “I did not do it intentionally.”‡ Her last words were, “O God! pardon my enemies. Farewell, my beloved children! I am about to join your father!” She then calmly resigned herself to the executioners: her countenance was illuminated by an expression of Christian hope; and the daughter of the Cæsars died with a firmness that did honour to her race.

33. Thus perished, at the age of thirty-nine, Marie Antoinette, queen of France. Called in early life to the first throne in Europe, surrounded by a splendid court and a flattering nobility, blessed with an affectionate husband and promising family, she seemed to have approached, as nearly as the uncertainty of life will admit, to the limits of human felicity. She died, after years of suffering and anguish, broken by captivity, subdued by misfortune, bereft of her children, degraded from her throne, on the scaffold, where recently before her husband had perished. History has not recorded a more terrible instance of reverse of fortune, or one more illustrative of the wisdom of the ancient saying, “that none should be pronounced happy till

‡ “In ascending the scaffold, Marie Antoinette accidentally put her foot on that of citizen Samson, and the executioner felt so much pain as to exclaim, ‘Ah!’ She turned to him, and said, ‘Monsieur, I beg your pardon—I did not do it on purpose.’” Prudhomme's account of the execution of the queen is far the most minute; and as he was a furious republican, and ally of Danton's, it is liable to no suspicion. — *PRUDHOMME'S Révolutions de Paris*, No. 212, p. 97.—This incident attracted so much notice that it formed the subject of an engraving executed at the time, and with these words at its foot.

[the day of his death."* Her character has come comparatively pure and un sullied out of the revolutionary furnace. An affectionate daughter and a faithful wife, she preserved in the two most corrupted courts of Europe the simplicity and affections of domestic life. If in early youth her indiscretion and familiarity were such as prudence would condemn, in later years her spirit and magnanimity were such as justice must admire. She was more fitted for the storms of adversity than the sunshine of prosperity. Sometimes ambitious and overbearing in the earlier years of her reign, it was the sufferings of her later days that drew forth the nobler parts of her character. The worthy descendant of Maria Theresa, she would have died in the field combating her enemies, rather than live on the throne subject to their control. Years of misfortune quenched her spirit, but did not lessen her courage; in the solitude of the Temple, she discharged, with exemplary fidelity, every duty to her husband and her children, and bore a reverse of fortune, unparalleled even in that age of calamity, with a heroism that never was surpassed.

34. Her marriage to Louis was considered at the time as a masterstroke in politics. A long alliance between the rival monarchies was anticipated from the propitious union which seemed to unite their destinies. It led to a war more terrible than any which had yet shaken these powers; to the repeated capture of both capitals by hostile armies; to mutual exasperation unprecedented between their people. So uncertain are the conclusions of political wisdom, when founded on personal interests or connections, and not on the great and permanent principles which govern human affairs. The manners of the queen accelerated the Revolution: her foreign descent exasperated the public discontent; her undeserved

death was one means of bringing about its punishment. The justice of Heaven did not slumber. Slow, but sure, came the hour of Germany's revenge. On the day twenty years from that on which she ascended the scaffold, commenced the fatal rout of France on the field of Leipsic.†

35. On the day of the execution of the queen, Barère regaled Robespierre, St Just, and some others of their party, at a tavern. Robespierre condemned the proceedings against the queen, and in particular Hébert's monstrous evidence, with so much vehemence that he broke his plate during the violence of his gesticulation. But Barère and the others defended the proceedings, and announced more extensive plans of carnage. "The vessel of the Revolution," said he, "cannot be wafted into port but on waves of blood. We must begin with the members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. That rubbish must be swept away."

36. This intention was not long of being carried into effect. The Decemvirs forthwith proceeded to destroy their former friends, and the earliest supporters of the Revolution. Bailly, mayor of Paris, and president of the Assembly on occasion of the celebrated Jeu de Paume, was arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. His profound and eloquent scientific researches, his great services in the cause of liberty, his enlightened philanthropy, pleaded in vain before that sanguinary court. The recollection of the Champ de Mars, of the red flag, and the courageous stand which he had made with Lafayette against the fury of the multitude, as well as his recent refusal to depose against Marie Antoinette at her trial, were present to the minds of his prosecutors. The witnesses adduced spoke against him with an unusual degree of asperity. His last words to the court were—"I have ever executed the law: I will know how to obey it, since you are its organ." He was condemned to die, and in his case, as he had foreseen, a refinement of cruelty was employed. He was first brought to the

† On Oct. 16, 1813. She died Oct. 16, 1793.

* The same sentiment is finely expressed by Euripides—

"Χρηθ' αὖτις ἑαυτῇ εὐδαίμονι δέσποινι,
Περὶ ἃν βασαντοὺς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰδοῖ
Ὅπως σφίγας ἤμελλεν ἔχει κατὰ."

EURIPIDES, *Andromache*, 100-102.

common place of execution in the Place Louis XV.; but when there, the mob, with savage yells, insisted he should be taken to the Champ de Mars, as the place where he had first hoisted the flag of defiance to revolutionary atrocity. Thither he was accordingly led; the guillotine was taken down, and an immense crowd of vindictive Jacobins, among whom was a large proportion of women, and persons whom he had saved from famine during his mayoralty, followed to witness his death. On foot, in the most dreadful weather, the unhappy victim was led behind the guillotine during a tedious passage of three hours, from the Place Louis XV. to the place finally fixed on for his execution on the Champ de Mars near the river, opposite Chaillot. The passage was interrupted by repeated halts at stations to prolong its agony. During its continuance he frequently fell, from the violence to which he was exposed: he was assailed with hisses and pelted with mud; and the first President of the Assembly received several inhuman blows on the face and body from the populace. At the Champ de Mars, the red flag, emblematic of the martial law which he had authorised, was burned over his head, and he was there compelled to kneel down and kiss the ground where the blood of the patriots had been shed. He was led again on foot, amidst a drenching fall of snow and sleet, to the banks of the river, where, to parody the scene on Calvary, the heavy beams which support the guillotine were placed on his shoulders. He sank under the weight, but barbarous blows obliged him again to lift it. He fell a second time, and swooned away; yells of laughter arose in the crowd, and the execution was postponed till he revived, and could feel its bitterness. But nothing could subdue his courage. "You tremble, Bailly," said one of the spectators. "My friend," said the old man, "it is only from cold."

37. The eloquent Barnave, one of the most upright members of the Constituent Assembly, was soon after condemned, notwithstanding a defence by himself of unrivalled pathos and ability. Duport Dutertre, formerly minis-

ter of Louis XVI., on the same day shared the same fate. Condorcet had fled when the lists of proscription were first prepared by the victors on the 2d June; for eight months he was concealed in Paris, and employed the tedious hours of solitude in composing his celebrated "*Esquisse des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*," a work in which much learning is illustrated by fervid eloquence; and the warm but visionary anticipations of future improvement were indulged, amidst the deepest circumstances of present disaster. In gratitude to the hostess who had sheltered him, he wrote a poem, containing a sentiment descriptive of the feelings of his party during those melancholy times—

"Choisi d'être oppresseur ou victime,
J'embrassai le malheur et leur laissai le crime."

Terrified by the numerous lists of persons condemned for concealing the proscribed, he declared to his generous protector his resolution to leave her. "I must not remain any longer with you; I am *hors la loi*."—"But we," replied she, "are not *hors de l'humanité*." The return of spring awoke intensely his desire to see again the fields, the green leaves, the flowers. He set out, accordingly, disguised as a common labourer. At the village of Clamart, the fineness of his linen awakened the suspicion of his landlady, who had him arrested and sent to prison, where next morning he was found dead from the effects of a speedy poison, which, like many others in those days of terror, he constantly carried about his person.

38. The Duke of Orleans, the early and interested instigator of the Revolution, was its next victim. Billaud Varennes said in the Convention—"The time has come when all the conspirators should be known and struck. I demand that we no longer pass over in silence a man whom we seem to have forgot, despite the numerous facts which depone against him. I demand that d'Orleans be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, with the other conspirators." Loud applauses followed these words; and Robespierre immediately added—"There can be no one so blind as not

to be enlightened by the flames of Lyons and Marseilles, which the conspirators have lighted; or so deaf as not to hear the cries of the patriots massacred in La Vendée, Belgium, and Toulon; wherever, in short, that execrable faction have possessed any influence. I demand that we instantly proceed to the vote." The Convention, once his hireling adulators, unanimously supported the proposal. In vain he alleged his accession to the disorders of the 5th October, his support of the revolt of the 10th August, his vote against the king on the 17th January. His condemnation was speedily pronounced.

39. He demanded only one favour, which was granted, that his execution should be postponed for twenty-four hours. In the interval, he had a repast prepared with care, on which he feasted with more than usual avidity. When led out to execution, he gazed for a time, with a smile on his countenance, on the Palais Royal, the scene of his former orgies. He was detained above a quarter of an hour in front of that palace by order of Robespierre, who had in vain asked his daughter's hand in marriage, and had promised, if he would relent in that extremity, to excite a tumult which would save his life. Depressed as he was, he had too much honourable feeling left to consent to such a sacrifice, and remained in expectation of death, without giving the expected signal of acquiescence, for twenty minutes, when he was permitted to continue his journey to the scaffold. He met his fate with stoical fortitude; and it is pleasing to have to record one redeeming trait at the close of a life stained by so much selfish passion and guilty ambition—he preferred death to sacrificing his daughter to the tyrant. Never was more strongly exemplified the effect of materialism and infidelity, in rendering men callous to futurity, and degrading a naturally noble disposition. The multitude applauded his execution; not a voice was raised in his favour, though it was mainly composed of the very men who had been instigated by his adulators, and fed by his extravagance. The destruction of Bailly,

Bernave, and the Duke of Orleans, annihilated the party attached to a constitutional monarchy. The early objects of the Revolution were thus frustrated, its first supporters destroyed by the passions they had awakened among the people. The overthrow of the Girondists extinguished the hope of a republic; the massacre of the Constitutionalists, that of a limited monarchy. The prophecy of Vergniaud was rapidly approaching its accomplishment: the Revolution, like Saturn, was successively devouring all its progeny.

40. These sanguinary proceedings were followed by a measure as unnecessary as it was barbarous—the violation of the tombs of St Denis, and the profanation of the sepulchres of the kings of France. By a decree of the Convention, on 3d August, these venerable asylums of departed greatness were ordered to be destroyed*—a measure never adopted by the English parliament during the frenzy of the Fifth Monarchy men; and which proves that political frenzy will push its votaries to greater extremities than religious fanaticism. A furious multitude, headed by the revolutionary army, precipitated itself out of Paris; the tombs of Henry IV., of Francis I., and of Louis XII., were ransacked, and their bones scattered in the air. Even the glorious name of Turenne could not protect his grave from spoliation. His remains were found almost undecayed, as when he received the fatal wound on the banks of the Lech. The bones of Charles V., the saviour of his country, were dispersed. At his feet was discovered the coffin of the faithful Du Guesclin, and French hands profaned the skeleton of him before whom English invasion had rolled back. Most of these tombs proved to be strongly secured. Much time, and no small exertion of skill and labour, was required to burst their barriers. They would have resisted for ever the decay of time, or the violence of enemies; they

* "The tombs and mausoleums of the former kings, erected at St Denis, the Temple, and other places throughout the Republic, shall be destroyed on the 10th of August next."—*Décret*, August 3, 1793. *Hist. Parl.* xxviii. 397.

yielded to the fury of domestic dissension.

41. There is something solemn and interesting in the opening of the tombs of the departed great. It carries us back at once to far distant ages : the corpses in their grave-clothes, with their features sometimes unchanged, are revealed to the view ; it seems as if the awful scene of the day of judgment had arrived, when the graves shall be opened and the dead arise. The measures of the French Revolutionists displayed, beyond all former example among men, this terrible spectacle. By a decree of the municipality of Paris on the 12th October, it was ordered that all graves should be carefully searched, in order to discover and bring to the public treasury any jewels, gold, silver, bronze, or even lead, that might be found. This order, joined to the rapacity of the searchers, and the fanatical zeal of the people, caused the tombs of the kings and paladins at St Denis to be ransacked with unparalleled eagerness. But immense labour was required to effect an entrance. The magnificent doors of bronze, the gift of Charlemagne, which guarded the entrance, long resisted their efforts, but at length yielded to repeated blows of prodigious sledge-hammers, and were nearly shattered to pieces. One of the first tombs rifled was that of Pepin, father of that great conqueror. All the other mausoleums were opened and ransacked in succession : the vast floor of the dark subterraneous church was covered with the bones of kings, mingled with the broken fragments of their marble sepulchres. The arms and the heads of Louis XII. and Francis I. were severed and heaped in a corner of the church. The monuments of Turenne and Du Guesclin were demolished and ruined. The abomination of desolation had penetrated every part of the cemetery.

42. One of the tombs bore date so early as 580 ; it was that of Dagobert, son of Childeric, king of France. Nearly the whole sepulchres of the first race of kings were destroyed in a few hours. Those of the Bourbon family, from their more costly construction, required a longer time for their demolition. But

it was at last effected, and the dead in their grave-clothes were drawn forth. The body of Henry IV. was so entire that it was instantly recognised from the prints by the spectators : a fragrant perfume, when the lid was removed from the coffin, filled the air, from aromatic substances in the interior of the skull ; but as the grave-clothes were removed, the two deep fissures made by the dagger of Ravallac still yawned almost as clean as when the wounds were received in the side. The venerable remains were at first the object of general respect ; but, on the 14th, a Jacobin orator, Javoignes, roused the people by harangues ; they tore the body in pieces, and cast the fragments into a vast ditch, filled with corpses and quicklime, where they were mixed with all the others, and irrecoverably lost. The body of Louis XIII. was still entire, but completely dried up ; that of Louis XIV. nothing but a putrid mass, which emitted a fetid exhalation. His remains had come to the nothingness so often foretold in his presence by Massillon and Bossuet, when surrounded by the pomp of Versailles. The body of Louis XV. was found at the entrance of the tomb according to custom, till his successor occupied his place, when the former king was removed to the vault. It exhibited so hideous a mass of putrefaction, that when the lid was removed from the coffin the pestilential exhalation filled the whole Abbey, and was even felt in the adjoining houses. To purify the air, discharges of musketry were fired around the Abbey ; they were heard in Paris at the very moment that the head of Marie Antoinette fell on the scaffold, in the Place Louis XV.

43. All the bodies found there, kings, queens, and heroes, were thrown into a vast trench and destroyed by quicklime. The body of Du Guesclin was lost in this way. That of Turenne alone escaped, not from any reverence for his memory, but from the fortunate circumstance that, after it had been ordered to be thrown into the common tomb, two of the officers of the Museum of Natural History requested to

have it, as being a "well preserved mummy," which might be of service to the science of comparative anatomy.* It was delivered to them accordingly, and carried to the Jardin des Plantes, where it lay for nine years in a store-room, between the skeletons of a monkey and a camel. In 1802, however, Napoleon heard of the circumstance, and had the body of the illustrious warrior removed to the church of the Invalides, where it now reposes beside his own mortal remains. After the tombs had all been ransacked, and the bodies thrown into the common trench, where they were destroyed by quicklime, the whole jewellery, plate, and treasures, found in the treasury of St Denis, and all the other churches in France, as well as what had been extracted from the tombs, were brought in great pomp to the Convention, where they were poured out in confusion on the floor, amidst deafening acclamations of "Vive la République."†

44. This was immediately followed by a general attack upon the monuments and remains of antiquity throughout all France. The sepulchres of the great of past times, of the barons and generals of the feudal ages, of the paladins, and of the crusaders, were involved in one undistinguishable ruin. It seemed as if the glories of antiquity were forgotten, or sought to be buried in oblivion. The skulls of monarchs

* "The order had already been given to convey the remains of Turenne to the general dépôt, when two administrators of the Museum of Natural History begged possession of the body of this great man, as a well-preserved mummy, which might be useful to the progress of comparative anatomy. It was put in a garret, where it remained for nine years, between the skeletons of an ape and a camel!"—DÜVAL, *Souvenirs de la Terreur*, iv. 74.

† "All the sections of Paris and the neighbouring communes rejoiced to lay on the altar of their country the chief spoils of superstition, and the Convention did not know whether to admire most the magnificence of the offerings, or the patriotic zeal of the contributors. All Paris and the neighbouring communes renounced Catholicism. Who could reckon the enormous riches of Brunelle and Franciade, formerly St Denis? all this glittering mass of absurd toys, which the stupidity of our kings had buried in churches?"—FRÉDÉRIC, *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 215, p. 213.

and heroes were tossed about like foot-balls by the profane multitude; they made a jest of the lips before which nations had trembled. Nothing could equal the fury with which the populace, in the greater part of France, threw themselves on the monumental remains in the churches. It would seem as if their rage at the dead was even greater than their exasperation at the living. Hardly any monuments of note escaped dilapidation. This devastation was much more complete than in Scotland during the fury of the Reformation; for there the images and monasteries only were destroyed—the graves were not rifled. The monumental remains which had escaped their sacrilegious fury, were subsequently collected by order of the Directory, and placed in a great museum at Paris, in the Rue Petits Augustins, where they long remained piled and heaped together in broken confusion—an emblem of the Revolution, which destroyed in a few years what centuries of glory had erected.

45. Having massacred the great of the present, and insulted the illustrious of former ages, nothing remained to the Revolutionists but to direct their fury against Heaven itself. Pache, Hébert, and Chaumette, the leaders of the municipality, publicly expressed their determination "to dethrone the King of Heaven, as well as the monarchs of the earth." To accomplish this design, they prevailed on Gobel, the apostate constitutional Bishop of Paris, to appear at the bar of the Convention, accompanied by some of the clergy of his diocese, and there abjure the Christian faith. That base prelate declared, "that no other national religion was now required but that of liberty, equality, and morality."‡ Many

‡ Gobel's abjuration of Christianity was in these terms: "To-day, while the Revolution strides rapidly to a happy close, as all opinions tend to a common political centre—to-day there ought to be no public or national worship, saving that of liberty and sacred equality, as the sovereign people wish it so. Following my principles, I submit to the will of the people, and I come here to declare to you, that from this day I renounce the exercise of my functions as a minister of the Catholic religion. The citi-

of the constitutional bishops and clergy in the Convention joined in the proposition. The Convention received them with loud applause, and gave them the fraternal kiss. Crowds of drunken artisans and shameless prostitutes crowded to the bar, and trampled under their feet the sacred vases, consecrated for ages to the holiest purposes of religion. The sections of Paris shortly after followed the example of the constitutional clergy, and publicly abjured the Christian religion. The churches were stripped of all their ornaments; their plate and valuable contents were brought in heaps to the municipality and the Convention, from whence they were sent to the mint to be melted down. Trampling under foot the images of our Saviour and the Virgin, they elevated, amidst shouts of applause, the busts of Marat and Lepelletier, and danced round them, singing parodies on the Hallelujah, and dancing the Carmagnole. Momoro, the printer, an ardent member of the municipality, then said—"Citizen representatives you see before you your brothers, who desire to be regenerated, and to become men. You see the bishop of Paris, the grand vicars, and some of the priests, who, led by reason, come to lay aside the character which superstition had given them: that great example will be imitated by their colleagues. It is thus that the minions of despotism concur in its destruction: it is thus that soon the French Republic will recognise no other worship but that of liberty, equality, and eternal truth, which, thanks to your immortal labours, will soon become universal." During several weeks, daily abjurations by the constitutional clergy took place at the bar of the Convention. On the 10th November, Siéyes appeared, and abjured like the rest. "I have lived," said he, "the victim of superstition. I will not be its slave. I know no other worship but that of liberty; no other religion but the love of humanity and country."

46. Shortly after, a still more immense myriads here present join me in this; consequently we abandon our titles. May this example serve to consolidate the reign of liberty and equality. Vive la République! —GONAL.

decent exhibition took place before the Convention. The celebrated prophecy of Father Beauregard was accomplished—"Beauty without modesty was seen usurping the place of the Holy of Holies!" Hébert, Chaumette, and their associates, appeared at the bar, and declared that "God did not exist, and that the worship of Reason was to be substituted in his stead." Chaumette said: "Legislative fanaticism has lost its hold; it has given place to reason. Its dark eyes could not bear the light of reason. We have left its temples; they are regenerated. To-day an immense multitude are assembled under its Gothic roofs, which, for the first time, will echo with the voice of truth. There the French will celebrate their true worship—that of liberty and reason. There we will form new vows for the prosperity of the armies of the Republic; there we will abandon the worship of inanimate idols for that of Reason, this animated image, the *chef-d'œuvre* of creation." A veiled female, arrayed in blue drapery, was brought into the Convention; and Chaumette, taking her by the hand—"Mortals," said he, "cease to tremble before the powerless thunders of a God whom your fears have created. Henceforth acknowledge no divinity but reason. I offer you its noblest and purest image; if you must have idols, sacrifice only to such as this."—Then, letting fall the veil, he exclaimed, "Fall before the august Senate of Freedom, Veil of Reason!" At the same time the goddess appeared, personified by a celebrated beauty, Madame Maillard of the opera, known in more than one character to most of the Convention. The goddess, after being embraced by the president, was mounted on a magnificent car, and conducted, amidst an immense crowd, to the cathedral of Notre Dame, to take the place of the Deity. There she was elevated on the high altar, and received the adoration of all present; while a numerous band of elegant young women, all *figurantes* of the opera, her attendants, whose alluring looks already sufficiently indicated their profession, retired into the chapels round the choir, where every species of licentiousness and obscenity

was indulged in without control, with hardly any veil from the public gaze. To such a length was this carried, that Robespierre afterwards declared that Chaumette deserved death for the abominations he had permitted on that occasion. Thenceforward that ancient edifice was called the *Temple of Reason*. The same scene soon afterwards took place in the Church of St Sulpice, where the part of the goddess of Reason was performed by Madame Momoro, wife of the printer, and the intimate friend of Hébert. She appeared to the crowd of worshippers in the attire in which Venus displayed herself to Paris; but to her credit it must be added, her shame was such that she fainted on the altar.

47. The municipality, elated by the success of their efforts to overturn the Christian religion, and the countenance they had received in their designs from the National Convention, lost no time in adopting the most decisive measures for its entire extirpation. All the relics preserved in the churches of Paris were ordered to be deposited in the commune, and the loudest applause shook the hall when the section of Quinze-Vingts brought the shirt of Saint Louis, long the object of esteem, to be burned

* It is a most curious circumstance that exactly the same thing had been done at Constantinople, six hundred years before, by the French Crusaders, who stormed the Byzantine capital. "In the Cathedral of St Sophia," says Gibbon, "the ample veil of the sanctuary was rent asunder, for the sake of the golden fringe; and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces, and shared among the captors. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the Patriarch, and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sang and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals. After stripping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices into drinking-cups, and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. Nor were the repositories of the royal dead secure from violation. In the Church of the Apostles, the tombs of the Emperors were rifled; and it is said that, after six centuries, the corpse of Justinian was found without any signs of decay or putrefaction."—Gibbon, xi. 237. Is this the History of 1201 or 1793—of the sack of Constantinople, or the orgies of the Revolution? National character seems indelible by any length of time. "Cælum, non animus, mutant, qui trans mare currunt."

on the altar of Reason. On the 11th November the popular society of the Musée entered the hall of the municipality, exclaiming, "Vive la Raison!" and carrying on the top of a poll the half-burnt remains of several books, among others the breviaries, and the *Old and New Testament*, "which have expiated in a great fire," said their president, "all the fooleries which they have made the human race commit." Taking advantage of the enthusiasm which this announcement excited, Hébert proposed and carried a resolution for the demolition of the whole of the steeples of Paris, on the ground that they were "repugnant to the principles of equality." On the same day, a decree was passed for the destruction of all the sculpture on Notre Dame, excepting that on the two lateral portals, which were to be saved, Chaumette said, "because Dupiers had there traced his planetary system." Finally, on the 23d November, atheism in France reached its extreme point, by a decree of the municipality ordering the immediate closing of all the churches, and placing the whole priests under surveillance. At the same period they gave decisive proof of the bloody use they were to make of their power, by ordering lists of all the persons who were suspected, and all who had at any time signed anti-revolutionary petitions, to be sent to the forty-eight sections of Paris; and in some sections they refused passports to them, when desirous of leaving the city.

48. The services of religion were now universally abandoned. The pulpits were deserted throughout all the revolutionised districts; baptism ceased; the burial service was no longer heard; the sick received no communion; the dying no consolation. A heavier anathema than that of papal power pressed upon the peopled realm of France—the anathema of Heaven, inflicted by the madness of her own inhabitants. The village bells were silent; Sunday was obliterated. Infancy entered the world without a blessing; age left it without a hope. In lieu of the services of the church, the licentious fêtes of the new system were performed by the most

abandoned females; it appeared as if the Christian worship had been succeeded by the orgies of the Babylonian priests, or the grossness of the Hindoo theocracy. On every tenth day a revolutionary leader ascended the pulpit, and preached atheism to the bewildered audience; Marat was universally deified; and even the instrument of death was sanctified by the name of the "Holy Guillotine." It might well be called so: how many martyrs did it bring to light! On all the public cemeteries the inscription was placed, "Death is an Eternal Sleep." The comedian Monvel, in the church of St Roch, carried impiety to its utmost length. "God! if you exist," said he, "avenge your injured name. *I bid you defiance.* You remain silent; you dare not launch your thunders; who, after this, will believe in your existence?" It is by slower means, and the operation of un-failing laws, that the decrees of Providence are accomplished. A more convincing proof of divine government than the destruction of the blasphemer was about to be afforded; the annihilation of the guilty by their own hands, and as the consequence of the passions which they themselves had unchained. "Deus patiens," says St Augustin, "quia eternus."

49. The most sacred relations of life were at the same period placed on a new footing, suited to the extravagant ideas of the times. Marriage was declared a civil contract, binding only during the pleasure of the contracting parties. Divorce immediately became general: the corruption of manners reached a pitch unknown during the worst days of the monarchy; the vices of the marquises and countesses of the time of Louis XV. descended to the shopkeepers and artisans of Paris. So indiscriminate did concubinage become, that, by a decree of the Convention, bastards were declared entitled to an equal share of the succession with legitimate children. Mademoiselle Arnould, a celebrated comedian, expressed the public feeling when she called "*Marriage the Sacrament of Adultery.*" The divorces in Paris, in the first three

* "God is patient because eternal."

months of 1793, were 562, while the marriages were only 1785—a proportion probably unexampled among mankind. The consequences soon became apparent. Before the era of the Consulate, one-half of the whole births in Paris were illegitimate; and at this day, notwithstanding the apparent reformation of manners which has taken place since the Restoration, every third child to be seen in the streets of Paris is a bastard.

50. A decree of the Convention soon after suppressed all the public schools and colleges, even those of medicine and surgery. Their whole revenues were confiscated. Even the academies, which had become so celebrated in European history, by the illustrious men by whom they had been graced, were involved in the general proscription. The exquisite tapestry of the Gobelins was publicly burned, because the mark of the crown and arms of France was on it. All the sculpture and statuary which could be found on tombs, in churches, palaces, or chateaus, was destroyed, because it savoured of royalty and aristocracy. New schools, on a plan originally traced out by Condorcet, were directed to be formed, but no efficient steps were taken to insure their establishment; and education, for a number of years, almost entirely ceased through all France.* One establishment only, the Polytechnic School, dates from this melancholy epoch. During this fearful night, the whole force of the human mind was bent upon the mathematical sciences, which flourished from the concentration of its powers, and were soon illuminated by the most splendid light. In the general havoc, even the establishments of charity were not spared. The revenues of the hospitals and humane institutions throughout the country were confiscated by the despots whom the people had seated on the throne; their domains sold as part of the national property. Soon the terrible effects of the suppression of all permanent sources of relief to the destitute became

* "Under the Reign of Terror, the colleges and schools were entirely deserted; parents were unable to think of anything but the immediate necessity of preserving life."—*Deux Amis*, xli. 2.

apparent. Mendicity advanced with frightful steps; and soon the condition of the poor throughout France became such as to call forth the loudest lamentations from the few enlightened philanthropists who still followed the car of the Revolution.

51. In the midst of the general desertion of the Christian faith by the constitutional clergy, it is consolatory to have, for the honour of human nature, one instance of an opposite character to recount. Gregory, Bishop of Blois, arrived in the Convention; he was pressed to imitate the example of Gobel. He ascended the tribune; and, while the Assembly expected to hear him abjure like the rest, he said: "My attachment to the cause of liberty is well known; I have given multiplied proofs of it. If the present question relates to the revenues of my bishopric, I resign them without regret. If it is a question of religion, that is a matter beyond your jurisdiction, and you have no right to enter upon it. I hear much of fanaticism and superstition. Reflect on what the words mean, and you will see that it is something diametrically opposite to religion. As for myself, Catholic by conviction and sentiment, priest by choice, I have been named by the people to be a bishop; but it is neither from them nor you that I hold my mission. I consented to bear the mitre at a time when it was a crown of thorns: they tormented me to accept it: they torment me now to extort an abdication, which they shall not tear from me. Acting on sacred principles which are dear to me, and which I defy you to ravish from me, I have endeavoured to do good in my diocese: I will remain a bishop to do so, and I invoke for my shield the liberty of worship." This courageous speech produced great astonishment in the Convention, and he was denounced at the Jacobins for having wished to "christianise" the Revolution; but Robespierre, who was in secret averse to these scandalous scenes as likely to discredit it, did not support the clamour, and he escaped being sent to the guillotine.

52. Meanwhile the Jacobins were bestowing every imaginable honour on the

memory of Marat, who, beyond either Voltaire or Rousseau, became the object of general adoration. Then was seen how much the generous but mistaken devotion of Charlotte Corday had in reality strengthened the power of the tyrants. The fruit of crime is never salutary; for it shocks the feelings, on which alone real amendment can be founded. Marat's bust was placed in the Convention, and on an altar in the Louvre, with the inscription — "Unable to corrupt, they have assassinated him." He became, literally speaking, an object of worship; great numbers of victims were sacrificed to his memory; and the monster who had incessantly urged the cutting off of two hundred and eighty thousand heads, was assimilated to the Saviour of the world. A couplet was composed by a member of the Revolutionary Committee of the section Marat, the burden of which was — "O sacred heart of Jesus! O sacred heart of Marat!" On the 21st September, his apotheosis took place with great pomp. His bust was soon to be seen in every village of France; and, on the 14th November, a decree of the Convention, proceeding on a report of the younger Chénier, was passed, directing his ashes to be transferred to the Pantheon, where they were accordingly deposited with great pomp not long afterwards, in the room of the remains of Mirabeau, which were thrown out. Many months had not elapsed before Chénier's brother, the celebrated poet, became the victim of Marat's principles.

53. But amidst this extraordinary mixture of republican transports and individual baseness, the great measures of the Revolution were steadily advancing, and producing effects of incalculable moment and lasting effect on the fortunes of France. Three of paramount importance took place during the course of the year 1793, and produced consequences which will be felt by the latest generation in that country. These were the immense levies, first of three hundred thousand, then of twelve hundred thousand men, which took place in the course of that year; the confiscation of two-thirds of the

landed property in the kingdom, which arose from the decrees of the Convention against the emigrants, clergy, and persons convicted at the Revolutionary Tribunals; and the unbounded issue of assignats on the security of the national domains. These great measures, which no government could have attempted except during the fervour of a revolution, mutually, though for a brief period, upheld each other, and perpetuated the revolutionary system by the important interests which were made to depend on its continuance. The immense levy of soldiers drew off almost all the ardent and energetic spirits, and not only furnished bread to the multitudes whom the closing of all pacific employments had deprived of subsistence, but let off in immense channels the inflamed and diseased blood of the nation; the confiscation of the land placed funds worth above £700,000,000 sterling at the disposal of the government, which they were enabled to squander with boundless profusion in the maintenance of the revolutionary regime at home, and the contest with its enemies abroad; the extraordinary issue of paper, to the amount ultimately of £350,000,000, always enabled the treasury to liquidate the demands upon it, and interested every holder of property in the kingdom in the support of the national domains, the only security on which it rested. During the unparalleled and almost demoniac energy produced by the sudden operation of these powerful causes, France was unconquerable; and it was their combined operation which brought it triumphant through that violent and unprecedented crisis.

54. Europe has had too much reason to become acquainted with the military power developed by France during this eventful period; but the civil force exerted by the dictators within their own dominions, though less generally known, was perhaps still more remarkable. Forty-eight thousand revolutionary committees were soon established in the Republic, being one in each commune, and embracing above 500,000 members, all the most resolute and determined of the Jacobin party. Each

of these individuals received three francs a-day as his wages for seeking out victims for arrest and the scaffold; and the annual charge for them was 591,000,000 fr., or nearly £24,000,000 sterling. Between the military defenders and the civil servants of the government, almost all the active and resolute men in France, and the whole of the depraved and abandoned ones, were in the pay of the dictators, and the whole starving energy of the country fed on the spoils of its defenceless opulence: a terrible system, drawing after it the total dissolution of society; capable of being executed only by the most audacious wickedness, but never likely, when it is attempted, of failing, for a time at least, of success. This system produced astonishing effects for a limited period, just as an individual who, in a few years, squanders a great fortune, outshines all those who live wholly on the fruits of their industry. But the inevitable period of weakness soon arrives; the maniac who exerts his demoniac strength cannot in the end withstand the steady efforts of intelligence. The career of extravagance is in general short; bankruptcy arrests alike the waste of improvidence and the fleeting splendour which attends it.

55. Cambon, the minister of finance, in August 1793, made an important and astonishing revelation of the length to which the issue of assignats had been carried under the Reign of Terror. The national expenses had exceeded 300,000,000 of francs, or above £12,000,000 a-month; the receipts of the treasury, during the disorder which prevailed, never reached a fourth part of that sum; and there was no mode of supplying the deficiency but by an incessant issue of paper money. The quantity in circulation on the 15th August 1793 amounted to 3,775,846,093 livres, or £151,000,000; the quantity issued since the commencement of the Revolution had been no less than 5,100,000,000 francs, or £204,000,000 sterling. This system continued during the whole Reign of Terror, and produced a total confusion of property of every sort. All the persons employed by government, both in the civil and

military departments, were paid in the paper currency at par; but as it rapidly fell, from the enormous quantity in circulation, to a tenth part, and soon a twentieth of its value, the pay received was merely nominal, and those in the receipt of the largest apparent incomes were in want of the common necessities of life. Pichegru, at the head of the army of the north, with a nominal pay of four thousand francs a-month, was in the actual receipt on the Rhine, in 1795, of only two hundred francs, or £8 sterling in gold or silver—a smaller sum than the pay of an English lieutenant; and Hoche, the commander of a hundred thousand men, the army of La Vendée, besought the government to send him a horse, as he was unable to purchase one, and the military requisitions had exhausted all those in the country where he commanded. If such was the condition of the superior, it may be imagined what was the situation of the inferior officers and private soldiers. While in their own country, and deprived of the resource of foreign plunder, they were literally starving; and the necessity of conquest was felt as strongly, to enable them to live on the spoils of their enemies, as to avert the sword of desolation from the frontiers of France.

56. This constant and increasing depreciation of the assignats produced its natural and unavoidable effect in an unprecedented enhancement of the price of provisions and all the articles of human consumption. The assignats were not absorbed in the purchase of the national domains, because the holders were distrustful of the security of the revolutionary title, which they could alone receive; and as their issue continued at the rate of £10,000,000 sterling a-month, of course the market became gorged, and the value of these securities rapidly declined. Though this depreciation was unavoidable, the Convention endeavoured to arrest it, and enacted the punishment of six years in irons against any who should exchange any quantity of silver or gold for a greater nominal value of assignats; or should ask a larger price for any articles of merchandise, if the price was

paid in paper, than if paid in the precious metals. It is needless to say that this forced attempt to sustain the value of the assignats proved totally nugatory; and the consequences soon became fatal to many classes of persons. Debtors of every description hastened to discharge their obligations; and the creditors, compelled to accept paper at par, which was not worth a fifth or tenth, at last not a hundredth, of its nominal value, were defrauded of nearly the whole of their property. But their outcries were speedily drowned in the shout of the far more numerous body of debtors liberated from their demands. These transports, however, were of short duration, and the labouring classes from the very first were ruined beyond redemption. Their wages, in consequence of the total destruction of credit, general decline of consumption, and universal stagnation of industry, had by no means risen in proportion to this fall in the value of the assignats, and they found themselves miserably off for the necessities of life; while the farmers, raising the price of their provisions in proportion to the fall in the value of paper, soon elevated them beyond the reach of the labouring poor. This state of things, so opposite to what they had been led to expect as the result of a revolution, excited the most vehement discontent among the working classes; they ascribed it all, as is always the case in similar circumstances, to the efforts of aristocrats and forestallers, and demanded with loud cries that they should be led out to the guillotine.

57. It became then absolutely necessary to have recourse to a *maximum*: powerful as the Committee of Public Salvation was, a longer continuance of the public discontents would have endangered its existence. Corn, indeed, was not wanting; but the farmers, dreading the tumult and violence of the markets, and unwilling to part with their produce at the nominal value of the assignats, refused to bring it to the towns. To such a pitch did this evil arise in the beginning of May 1793, that the Convention was forced to issue a decree, compelling the farmers and

grain-merchants to declare what stock they had in their possession, and to bring it to the public markets at a price fixed by each commune. Domiciliary visits were authorised, to inspect the stock of each holder of corn, and false returns were punished by a forfeiture of the whole. In addition to this, the distribution of bread by the bakers was provided for in the most minute manner. No one could obtain it without producing a *carte de sûreté*, issued by the revolutionary committees; and on that *carte* was inscribed the number of his family, and the quantity to be delivered to each member. Finally, to put an end to the scandalous scenes which generally took place at the bakers' doors, it was enacted that every bread shop should have a *rope attached to it*; each person, as he arrived, was obliged to take it in his hand, and remain quietly there till all before him were served. But in the struggles of discontent and famine, the cord was frequently broken, fierce conflicts ensued, and nothing but a prompt interposition of military force was able to restore tranquillity. To such minute and vexatious regulations are governments reduced when they once violate the freedom of human action; and to such a load of fetters do the people in the end subject themselves, when they give way to the insane passion for democratic power.

58. All the other articles of subsistence as well as corn speedily rose with the increased issue of the assignats, and the people persisted in ascribing to fore-stallers the natural consequences of a depreciated circulation. Frightful tumults in consequence arose; the boats which descended the Seine with groceries, fruits, and wood, were seized and plundered. Terrified at the continual recurrence of these disorders, the capitalists declined investing their money in purchases of any sort; and the shares in foreign mercantile companies rose rapidly from the increased demand for them, as the only investment affording a tolerable degree of security: another striking proof of the disastrous influence of the disorders consequent on popular ambition, and their

tendency to turn from the people the reservoirs by which their industry is maintained. During the perils and chances of a revolution, the tendency to gambling of every sort prodigiously increased. Men who had the sword of Damocles continually suspended over their heads, sought to make the most of the numerous chances of making money which the rapid issue and fall of the assignats, and the boundless profusion of articles of luxury, brought into the market by the ruin of their owners, naturally occasioned. So enormous did these evils become that on 26th July 1793 the forestalling of provisions was declared a capital crime; and the penalty of death was in like manner extended to all those who retained articles of subsistence without bringing them to daily sale, or who did not, within eight days from the publication of the decree, make a declaration to the municipal officers of their district, of the amount of provisions, including wine and oil, they had on hand, with a specification of the proportions in which they were going to bring them to market.

59. The bourse of Paris was crowded with bankers, revolutionists, ci-devant priests, ruined nobles, and adventurers of every description, who sometimes made enormous gains, and passed a life of debauchery with actresses, operadancers, and abandoned women of every description, whom the dissolution of society had brought in contact with those who had risen for the moment on the wheels of fortune. Such was the universal profligacy of manners, arising from the dread of popular jealousy, that almost all the members of the Convention lived publicly with mistresses, who became possessed of much of their influence in the state. To have done otherwise would have exposed them to the blasting suspicion of being Christians and Royalists. This prevailing profligacy appeared in the most striking manner in the great number of divorces which took place during this calamitous period of French history. They were owing partly to marriage being now declared a civil contract, which might be dissolved at any time at the pleasure

of the contracting parties; partly to the irreligion and lax morality of the age; and partly to the dreadful uncertainty of life, and the thirst for immediate enjoyment, which had seized all classes from that uncertainty. From these combined causes, the morality of the age, as measured by the relations of the sexes, sank lower in revolutionary France than it had ever done in modern Europe; and the number of divorces,* in the first burst of social regeneration, exceeded what had been known in Rome under the despotism of the Cæsars. So far did the universal fervour and the license of passion proceed, that it led to the institution of clubs for women, where political subjects of all sorts were discussed with all the vehemence and impassioned feeling which characterise the softer sex. One of these female clubs was held in a hall adjoining that of the Jacobins, and speedily became the favourite resort of the most noted actresses and courtesans in Paris. One of the former, named Rose Lacombe, acquired great celebrity by her fearless demeanour, her beauty, and ardent declamations in favour of republican principles. The disorders consequent on these female assemblies, which had six thousand members, at length became so flagrant, that they attracted the notice of the Convention and municipality. Chaumette had the address to persuade the female patriots who had forced their way into the hall of the municipality, that they had mistaken

the real theatre of their power, and that, instead of aiming at dividing the government of the state with men, they would do better to acquire an undivided dominion by ruling the men.† The female clubs were soon after closed by order of the Convention.

60. Nor was the state of the prisons in Paris and over France a less extraordinary and memorable monument of the Reign of Terror. When the Girondists were overthrown, on the 31st May 1793, the number of prisoners in the different jails of Paris was about 1150; but, before three months of the Reign of Terror had elapsed, their number was doubled, and it gradually rose to an average of *six, seven, and at last eight thousand, constantly in captivity in the metropolis alone.* The whole prisons in the capital being filled by this prodigious crowd, the castle of Vincennes was surveyed with a view to additional accommodation, and the Jacobins boasted it could contain six or seven thousand more.‡ The official bulletins, published weekly, of the number of prisoners in the jails of Paris, is one of the most interesting monuments of the Revolution, and Leveau's *Journal de la Montagne*, the Jacobin organ of Paris, set up on the 2d June 1793, has at least done one service to humanity by having preserved the dismal record. It is equalled only by the catalogue of the executions, which, long averaging from seven to ten, at length rose to forty and fifty, and, on the fall of Robespierre, had

* The following Table—one of the most curious records of the Revolution—compiled from the *Moniteur* of the dates under mentioned, shows the marriages and divorces in Paris during part of the Reign of Terror:—

1793.	Marriages.	Divorces.	Births.	Deaths.	Moniteur.
May,	658	211	1724	2039	11th Aug.
June,	580	183	1635	1667	4th Aug.
July,	639	218	1767	1512	Do.
Sept. 14.	24	9	42	64	Sept. 15.
Oct. 16.	8	6	46	66	Oct. 18.
1794.					
Feb.	890	190	1754	2174	March 26.

The marriages and divorces—or “*état civil*,” as it is called—are published very irregularly in the *Moniteur*.

† “‘Nature,’ said Chaumette, ‘has said to man, Be a man; to woman, Be a woman, and you will become the divinity of life. Imprudent women, who wish to act the part of men! are you not already well enough off? You sway all our senses. Your despotism is that of love, and consequently of nature.’ At these words the women pulled off the red cap.”—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vii. 355.

‡ “Repair to Vincennes. Six or seven thousand prisoners might be quartered there.”—*Note de PAYSAN; Papiers trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 403.

at times reached *eighty* a-day. Apply these numbers to the remainder of France,—which, considering the enormous accumulation of prisoners at Lyons, Toulon, and La Vendée, and the revolutionary tribunals at work in almost every considerable town, especially Nantes, Toulon, Bordeaux, Lyons, Strassburg, and Arras, seems not beyond the bounds of probability, and call the population of Paris 650,000, or about a fortieth part of the whole population of France, which at that period contained about 26,000,000 souls,—and we shall arrive at the result, that at the commencement of the Reign of Terror, the number of persons in jail, almost all for political offences, was over all France forty-five thousand, and in its

latter stages had risen to *three hundred thousand*, of whom, for a month before the fall of Robespierre, from *two to three thousand* were daily put to death by the guillotins;—at least a hundred times the number of prisoners, and a thousand times the number of executions, that, since the atrocious era of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had disgraced the worst period of the monarchy.*

61. The forced requisitions of horses, ammunition, provisions, and stores of every sort from the people, soon proved the source of infinite and most vexatious burdens. In August 1793, eighteen commissioners were nominated by the Convention, with powers to require from the primary assemblies, in every part of France, unlimited supplies of

* Date.	Number of Prisoners in Paris.	AUTHORITIES.	Vol.	No.	Page.
June 1, 1793	1182	JOURNAL de la MONTAGNE.	II.	—	—
August 27, ..	1601	.. .. .	..	88	610
September 8, ..	1794	.. .. .	..	100	695
.. 16, ..	2041	.. .. .	III.	108	760
October 6, ..	2378	.. .. .	..	125	896
.. 23, ..	2894	.. .. .	..	136	984
November 17, ..	3235	.. .. .	..	158	1072
December 14, ..	3499	.. .. .	..	21	161
.. 21, ..	4161	.. .. .	..	28	219
.. 24, ..	4325	.. .. .	..	81	245
January 4, 1794	4595	.. .. .	..	42	339
.. 10, ..	4605	.. .. .	..	47	371
.. 23, ..	5081	.. .. .	..	65	517
February 10, ..	5228	.. .. .	..	77	612
.. 21, ..	5569	.. .. .	..	98	779
March 1, ..	5821	.. .. .	..	103	821
.. 10, ..	5991	.. .. .	..	116	897
.. 28, ..	6104	.. .. .	..	120	952
April 1, ..	7460	.. .. .	..	158	1272
.. 15, ..	7241	.. .. .	IV.	8	61
.. 18, ..	7541	.. .. .	..	18	141
.. 24, ..	7674	MONITEUR, April 27.	..	26	203
May 24, ..	8241†	JOURNAL de la MONTAGNE.	..	34	585
June 1, ..	7084	.. .. .	..	—	—
July 8, ..	7502	.. .. .	..	—	—
.. 27, ..	7913	MONITEUR, Aug. 20.	..	—	—

† Including those in the Conciergerie.

Immense as these numbers are, we have the authority of an unexceptionable witness for the fact, that, during the last five months of the period, they were in reality at least 1000 greater every week than these returns exhibit.—*Déposition de LACROIX*; *Procès de FOUQUIER-TREVILLE*, No. XV.—One reason of this was, that from the date of the decree in June 1794, directing state prisoners from the departments in many cases to be forwarded to Paris, the prisoners in the Conciergerie, one of the largest jails in that city, to which these foreign detachments were

sent, were not included in the returns, and so several of them are imperfect.

How applicable to Paris at this period are the lines of Corneille:—

“Le séjour de votre potentat,
Qui n’a que ses fureurs pour maximes d’état,
Je n’appelle plus Rome—un enclos de murailles

Que ces proscriptions combient de funérailles;
Ces murs dont le destin fut autrefois si beau
N’en sont que la prison, ou plutôt le tombeau.”

—*Sertorius*, Act iii. scene 2.

men, horses, provisions, and ammunition. The principle founded on was, that the men and animals indispensable for the purposes of agriculture should alone be preserved, and that all the remainder might be seized for the purposes of the Republic. All the horses of draught and burden, not absolutely required by the cultivators or manufacturers, were seized for the state; all the arms of every description appropriated by the government commissioners; the great hotels of the emigrants confiscated to the use of the state, and converted into vast workshops for the manufacture of arms, clothing, or equipment for the armies, or magazines for the storing of subsistence for the use of the people. The principal manufactory of arms was established at Paris, and the whole workmen in iron and jewellery were pressed into its service. It soon became capable of sending forth a thousand muskets a-day. To such a length did the dictators carry their principle of managing everything of their own authority, that they compelled a return of the whole subsistence in every part of the country, and endeavoured to purchase it all, and distribute it either to the armies, or at a low price to the imperious citizens of the towns. This system of forced requisitions gave the government the command of a large proportion of the agricultural produce of the kingdom, and it was enforced with merciless severity. Not only grain, but horses, carriages, and conveyances of every sort, were forcibly taken from the cultivators; and as the payment they received was wholly in assignats, it in truth amounted to nothing. These exactions excited the most violent discontent, but no one ventured to give it vent: to have expressed dissatisfaction, would immediately have led to denunciation at the nearest revolutionary committee, and put the complainer in imminent hazard of his life. To complete the burden, the democratic power, incessant clamour, and destitute situation of the people in the great towns, rendered it indispensable to adopt some general measures for their relief; and the only method which was found effectual was to put

them on the same footing with the armies, and give the agents of government the right of making forced requisitions for their support.

62. The maintenance of such immense bodies of men as the idle revolutionists in the great cities composed, ere long came to be of itself equal to the whole administration of an ordinary government. A board was appointed of five directors, who soon had ten thousand persons in daily pay, incessantly occupied in enforcing these requisitions for their support. This corps of commissaries for Paris was of itself an army. No less than 636,000 persons daily received rations at the public offices, the entire amount being eighteen hundred and ninety-seven sacks of meal; and the attention of government was incessantly directed towards keeping the citizens in good humour by regularity in the distribution. The losses sustained by the agriculturists in providing for this daily consumption were enormous; the cost of producing their grain had augmented tenfold from the depreciation of paper, and yet they were only paid the former price by the requisitionists. The farmers were obliged to pay ten francs a-day to their labourers, instead of one franc, as in 1790, and everything else in the same proportion; yet they were compelled to part with their grain at the price fixed by the maximum, which was calculated on the scale of prices before the Revolution, to the imperious and needy multitudes in the towns. In other words, nine-tenths of the subsistence daily consumed in Paris was extorted *without payment* from the cultivators in the country, and the cries of the sufferers were stifled by the prospect of the guillotine—a striking instance of the grinding oppression exercised even over their own class by the sovereign people, when they once obtain the ascendancy, and the state of subjection to which, in the progress of revolutions, the inhabitants of the country invariably fall to the citizens of towns.

63. The necessity of feeding the multitude entailed other expenses of a more serious kind on the Convention, and occasioned a large part of their never-

ending financial embarrassments. Government bought grain from foreigners for twenty-one francs the quintal, and retailed it to the populace for fourteen; the cessation of agricultural labour in a great part of the country rendered it indispensable to carry on this ruinous commerce to a great extent, and the losses thence accruing to the state were stated by Cambon as enormous. The expense of feeding the inhabitants of Paris soon nearly equalled that of the maintenance of the fourteen armies. The Convention introduced the ruinous system of distributing every day, to every citizen of the capital, as the only means of keeping them quiet, a pound of bread, at the price of three sous in assignats—a burden which, from the fall in the value of paper, soon became almost as great as that of supporting them altogether. As provisions, in consequence of these prodigious efforts made in favour of the metropolis, were far cheaper there than in the surrounding districts, smuggling from the one to the other went on to a vast extent, and continual complaints were made of the great fortunes which the rich were making by exporting quantities of bread out of the metropolis. At the commencement of the Reign of Terror, the government adopted the plan of a forced loan from the opulent classes. This tax was imposed on an ascending scale, increasing according to the fortunes of the individuals; and out of an income of 50,000 francs, or £2000 a-year, they took, in 1792, 36,000 francs, or £1440. This immense burden was calculated as likely to produce at once a milliard of francs, or £40,000,000 sterling; and, as a security for this advance, the persons taxed received assignats, or were inscribed as public creditors on the *grand livre* of the French funds—a security, in either case, depending entirely on the success of the Revolution, and which proved in the end almost elusory.

64. The public creditors of every description continued to be paid in assignats at par, notwithstanding their having fallen to a tenth of their nominal value; in other words, they received only a tenth part of what was really due

to them. To perpetuate still further the dependence of the monied classes on the fortunes of the Revolution, the plan was projected by Cambon, and adopted by the Convention, of compelling all holders of stock to surrender to government their titles to it, and, in lieu of every other written right, they were merely inscribed on the *grand livre* of the French debt; and an extract of that inscription constituted thereafter the sole title of the proprietor. Most severe laws were enacted to compel the surrender of the older titles to the stock, which were immediately burned; and if a year elapsed without this being done, the capital was forfeited. All the capital sums owing by the state were converted into perpetual annuities, at the rate of five per cent; so that a stock of 1000 francs was inscribed on the book for a perpetual annuity of fifty francs, and government was for ever relieved of the burden of discharging the principal sums. "In this manner," said Cambon, "the debt contracted by despotism becomes undistinguishable from that contracted since the Revolution; and I defy despotic power, should it ever revive, to distinguish its ancient creditors from those of the new régime. As soon as this operation is completed, you will see the capitalist who now desires the restoration of a king, because he has a king for a debtor, and who fears that he will lose his fortune if he is not re-established, desire equally vehemently the preservation of the Republic, when his private interests are irrecoverably wound up in its preservation." The whole creditors, both royal and republican, were paid only in assignats, which progressively fell to a fifth, a tenth, a hundredth, and at last, in 1797, to a two hundred and fiftieth part of their nominal value; so that in the space of a few years the payment was entirely elusory, and a national bankruptcy had in fact existed many years before it was formally declared by the Directory.

65. All the measures of government, however, how vigorous and despotic soever, proved inadequate to sustain the falling value of the assignats, or keep down the money price of provisions, or

articles of daily consumption, which necessarily rose with such prodigious additions to the circulating medium. To effect the object, they had recourse to new and still more oppressive regulations. To destroy the competition of rival companies, which prevented the direction of capital towards the purchase of the national domains, they abolished, by decree, all life insurance societies, and all companies of every description of which the shares were transferable from hand to hand; they declared traitors to their country all those who placed their funds in any investments in countries with which the Republic was at war; and condemned to twenty years in irons every person convicted of refusing to receive payment of any debt in assignats, or being concerned in any transaction in which they were received at less than their nominal value. Any person found guilty of buying or selling assignats was to be punished with death, by a decree of 6th September. They ordered that the bells of the churches should everywhere be melted down into sou pieces, to answer the immediate wants of the peasantry; and passed a second decree, which ranked forestalling with capital crimes. By this last law, it was declared that every one was to be considered as a forestaller, who withdrew from circulation merchandise of primary necessity, without immediately exposing it to public sale. The articles which had been previously declared to be of primary necessity, were bread, wine, butcher-meat, grain, oats, vegetables, fruits, coal, wood, butter, cheese, linen, cotton stuffs, and dress of every description, except silks. For all these articles a tariff of prices was fixed, far below what they could be purchased for or produced by the retail dealers, manufacturers, or farmers. To carry into execution this iniquitous decree, the most inquisitorial powers were conferred on the commissaries named by the commune. Every merchant was obliged, at their summons, to give a statement of the goods contained in his warehouses; these declarations were liable to be checked at any hour by do-

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miciliary visits; and any fraud or concealment was declared punishable with death. Commissioners appointed by the communes were authorised to fix the price at which all these articles were to be sold; and if the necessary cost of the manufacture was such as to render the price beyond the reach of the people, they were still to be exposed to sale, at such a reduced price as might bring them within their means—an atrocious edict, pressing with unparalleled severity upon the industrious classes, merely to gratify the needy and clamorous multitude in towns, on whom the government depended, and which, if it had subsisted long in force, would have destroyed all the industry of France, and handed over the people to the unmitigated horrors of actual famine.

66. These extravagant measures had not been many months in operation, before they produced the most disastrous effects. A great proportion of the shops in Paris and all the principal towns were shut; business of every sort was at a stand; the laws of the maximum, and against forestallers, had spread terror and distrust as much among the middle classes, who had commenced the Revolution, as the guillotine had among the nobles and priests, who had been its earliest victims. The retail dealers, who had purchased the articles in which they dealt from wholesale merchants before the law of the maximum, at a price higher than that allowed by the new tariff, were compelled, by the terror of death, to sell at a loss to themselves, and saw their fortunes gradually melting away in their daily transactions. Even those who had laid in their stock after the imposition of the maximum were in no better situation, for that regulation had only fixed their price when retailed to the public; but as it had not fixed the price at which the previous manufacture was to be accomplished, nor the needful expense of transport and storing it in their warehouses effected, and as their operations were necessarily paid in proportion to the depreciated value of the currency, the subsequent sale at the

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prices fixed by the maximum entailed ruinous losses on the tradesmen. The consequence was, that the greater part of the shops were everywhere closed, and those who continued to do business did so only by fraud; the worst articles alone were exposed to public sale at the legal price, and the best reserved for those who were willing in secret to pay their real value. A sepulchral silence reigned in the once gay and joyous capital. In many streets hardly a shop was open; not a light was to be seen in the windows at night; and the doors were all barricaded, to give the inhabitants the means of escape by the back windows, if the commissaries of the Convention came to their abodes.*

67. The people, who perceived these frauds, and witnessed the closing of so great a number of shops, were transported with fury, and besieged the Convention with the most violent petitions, insisting that the dealers should be compelled to reopen their shops, and continue to sell as usual, in spite of any loss they might sustain. They denounced the butchers, who were accused of selling unwholesome meat; the bakers, who furnished coarse bread for the poor, and fine for the rich; the wine-merchants, who diluted their liquors by the most noxious drugs; the salt-merchants, the grocers, the confectioners, who conspired together to adulterate the articles in which they dealt in a thousand different ways. Chaumette, the procureur-général, supported their demands in a violent speech. "We sympathise," said he, "with the evils of the people, because we are the people ourselves; the whole council is composed of Sans-culottes; it is the sovereign multitude. We care not though our heads fall, provided posterity will deign to collect our skulls. It is not the Gospel which I invoke—it is Plato. He that strikes with the sword should

* "Instead of the bustle of active life, and the striking splendour which formerly distinguished Paris, a funeral silence reigns in all quarters of the town; all the shops are already shut, every man hastens to barricade himself in his own house; every breathing thing seemed shadowed by the emblems of the tomb."—*Forty-eight hours at Paris in the month of September 1793*; *Deux Amis*, xii. 146, 147.

be struck with the sword; he that strikes with poison should be struck with poison; he that famishes the people should die of famine. If subsistence and articles of merchandise are wanting, from whom shall the people seize them? From the Convention? No. From the constituted authorities? No. They will take them from the shopkeepers and merchants. It is arms, and not gold, which are wanted to set in motion our manufactories; the world must know that the giant people can crush all its mercantile speculations. Rousseau has said, *when the people have nothing else to eat, they will eat the rich.*"

68. Intimidated by such formidable petitioners, the Convention and the municipality adopted still more rigorous measures. Hitherto they had only fixed the price of articles of necessity in a manufactured state, now they resolved to fix the price of the raw material; and the idea was even entertained of seizing the material and the workmen alike for the service of the state, and converting all France into one vast manufactory in the employment of government. The communes declared that every merchant who had been engaged in business for above a year, who either abandoned or diminished it, should be sent to prison as a suspected person; the prices which the merchant could exact from the retailer, and the retailer from the customer, were minutely fixed; the revolutionary committees were alone permitted to issue tickets, authorising purchases of any sort; only one species of bread, of coarse quality, was allowed to be baked; and to prevent the scandalous scenes which daily occurred at the bakers' shops, where a number of the poor passed a part of the night with the cord in their hands, it was enacted† that the distribu-

† "I demand that, in order to put a stop to the mobs at the doors of the bakers, to save mothers of families from the severe inconvenience they have so long endured, in having to seek their bread as early as four in the morning—the municipality of Paris cause a table to be drawn up, with twelve columns for each month of the year, at the bottom of which there shall be a certificate for the quantity to which each applicant is entitled."—*Paroles de GOUROULT*; *Débats des Jacobins*, Oct. 30, 1793.

tion should commence with the last arrived—a regulation which only changed the direction of the tumult. These regulations were speedily adopted from the municipality of Paris over all France. Soon after, the Convention adopted the still more hazardous step of fixing the prime cost of all articles of rude produce. The price was fixed on the basis of the prices of 1790, augmented by certain fixed rates for the profit of the different hands through which they passed, before reaching the consumer. To carry into execution the numerous regulations on this subject, a commission of subsistence and provisioning was appointed, with absolute powers, extending over all France: it was charged with the execution of the tariffs, with the superintendence of the conduct of the municipalities in that particular; with continually receiving statements of the quantity of subsistence in the country, and the places where it existed; with transporting it from one quarter to another, and providing for the subsistence of the armies, and the furnishing them with the means of transport.

69. Speculation of every sort—even the gambling of the Bourse—was towards the close of the Reign of Terror almost at an end. The bankers and merchants, accused on all sides of elevating prices, and seeing some of their number daily led out to the scaffold, deserted the Exchange, and sought for an asylum in the solitude of their homes. Industry and activity entirely ceased: every one, intent only on self-preservation, and fearful of endangering life if he was thought to be making money, remained in sullen inactivity, either enduring or affecting poverty. The aspect of France was that of universal destitution. One would have thought that the whole wealth, which centuries of industry had accumulated, had suddenly been swallowed up. The Company of the Indies, the last existing mercantile establishment, was abolished; government resolved to leave no investment for capital but the purchase of the national domains.

70. Nor was it only on the opulent classes that the revolutionary enact-

ments pressed with severity; they were equally oppressive to the poorest. Never, in truth, had the labouring poor been subjected to so many and such vexatious restraints, or obedience to them enforced by such numerous and sanguinary punishments. No one ventured to indulge in any luxury, or allow himself any gratification. Metallic currency had almost disappeared, and the poor received their wages merely in paper assignats, with which they were unable to purchase even the necessities of life, from the enormous extent of their depreciation. Liable to the guillotine if they either sold above the maximum, or refused to take the assignats at their legal and forced value—ten times their intrinsic worth—the dealers had no resource but to close their shops, and become mendicants like their customers, at the offices where provisions were distributed. If they were shopkeepers, they were compelled to sell at a fictitious price; if they were purchasers, they were under the necessity of buying the most wretched articles, because the best were withdrawn by the effect of the forced sales enjoined by government. Only one kind of bread, of the blackest and coarsest kind, was to be had, and that could be obtained in no other way but by receiving tickets from the revolutionary committees, and waiting half the night, or for hours during the day, at the doors of the bakers, with a rope in the hand. The names of the weights and measures, of the days and months, were changed; the labouring poor had only three Sundays in the month instead of four; the consolations of religion, the worship of the Deity, were at an end.

71. All the efforts of the Committee of Public Salvation, after some time, became insufficient to procure an adequate supply of subsistence. Commerce escaped the ruinous law of the maximum, and it escaped it in the most disastrous of all ways—by a total cessation. Want of the severest kind was experienced in every branch of human consumption; the ordinary supplies of butcher-meat failed, and as it could still be publicly sold only at the maximum, the butchers exposed only the most un-

wholesome kind of food, and reserved the better sort for clandestine sale.* The evil soon extended to other articles; vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, and fish, disappeared from the markets. Bands of persons travelled far on the high-roads, and met them as they were approaching Paris, where they were clandestinely purchased at prices far above the maximum, for the use of the opulent classes. The people were animated with the most violent indignation at these practices, and, to put a stop to them, the Commune enacted that no butchers should be permitted to go out to meet the cattle on their way to the markets; that no meat should be bought or sold but at the established stalls; and that no crowd should be allowed to collect round the bakers' doors before six in the morning, instead of three, the time when they usually began to assemble. These regulations, like all the others, failed of effect; the crowds were just as great and as clamorous round the bakers' shops as before: violent tumults constantly arose among those who had got possession of the ropes at their doors; and, as a last resource, the government was preparing to lay out the gardens of the Tuileries, of the Luxembourg, and of all the opulent persons round Paris, in the cultivation of garden stuffs.

72. At length the evils arising from the maximum became so excessive, that the inhabitants of Paris were obliged to be put on a limited allowance of animal food. The Commission for Provisions fixed the daily consumption at 75 oxen, 150 quintals of mutton and veal, and 200 hogs. All the animals intended for the consumption of the metropolis were brought to a public market-place, where alone meat was allowed to be sold; and the butchers were only allowed to deliver every five

days half a pound of meat to each family for each head. The same *cartes de sûreté* were issued by the revolutionary committees for this scanty aid, as for the rations of bread. Shortly after, the supply of wood and charcoal was found to fail, and laws were passed, preventing any one from having in store more than a very limited quantity of these necessary articles. Lastly, the Convention, in February 1794, proclaimed a *general fast* for six weeks so far as butcher-meat was concerned. "Decree the fast I propose," said Barrère, "or it will come in spite of you. We shall soon have neither meat nor candles. The oxen which are killed just now, have not enough of suet in them to make candles for their own slaughtering."†

73. The preceding details, all purposely taken from official documents and decrees of the Republican writers of France, and especially from their avowed and able leader and historian, M. Thiers, demonstrate that the picture drawn by a contemporary writer was not overcharged; and that the genius of Mr Burke had justly discerned, amid the transports of democracy, the galling bondage it was inflicting on mankind. "The state of France," says he, "is perfectly simple. It consists of but two descriptions—the oppressors and the oppressed. The first have the whole authority of the state in their hands; all the arms, all the revenues of the public, all the confiscations of individuals and corporations. They have taken the lower sort from their occupations, and have put them into pay, that they may form them into a body of janissaries to overrule and awe property. The heads of these wretches they have never suffered to cool. They supply them with a food for fury varied by the day, besides the sensual state of intoxication from which they are rarely free. They have made the priests and people formally abjure the Divinity; they have estranged them from every civil, moral, and social, or even natural and instinctive sentiment, habit, and practice, and have rendered them sys-

* "But you, *unfeeling men, called butchers*, you make yourselves the instruments of the anti-revolutionists. The poor man who comes to you rejected, insulted, can only get the refuse of the meat; while the rich man, who laughs at the sufferings of others, is received with fawning politeness, is favoured with the best cuts and most delicate morsels, because he pays."—*Proclamation du Comité de Surveillance de Paris*, March 5, 1794; *Hist. Parl.* xxxii. 4, 5.

† The cattle in Paris, by a regulation of the police, are all slaughtered at four A.M.

tematically savages, to make it impossible for them to be the instruments of any sober and virtuous arrangement, or to be reconciled to any state of order, under any name whatsoever. The other description—the oppressed—are people of some property: they are the small relics of the persecuted landed interest; they are the burghers and the farmers. By the very circumstance of their being of some property, though numerous in some points of view, they cannot be very considerable as a number. In cities, the nature of their occupations renders them domestic and feeble; in the country, it confines them to their farm for subsistence. The national guards are all changed and reformed. Everything suspicious in the description of which they were composed is rigorously disarmed. Committees, called of vigilance and safety, are everywhere formed—a most severe and scrutinising inquisition, far more rigid than anything ever known or imagined. Two persons cannot meet and confer without hazard to their liberty, and even to their lives. Numbers scarcely credible have been executed, and their property confiscated. At Paris, and in most other towns, the bread they buy is a daily dole, which they cannot obtain without a daily ticket delivered to them by their masters. Multitudes of all ages and sexes are actually imprisoned. I have reason to believe, that in France there are not, for various state crimes, so few as twenty thousand actually in jail—a large proportion of people of property in any state.* If a father of a family should show any disposition to resist, or to withdraw himself from their power, his wife and children are cruelly to answer for it. It is by means of these hostages that they keep the troops, which they force by masses (as they call it) into the field, true to their colours. Another of their resources is not to be forgotten. They have lately found a way of giving a sort of ubi-

* How much was this within the truth! When Mr Burke said this, in spring 1794, the prisoners in France exceeded 200,000. Even his ardent imagination fell immeasurably short of the real atrocities of the Reign of Terror.

quity to the supreme sovereign authority, which no monarch has been able yet to give to any representative of his. The commissioners of the National Convention, who are the members of the Convention itself, and really exercise all its powers, make continual circuits through every province, and visits to every army. There they supersede all the ordinary authorities, civil and military, and change and alter everything at their pleasure. So that, in effect, no deliberative capacity exists in any portion of the inhabitants.”†

74. In the midst of all these extraordinary and unprecedented changes in society, however, the moral laws of nature were unceasingly working, and preparing, amid the present triumph of wickedness, its final and condign punishment. Divisions, as usual, had sprung up in the victorious body on the destruction of their opponents. Two parties remained opposed, on different principles, to the Decemvirs, whose destruction was indispensable to the full establishment of their despotic authority. These parties were the Moderates and the Anarchists. At the head of the former were Danton and Camille Desmoulins; the latter was supported by the powerful municipality of Paris. It has been already observed, that Danton and his party were strangers to the real objects of the revolt on 31st May. They aided the populace in the struggle with the Convention; but they had no intention of establishing the oligarchy which directed, and finally triumphed by their exertions. After the overthrow of the Girondists, Robespierre urged Danton to retire to the country. “A tempest is arising,” said he; “the Jacobins have not forgot your relations with Dumourier. They hate your manners; your voluptuous and indolent habits are at variance with their austere disposition and undying energy. Withdraw for a little; trust to a friend, who will watch over your danger, and warn you of the first moment to return.” Danton followed his advice, nothing loth to get quit of a faction of which he began to dread the

† Burke on the Policy of the Allies.

excesses; and his party was entirely excluded from the Dictatorial Government.

75. The leaders of the Moderates were Danton, Phillippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Westermann, the tried commander on 10th August. Their principles were, that terror was to be used only for the establishment of freedom, not made an instrument of oppression in the hands of those who had gained it; they wished above all things that the Republicans should remain masters of the field of battle, but, having done so, they proposed to use their victory with moderation. In pursuance of these principles, they reprobated the violent proceedings of the Dictators, after the victory of 31st May had insured the triumph of the populace; desired to humble the Anarchists of the municipality, to put an end to the Revolutionary Tribunal, discharge from confinement those imprisoned as suspected persons, and dissolve the despotic committees of government. They had been all-powerful with the multitude, as long as they urged on their excesses; but their influence had sensibly declined since they had withdrawn from an active part in public life, and were no longer to be seen, at the Jacobins or the Cordeliers, hounding on the people to deeds of violence or murder. The blasting reputation of *moderation* had not only already undermined their power, but threatened to bring them to the scaffold.

76. The other party, that of the municipality, carried their ambition and extravagance even beyond the Decemvirs. Instead of government, they professed a desire to establish an extreme local democracy; instead of religion, the consecration of materialism. As usual in democratic contests, they pushed their revolutionary principles beyond the dominant faction, and strove thus to supplant them in the affections of the populace. They had witnessed, with extreme dissatisfaction, the committees usurp all the powers of government after the revolt of 31st May, and thus reap for themselves all the fruits of the victory which the

forces of their opponents had mainly contributed to achieve. They had flattered themselves that their weight, as the head of the powerful municipality of Paris, having the whole armed force of the capital at their command, would have been sufficient to have established them in all the offices of government; but they had been outwitted by Robespierre and the Committee of Public Salvation, who, equal to themselves in democratic energy and popular arts, were far their superiors in talent, and had the great advantage of being in possession of a preponderating influence in the Convention. Hence they strove to supplant them in the favour of the people by still louder professions of popular zeal, and the open avowal of irreligious opinions. Hence the orgies of the Goddess of Reason, and other indecent mummeries, with which they captivated the populace of Paris, but, in the eyes of its abler and less selfish leaders, disgraced the Revolution. In cruelty, obscenity, and atheism, they exceeded the Dictatorial Government; but these were only means to an end. In the passion for tyrannical power they yielded to none, provided only it was wielded by themselves.

77. These two parties, as usual in civil dissensions, mutually reproached each other with the public calamities. The Anarchists incessantly charged the Moderates with corruption, and being the secret agents of foreign courts. The treason of Dumourier, who had been on terms of intimacy with Danton, was also made the subject of impassioned invective. "It is you," replied the Dantonists, "who are the real accomplices of the stranger; everything draws you towards them, both the common violence of your language, and the joint design to overturn the whole institutions of France. Behold the magistracy, which arrogates to itself more than legislative authority; which regulates everything — police, subsistence, worship; which has substituted a new religion for the old one; replaced one superstition by another still more absurd; which openly preaches atheism, and causes itself to be imi-

tated by all the municipalities in France. Consider those war-offices, from whence so many extortioners issue, who carry desolation into the provinces, and discredit the Revolution by their conduct. Observe the municipality and the committees—what do they propose to themselves, if it is not to usurp the executive and legislative authority, to dispossess the Convention, and dissolve the government? Who could suggest such a design but the external enemies of France!”

78. Camille Desmoulins, in his celebrated publication, entitled “*Le Vieux Cordelier*,” drew, under a professed description of Rome under the Emperors, a striking picture of the horrors of that gloomy period. “Everything,” said he, “under that terrible government, was made the groundwork of suspicion. Has a citizen popularity? He is a rival of the dictator, who might create disturbances. Does he avoid society, and live retired by his fireside? That is to ruminate in private on sinister designs. Is he rich? That renders the danger the greater, that he will corrupt the citizens by his largesses. Is he poor? None so dangerous as those who have nothing to lose. Is he thoughtful and melancholy? He is revolving what he calls the calamities of his country. Is he gay and dissipated? He is concealing, like Cæsar, ambition under the mask of pleasure. Is he virtuous and austere? He has constituted himself the censor of the government. Is he a philosopher, an orator, and a poet? He will soon acquire more consideration than the rulers of the state. Has he acquired reputation in war? His talents only render him the more formidable, and make it indispensable to get quit of his authority. The natural death of a celebrated man is become so rare, that historians transmit it as a matter worthy of record to future ages. Even the loss of so many great and good citizens seems a less calamity than the insolence and scandalous fortune of their denouncers. Every day the accuser makes his triumphal entry into the palace of death, and reaps the rich harvest which is presented to his hands. The tribunals, once the protectors of

life and property, have become organs of butchery, where robbery and murder have usurped the names of confiscation and punishment.” Such is the picture drawn of the result of popular government by the man who was called the first apostle of liberty! And how striking the coincidence, that in drawing with the pencil of Tacitus a picture of Roman servitude under Nero and Caligula, he was exhibiting a portrait, which none could fail to recognise, of France, under the government which his own democratic transports had contributed to impose upon its inhabitants.

79. Danton and his friends made the greatest efforts to detach Robespierre from the sanguinary faction with which he had so long acted, and at first with some appearance of success. The Convention, under his direction, had passed several decrees for the succour of the destitute, and for the establishment of a general system of public instruction, though the general confusion and corruption of inferior functionaries had prevented their being carried into execution. He had taken some steps towards a moderate government; in the Convention he had publicly stopped the trial of the seventy-three deputies, who were detained in prison in consequence of having protested against the arrest of the Girondists. He had reprobated the ultra-revolutionary measures of Hébert and the municipality, and strongly condemned the anti-religious mummeries which had been acted in the Convention and Notre Dame. He had not only read, but corrected, the proof-sheets of the “*Vieux Cordelier*,” where he was adjoined in the most touching language to embrace the sentiments of humanity.* The *Journal de*

* “O my dear Robespierre! it is to you that I now address myself: for I have seen the day when Pitt had none but you to overcome, when without you the good ship *Argo* would have foundered, the Republic plunged into chaos, and the societies of the *Jacobins* and the *Mountain* become a perfect *Tower of Babel*. Robespierre, you whose eloquent harangues posterity will study, bear in mind the lessons of history and philosophy, that love is stronger and more durable than fear; that admiration and religion attract benefits; that acts of clemency are the ladder by which

20

Seedlings.

* As this is the extreme point of the extravagance of the Revolution, and the one when a reaction began from the effect of its own principles, the following extracts from the leading journals of the Anarchists, and of Robespierre, at the time, are well deserving of attention:—

In the *Journal de la Montagne*, Number 158, it was answered, evidently by the hand

81. In accordance with the sanguinary spirit of the times, Robespierre resolved to begin the necessary reforms by the extermination of the Anarchists. The first indication of this determination appeared in his speech at the Jacobin Club on the 21st of November. "Let men," said he, "animated by a pure zeal, lay upon the altar of their country the useless and pompous monuments of superstition; but by what title does hypocrisy come here to mingle its

of Robespierre, though the article bears the signature of Charles Leveneur: "The author asserts pretty clearly that the belief in the existence of a God is useful to a monarchy, and that Atheism better suits a Republic. This assertion is absolutely false, and contradicted by all history. Two things are pernicious and fatal to the human race—two things tend equally to the destruction of human society—atheism and superstition: but the idea of the existence of a Supreme Being has in all time been the basis of every civil, political, and domestic virtue. The founders of the Roman republic had the greatest veneration for a Supreme Intelligence; and the sublime and inviolable devotion of the Romans to their oaths, was one of the means which most powerfully contributed to the formation of that masculine, firm, and dauntless character, in which originated the mighty deeds which will ever form the subjects of our admiration. But the Senate of Rome was atheist, when it had the baseness to sell the perpetual Dictatorship to Cæsar; it was atheist when it knelt slavishly to Augustus, the extinguisher of liberty; and it is under the reign of atheism that the human race has been ruled by a Tiberius, and Nero a Caligula, who banished every spark of liberty from the earth. The idea of a Supreme Intelligence, which directs, and which is in itself the essence of the order which reigns in the universe, ought to be the basis of all civilised teaching, of every human society, of all public instruction."—*Journal de la Montagne*, 9th November 1798, No. 158.

nence with that of patriotism! What right have men, hitherto unknown in the career of the Revolution, come into the midst of you, to seek passing events a false popularity, to rally on the patriots to fatal measures, and to throw among them the seeds of trouble and discord? By what title do they disturb the existing worship in the name of Liberty, and attack fanaticism by a band of another kind of fanatics? One would suppose, from the manner in which these men agree, that the Convention had proscribed the Catholic faith. It has done no such thing; it has, on the contrary, by a solemn decree, established the liberty of worship. It will alike proscribe the ministers of religion who disturb, and protect those who respect, the public peace. It is the Royalist, not the Catholic priesthood whom it has with justice persecuted. We have heard of priests being denounced for having said the mass: they will only say it the longer for being disturbed. He who would prevent them is more fanatical than he who celebrates the ceremony. There are men who would go farther—who, under the pretence of destroying superstition, would establish atheism itself. Every philosopher, every individual, is at liberty to adopt whatever opinion he pleases: whoever imputes it to him as a crime is a fool; but the legislature would be a thousand times more blamable which should act on such a system. The Convention abhors all such attempts. It is no maker of metaphysical theories, but a popular body charged with causing, not only the rights, but the character of the French people to be respected. It is not in vain that it has proclaimed the rights of man and the liberty of conscience. Atheism is an aristocratic belief. The idea of a Supreme being, who watches over oppressed innocence, and punishes triumphant crime, is, and ever will be, popular. The people, the unfortunate, will ever applaud it; it will never find detractors but among the rich and the guilty. I have been since my youth but an indifferent Catholic; but I have neither been a cold friend nor a lukewarm defender of humanity.

I am even more strongly attached to moral and political truth than I have hitherto divulged. *If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent Him.**

82. But while thus preparing the way for the destruction of the Anarchists, Robespierre saw that it was necessary to make a sacrifice to the revolutionary party, in order to avoid the blasting imputation of moderation, and keep up his reputation for unflinching resolution and incorruptible integrity. For this purpose he resolved, at the same time that he should cut off Hébert, Chaumette, and the Anarchists, to strike with equal severity against Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and the Moderate party. By so doing, he would keep up the appearance of even-handed justice, establish the supremacy of the Committee of Public Salvation over all the factions in the state, and remove the only rival that stood between him and sole dominion.† But, though determined to destroy both, Robespierre was careful to avoid striking them at the same time. He had need of the one to aid him in effecting the ruin of the other. He even went so far as, at a political dinner at Duplay, where he met Hébert, to insinuate to him that a triumvirate, composed of Danton, Hébert, and himself, could alone save the Republic. Hébert rejected the proposal, however—saying that he could play only the part of the Aristophanes of the people. Hébert's wife, when they had gone, expressed her fears that such a proposal made and rejected would give mortal offence. "Reassure yourself," said Hébert, "I fear neither Danton nor Robespierre; let them come

* "Si Dieu n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer."—Voltaire was the original author of this striking expression.

† "Envieux l'un de l'autre, ils mènent tout par brigues, Que leur ambition tourne en sanglantes ligue."

Ainsi de Marius Sylla devient jaloux,
César de mon aïeul, Marc Antoine de vous;
Ainsi la liberté ne peut plus être utile
Qu'à former les fureurs d'une guerre civile,
Lorsque par un désordre à l'univers fatal
L'un ne veut point de maître, et l'autre
point d'égal."

Cinna, Act. II. scene I.

and seek me in the midst of the municipality, if they dare." At this moment the destruction of both Danton and himself was resolved on. But while these ambitious or envious motives were not without their influence in suggesting this bold and exterminating policy, yet were Robespierre and St Just, in adopting it, not without the impulse of public and elevated motives. They believed in good faith, and not without some show of reason, that the parties in the state, of which those leaders were the representatives, were alike dangerous to republican institutions; the one by urging them on to anarchy, the other by paving the way for a return to monarchy. Stern advance, unrelenting severity, entire destruction of all classes above the people in rank, wealth, or knowledge, appeared to these ruthless fanatics the only real preparation for republican equality and virtue. But they were equally inexorable against the atheism which would corrupt, the vices which would degrade it. In their mistaken views of human nature they believed that, when the leaders of both were guillotined, nothing would remain to prevent the general establishment of republican principles, simplicity, virtue, and happiness.*

83. Though ignorant that his destruction had been resolved on by the all-powerful Committee of Public Salvation, Danton was aware that for some months his popularity had been waning; and he returned to Paris, and loudly demanded at the Jacobins that the grounds of complaint should be exhibited against him. "I have heard," said he, "of rumours of accusations directed against me. I demand an opportunity of justifying myself in the eyes of the people. It will not be a difficult task. I call upon those who have been murmuring against me to specify their charges, for I will answer them in public. I perceived, when I ascended the tribune, a murmur of dissatisfaction

* In Robespierre's speeches, and those of St Just, in November and December 1793, at the Jacobins and in the Convention, the clearest proof of their being actuated by these principles is to be found.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xxx. 209-468.

prevail. Have I then lost the characteristics of a free man? Am I not the same as I was at your side in the days of alarm? Have you not all frequently embraced me as a friend who was ready to die with you? For your sake have I not been overwhelmed by persecutions? I have been one of the most intrepid supporters of Marat; I invoke the shade of the Friend of the people to bear witness in my behalf. You would be astonished if you knew my private affairs; and the colossal fortune which my enemies and yours ascribe to me, is found to be reduced to the slender patrimony I have always possessed. I defy my detractors to prove against me any crime. All their efforts will be unable to shake me: I remain erect before the people. You will judge me in their presence. I cannot tear a page from my history, without tearing a page from theirs; and that too from the most glorious period of the annals of liberty."

84. Robespierre instantly ascended the tribune. "Danton," said he, "demands a commission to examine into his conduct: I consent to it, if he thinks it can be of any service to him. He demands a statement of the grounds of complaint against him: I agree to it. Danton, you are accused of being an emigrant; of having retired to Switzerland; of having feigned illness to conceal your flight; of being desirous to become Regent under Louis XVII.; of having made arrangements at a fixed time to proclaim that remnant of the Capets; of being the chief of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy; of being a worse enemy to France than either Pitt or Cobourg, England, Austria, or Prussia; of having filled the Mountain with your creatures. It is said that we need not disquiet ourselves about the inferior agents of foreign powers; that their conspiracies merit only contempt; but you, you alone, should be led out to the scaffold!" Loud applause followed this bold declaration; when they had subsided, he continued, turning to his astonished rival—"Do you not know, Danton, that the more a man is gifted with energy and public spirit, the more the public enemies conspire for his

overthrow! Do you not know, does not every one who hears me know, that that is an infallible test of real virtue? If the defender of liberty was not calumniated, it would be a proof that we had no longer either generals, or priests, or nobles to fear." He then demanded that all those who had anything to allege against Danton should come forward; but none, after such a declaration, ventured to say a word. Upon that, amidst the applause of the meeting, Danton received the fraternal embrace from the president. By this hypocritical conduct, Robespierre both ascertained the extent of the public feeling against his great rival, and threw him off his guard by feigned expressions of regard.

85. On the very next day, a new decree, augmenting the despotic powers of the Committee of Public Salvation, was passed. "Anarchy," said Billaud Varennes, in the preamble of the report on which the decree was founded, "menaces every republic, alike in its cradle and its old age. Our part is to strive against it." On this preamble, the decree enacted that a bulletin of the laws should be drawn up; that four individuals should have the exclusive right of framing it; that it should be printed on a particular paper and type, and sent down to the provinces by post. The Convention was at the same time declared the "Centre of Impulsion of Government," a dubious phrase, under which was veiled the despotic authority of the committees. The authority of the departmental assemblies was abolished for everything except matters of local administration; and they were forbidden, under pain of death, to correspond on any political matter with each other, raise forces or taxes of their own authority, or correspond with or receive instructions from any body but the committees at Paris. Thus the liberties of the provinces were rapidly perishing under the despotic sway of the Committee of Public Salvation. All the powers of government, which by former decrees were vested in different bodies, were by this decree centred in that terrible committee. It alone was directed to conduct the foreign diplo-

macy, to appoint generals, admirals, and ambassadors, and the whole constituted authorities were ordered to correspond with it, and receive their instructions from it alone. Supported by the Jacobin Club, of which Robespierre had now got the entire direction, and by all the affiliated clubs over France, this despotic power was now established on a solid basis: for it rested on the ardent democrats, who at once directed the magistracies and influenced the armies. The government was powerful, for the time irresistible; for the executive was in harmony both with the legislature and the whole depositaries of local popular power. A despotism had grown up out of the very excess of liberty. France was already beginning to enter the bloody path which leads from democratic anarchy to regular government.

86. Meanwhile, the strife of the Dantonists and Anarchists became daily more conspicuous, and the sanguinary disposition of the latter seemed, if possible, to increase in violence. One of their number, Ronsin, had affixed over the walls of Paris a placard, in which he declared, that out of a hundred and forty thousand souls in Lyons, fifteen hundred only were not accomplices of the revolt in that city, and that before February all the guilty should perish, and their bodies be floated by the Rhone to Toulon. Chaumette loudly maintained that the gangrened part of the Convention should be lopped off, and sent numerous petitioners with demands to that effect to the Assembly. Camille Desmoulins vigorously attacked this atrocious faction, and in an especial manner fastened on the infamous Hébert, whom he accused of being "a miserable intriguer, a caterer for the guillotine, a traitor paid by Pitt; a wretch who had received 200,000 francs at different times, from almost all the factions in the Republic, to calumniate their adversaries; a thief and robber, who had been expelled from being a lackey in the theatre for theft, and now aimed at drenching France with blood by means of his prostituted journal." Such was the man, on the testimony of the Revolutionists themselves, on whose

evidence Marie Antoinette had been condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal. "It is vain," he added, "to think of stifling my voice by threats of arrest. We all know that the Anarchists are preparing a new revolt, like the 31st May; but we may say with Brutus and Cicero, 'We too much fear exile, poverty, and death.' When our soldiers are daily braving death in sight of the enemy's batteries in the cause of freedom, shall we, their unworthy leaders, be intimidated by the menaces of the Père Duchesne, or prevented by him from achieving a still greater victory over the ultra-Revolutionists, who would ruin the Revolution, by staining every step it makes with gore?"

87. While the parties were in this state of exasperation at each other, the Committee of Public Salvation boldly interposed between them, and resolved to make their discord the means of destroying both. Profiting with political dexterity by this singular situation of the parties, Robespierre and the members of the municipality came to an understanding, the condition of which was the mutual abandonment of their personal friends. Robespierre gave up Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their supporters, to the vengeance of the municipality; and they surrendered Hébert, Chaumette, Ronsin, Clootz, and their party, to the Decemvirs. By this arrangement more than one important object was gained—two formidable factions were destroyed, and a rival to the reputation of the dictator was removed. It seemed impossible to accuse the government of tending towards anarchy, when it had destroyed the atheistical faction in the municipality; and equally hopeless to charge it with moderation, when it had struck down, for leaning towards a return to humanity, the authors of the massacres of September. In this way they proposed to tread the narrow and perilous path between two equally powerful parties, and realise their favourite expression of making terror and virtue the order of the day. But Hébert and the Anarchists were still powerful, and the Committee of Public Salvation had need of support to effect their overthrow. With this

view, they allowed Danton and Camille Desmoulins to imagine they were approximating to their principles, to gain their support in the destruction of the Anarchists, having previously resolved to follow it up by the ruin of themselves. This perfidious policy proved entirely successful, and this it was which afterwards drew from Danton the bitter exclamation—"To die is nothing; but to die the dupe of Robespierre!"

88. The Committee of Public Salvation proceeded with caution in acting against so powerful a faction as the Anarchists, headed by so weighty a body as the municipality of Paris. They began their operations by a purification, as it was called, of the Jacobin Club, which went on for several days in the middle of December. In the course of these discussions, Robespierre denounced Hébert in the most violent terms. He was at first expelled, and subsequently only re-admitted on his declaring that "the Gospel appeared to be a book of excellent morality; that all true Jacobins should follow its precepts; and that Jesus Christ was the founder of all popular societies." But Robespierre succeeded in excluding Anacharsis Clootz, a Prussian, who had acquired notoriety by styling himself "the orator of the human race." He did so by the never-failing device of representing him as the secret agent of the Allies.* At the same time that the leaders of the Anarchist faction were in this manner excluded by the all-powerful influence of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Salvation, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Panis, Colombel,

* "You have seen Clootz," said Robespierre, "sometimes at the feet of a tyrant and a court, sometimes at the feet of the people. When a faction fatal to liberty ruled among you, Clootz took the part of Brissot and Dumourier. The Prussian Clootz supported their opinions with frantic eagerness, and proposed to attack the whole world. Well then! Clootz, we know your proceedings and midnight plots. We know that, under the shades of night, you prepared with the Bishop Gobel this philosophic masquerade. Paris swarms with intriguers, English and Austrian. They sit in the midst of you, with the agents of Frederick. Clootz is a Prussian. I have traced before you his public life. Pronounce!" This speech sealed his doom.—*Journal des Jacobins*, December 15, 1793.

and all the other leaders of the Moderate party, were admitted. By this decisive measure the Anarchists were rendered wholly powerless in the Jacobins; and a severe blow was given to the weight of the municipality, by showing that its leading members were excluded from the ruling club of the Revolution, while their determined enemies were admitted, on the motion of Robespierre, amidst loud acclamation. His speech on proposing Camille Desmoulins, considering the awful tragedy which was fast approaching, is well worthy of consideration,* as indicating the profound perfidy by which he was animated. It was by this Machiavelian policy that Robespierre succeeded in finally destroying both sets of his opponents.

89. Robespierre first announced his project of double vengeance in the Convention. "Without," said he, "all the tyrants of the earth are conspiring against you; within, all their friends are aiding their efforts: they will continue to do so till hope is severed from crime. We must stifle the external and internal enemies of the Republic, or perish with it. In such circumstances, the only principles of government are to rule the people by the force of Reason, and their enemies by the force of Terror. The spring of a popular government in peace is Virtue; in a revolution, it is Virtue and TERROR: Virtue, without which Terror is fatal—Terror, without which Virtue is impotent. The government of a revolution is the despotism of liberty against tyranny. The opposite factions with

which we have to contend march under different banners, and by different routes; but their object is the same—the disorganisation of the popular government and the triumph of tyranny. The one preaches fury, the other clemency; the one tends to this object by its leaning to weakness, the other by its inclination to excess. The one would change liberty into a bacchanal, the other into a prostitute; the one would transport you into the torrid, the other into the frozen zone. But both alike keep aloof from courage, justice, magnanimity of soul. It is not worth while to try to distinguish; what is really material is to appreciate them by their objects and their ends. In that respect, you will find that they are sufficiently near each other. The Republic must steer between these two shoals—impotence and excess. Tyrants have wished to throw us back into servitude by moderation; sometimes they aim at the same object by driving us into the opposite extreme. These two extremes terminate in the same point. Whether they fall short or overshoot the mark, they equally miss it. The friend of kings and the orator of the human race understand each other perfectly. The fanatic covered with his relics, and the fanatic who preaches atheism, are closely allied. The democratic barons are twin brothers of those at Coblenz; and sometimes the *bonnets rouges* are nearer the *talons rouges* than would be at first imagined.

90. "Foreign powers have vomited into France able villains, whom they retain in their pay. They deliberate in our administrations, insinuate themselves into our sections and our clubs, sit in the Convention, and eternally direct the counter-revolution by the same means. They flutter round us, extract by surprise our secrets, caress our passions, and seek to make us converts to their opinions. By turns they drive us to exaggeration or weakness; excite in Paris the fanaticism of the new worship, and in La Vendée resistance to the old; assassinate Marat and Lepelletier, and mingle with the group which would deify their remains: at one time spread plenty among the people, at another

* "We must," said Robespierre, "consider Camille Desmoulins with his virtues and his weaknesses. Sometimes feeble and confiding, often courageous and ever Republican, he has been successively the friend of Lameth, of Mirabeau, of Dillon; but we have seen him contributing to crush these very idols whom he had raised. He sacrificed them on the altar he had erected to them, whenever he discovered their perfidy. In a word, he loved liberty from instinct and feeling, and loved nothing else, in spite of all the seductions of its betrayers. I exhort Camille Desmoulins to follow out his career; but in future not to be so versatile, and to endeavour to be no longer deceived as to the character of those who play a great part on the public stage."—*Journal de Jacobins*, Nos. 556, 558, December 15, 1793; and *Hist. Parl.* xxi. 340, 341.

reduce them to all the horrors of famine; circulate and withdraw the metallic currency, and thus occasion the extraordinary changes in the value of money; profit, in fine, by every accident, to turn it against France and the Revolution." Such is the invariable policy of revolutionary parties, to impute to strangers, or the opposite faction, the natural effect of their own passions and vices. This speech was ordered to be printed, and circulated over all France. It was followed by a decree, sending Biron, Custine's son, Dietrich, mayor of Strassburg, and all the friends of Dumourier, Custine, and Houchard, to the Revolutionary Tribunal, from whence they were soon after conducted to the scaffold.

91. "Citizens," said St Just, some time after, "you wish a republic; if you are not prepared at the same time to wish for what constitutes it, you will be buried under its ruins. Now, what constitutes a republic is the destruction of everything which opposes it. You are culpable towards the Republic if you have pity on the captives; you are culpable if you do not support virtue; you are culpable if you do not support terror. What do you propose, you who would not strike terror into the wicked? What do you propose, you who would sever virtue from happiness? You shall perish, you who only act the patriot till bought by the stranger, or placed in office by the government; you of the indulgent faction, who would save the wicked; you of the foreign faction, who would be severe only on the friends of freedom. Measures are already taken; you are surrounded. Thanks to the genius of France, Liberty has risen victorious from one of the greatest dangers she ever encountered; the terror she will strike into her enemies will for ever purge the earth of the conspirators. We are accused of cruelty; but we are humane in comparison of other governments. A monarchy floats on the blood of thirty generations, and shall you hesitate to punish the guilty of one? Do we experience reverses? the indulgent prophesy calamities: Are we prosperous? they never mention our successes. You are more occupied with pamphlets

than the Republic.* You demand the opening of the prisons; you might as well demand at once the misery and destruction of the people. The same conspiracy is now striving to save the guilty which formerly strove to save the tyrant. A monarchy does not consist in a king, but in crime; a republic not in a senate, but in virtue. Whoever would spare crime is striving to restore the monarchy: spare the aristocracy, and you will have thirty years of civil war: those who make revolutions by halves, only dig their own graves." The Convention, awed by the tyrants, invested the committees with full power to crush the conspiracies. They decreed in addition, that *Terror and Virtue* should be the order of the day.

92. The Anarchists were the first to feel the vengeance of their former supporters. They in vain endeavoured to rouse their ancient partisans in the commune to support their cause; terror had frozen every heart. As the danger became more menacing, they openly organised a revolt, and strove to the very uttermost to rouse the immense population of Paris for their support. Their leaders made extraordinary efforts to excite the people to insurrection; and innumerable placards, ascribing the whole public evils, and in particular the famine which prevailed, to the Convention, appeared in the markets, and in all the populous quarters of Paris. The statue of Liberty was covered with crape at the club of the Cordeliers, where they had taken refuge since their expulsion from the Jacobins; and insurrection openly prevailed on the 4th March. They even went so far as to propose that the whole Convention should be dissolved, a new one assembled, a dictator named, and an executive government organised. But all the efforts of Hébert, with his infamous journal—*Momoro*, with the resolutions of the Section Marat, which he had roused to espouse their cause—and Vincent, with his frenzied followers, could not produce a popular movement. The municipality held back; the Jacobins were ruled by the Committee of Public

* Alluding to the *Vieux Cordelier* of Camille Desmoulins, recently published.

Salvation and Robespierre. In all the sections, except that of Marat, hesitation and division of opinion prevailed. Fear of the terrible energy of the Committee of Public Salvation paralysed every arm. Seeing public opinion, after a few days, sufficiently pronounced, Robespierre acted. On the night of the 12th, the whole leaders of the Anarchists were arrested by their former agent Henriot, at the head of the armed force which they had so often wielded against the government, and sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, to stand trial for a conspiracy to put a tyrant at the head of affairs.

93. Hébert, Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, Momoro, Vincent, and fifteen others of their party, were all condemned. They evinced the native baseness of their dispositions by their cowardice in their last moments. The infamous Hébert wept from weakness; his agony was so conspicuous that it attracted the eyes of all spectators from the sufferings of the other prisoners. The numerous captives in the prisons of Paris could hardly believe their eyes when they beheld the tyrants who had sent so many to execution, and who were preparing a new massacre in the prisons, consigned, in their turn, to the scaffold. The populace, with their usual inconstancy, manifested joy at their punishment, and, in particular, loaded with maledictions the very Hébert, for whose deliverance from the arrest of the Convention they had once put all Paris in insurrection. Such was the public avidity to see the execution of these leaders, lately so popular, that considerable sums were realised by the sale of seats on the fatal chariots, to witness their agonies, and on the tables and benches arranged round the scaffold.* Hébert, in parti-

cular, was the object of universal execration: his atheistical mummeries had alienated all the better class of citizens, and the numerous denunciations he had undergone from Robespierre and St. Just had rendered him an object of detestation to the populace. He made no attempt to conceal his terrors: he sank down at every step; and the vile populace, so recently his worshippers, followed the car, mimicking the cry of the persons who used to hawk his journal about the streets,—“Father Duchêne is in a devil of a rage.”† The victory of the Decemvirs was complete. They followed up the blow by disbanding the revolutionary force stationed at Paris, and diminishing the power of the committees of sections—all steps, and not unimportant ones, to the establishment of a regular government. The municipality of Paris, subdued by terror, was compelled to send a deputation to the Convention, returning thanks for the arrest and punishment of its own members; and the Committee of Public Salvation succeeded in destroying the very man of whose infamous journal they had shortly before been in the habit of distributing ten thousand copies daily, at the public expense.‡

94. Danton and his partisans had not long the satisfaction of exulting over the destruction of the Anarchists.

† “Il est b——t en colère le Père Duchêne”—alluding to his journal, *Lettres b——t patrio-tiques du véritable Père Duchêne*. In recounting such scenes, the spirit is lost if the very words are not used.

‡ In the proceedings against Hébert, some curious facts came out as to the means by which the infamous revolutionary press of Paris had been stimulated during the principal crises of the Revolution. The following entries appear:—

“Extrait des Registres de la Trésorerie Nationale.

2 Juin. — (Arrest of Girondists.)	Donné au
Père Duchêne, . . .	135,000 francs.
Mois d'Août, . . .	10,000
4 Oct.	60,000”

In five months, . . . 205,000 or £8250

— See *Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxi. 232; *Vieux Cordelier*, No. V., and *Père Duchêne*, Nos. 330, 332.

“The Committee of Public Safety caused to be distributed daily ten thousand copies of this journal. Thus the *Père Duchêne* was merely the organ of the principles of this committee.”—PRUDHOMME, v. 143.

* “Hébert showed, to the last, extreme weakness. In passing from the Conciergerie to the scaffold, the exhibition of his agony prevented any one from observing the demeanour of his companions. During his last night in the prison he gave way to utter despair.” Ronsin said in prison to him, “You have talked at the Cordeliers, when it was necessary to act—you are arrested in your career; and you ought to know that, sooner or later, the instruments of revolutions are crushed.”—*Rapport d'un détenu dans les prisons avec Hébert*; and *Hist. Parl.* xxxi. 58, 55.

Robespierre and he had a meeting in the house of the former, but it led to no accommodation. Danton complained violently of the conduct of his former friend; Robespierre maintained a haughty reserve. "I know," said Danton, "all the hatred which the Committee bear me, but I do not fear it."—"You are wrong," said Robespierre, "they have no bad intentions against you; but it is well to be explicit. Not only do the Committee bear you no ill will, but they ardently desire to strengthen their government by the principal leaders of the Mountain. Should I be here if I desired your head? would I offer my hand if I thought of assassinating you? Our enemies are sowing jealousies betwixt us: take care, Danton! In taking your friends for enemies, you may oblige them to become so. Let us see—can we not come to an understanding? Is it, or is it not, necessary for power to be terrible, when it would coerce the wicked?" "Yes," said Danton; "without doubt it is necessary to coerce the Royalists; but we should not confound the innocent with the guilty."—"And who has told you," said Robespierre, "that one innocent person has perished?" Danton, upon this, turning to the friend who accompanied him, said with a bitter smile—"What say you? Not one innocent has perished!" They parted mutually exasperated. All intercourse between them immediately ceased. Robespierre, however, hesitated much before taking the decisive step of his arrest. "Ah!" said he, "that I had the lantern of the great philosopher, to read Danton's heart, and know whether he really is a friend or enemy of the Republic." The extreme Jacobins were less scrupulous; they openly demanded Danton's head, "to take away a false god from the multitude, and restore the worship of pure revolutionary virtue." These feelings, however, were not general. Robespierre had sufficient evidence, during the days that immediately followed the execution of the Anarchists, that terror had reached its extreme point, and that a return to humanity was at length ardently desired by the people. Innumerable addresses were presented to

the Convention, between the 26th and 30th March, congratulating them on the execution of the men who had disgraced the Revolution; the revolutionary army, of which Ronsin had been the chief, was disbanded amidst general applause, (30th March), and a discussion had even taken place at the Jacobins, as to recommending the removal of the busts of Châlier and Marat from their hall.

95. In truth, the Dantonists and friends of humanity, overjoyed at the punishment of Hébert and the extreme Anarchist leaders, gave full reins to their intoxication, and imprudently spread the report through Paris that the reign of blood was about to terminate. They even went so far as to suggest that a return should be at last made to more humane principles. Collet d'Herbois and the Jacobins sufficiently showed, however, that the Committee of Public Salvation had no intention of arresting the march of the Revolution. "The counter-revolutionists," said he at their club, "announce by a thousand mouths that the bust of Marat is about to be disgraced, and replaced by that of the monster who assassinated him. The aristocracy wish to profit by existing circumstances to attack the Revolution, by uniting the purest to the oppressors, and assimilating the traitors who have just been punished to the martyrs of liberty. They even go so far as to propose that the Jacobins should go into their projects, and make all the supporters of the Revolution tremble. Already they have proscribed Châlier; soon they will proscribe Marat too, and replace his bust by some other one, probably that of the tyrant. (*Loud cries of indignation.*) Open your eyes to the dangers which surround you, and you will see that measures very different from those proposed by the Moderates are now called for: government will act differently. They have caused the thunder to fall on the infamous men who have deceived the people; they have torn from them the masks which concealed their hideous outrages; *they will tear the mask from others*: let not the Moderates suppose that it is for them that we have held here our glorious sittings. I propose

that whoever casts a doubt on the martyr Châlier, should at once be declared a counter-revolutionist, and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal."

96. Alarmed by these ominous words, the friends of Danton now conjured him to take steps to insure his own safety. "Danton," said Fabre d'Églantine to him, "do you know of what you are accused? They say that you have only set in motion the car of the Revolution to enrich yourself, while Robespierre has remained poor in the midst of the treasures of the monarchy lying at his feet." "Well," replied Danton, "Do you know what that proves? It proves that I love gold, and Robespierre loves blood. He is afraid of money, lest it should stain his hands." But, though aware of the danger, no resource remained to ward off the threatened blow. The club of the Cordeliers, indeed, was devoted to him, and the Convention in secret leaned to his side; but these bodies had no real power; the armed force was entirely in the hands of the Committee of Public Salvation. Having failed in rousing public opinion by means of the journals of his party, and the exertions of his friends in the Convention, what other expedients remained? "I would rather," said he, "be guillotined than become guillotiner: my life is not worth the trouble of preserving; I am weary of existence. Set off into exile! Do you suppose that one carries their country about with them on the sole of their shoe?" On the day before his arrest, he received notice that his imprisonment was under the consideration of the Committee, and he was again pressed to fly; but, after a moment's deliberation, he only answered, "They dare not!" In the night his house was surrounded, and he was arrested, along with Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, Hérault de Séchelles, and Westermann. So little did Camille Desmoulins suspect the hand which had struck him, that he said to his wife when arrested, "I will fly to Robespierre: he was our guide, our friend, the confident of our first republican dreams. His hand united ours;

he was our father; he cannot have turned our assassin." * Danton, on entering the prison, cordially welcomed the captives who flocked to behold him. "Gentlemen," said he, "I hoped to have been the means of delivering you all from this place; but here I am among you, and God only knows where this will end." He was immediately afterwards shut up in a solitary cell, the same which Hébert had recently before occupied. On entering it he exclaimed, "At last I perceive that in revolutions the supreme power finally rests with the most abandoned." † He soon after said to Lacroix, who accompanied him, and expressed his surprise that he had not endeavoured to save himself, "Their cowardice misled me: I was deceived by their baseness. When men commit follies, it is well to laugh at them." Soon after, addressing Camille Desmoulins, who in despair, and weeping aloud, was dashing his head against the wall of the prison, he added, "What is the use of these tears? When sent to the scaffold, we should know how to ascend it cheerfully." During the short period that elapsed before his execution, his mind, in a distracted state, reverted to the innocence of his earlier years. "He spoke incessantly," said his fellow captive Riouffe, "of trees, flowers, and the country." Then, giving way to unavailing regret, he exclaimed—"It was just a year ago that I was the means of instituting the Revolutionary Tribunal: may God and man forgive me for what I did! I hoped in so doing to avert a second massacre in the prisons; it was not that it might become the scourge of humanity!"

97. His arrest produced a violent agitation in Paris. The Convention on the following morning was shaken by a

* He had signed the marriage contract of Camille Desmoulins with Lucile, his young and charming wife. She wrote a long and touching letter to Robespierre on the occasion, but it never reached him.—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, viii. 48.

† "Enfin je vois que dans les révolutions l'autorité toujours reste aux plus scélérats."—RIOUFFE, p. 67. A memorable sentiment, coming from such lips.

general inquietude, which broke out in half-suppressed murmurs. "Citizens!" said Legendre, "four of the national representatives have been arrested during the night: Danton is one—I am ignorant of the others. Danton is as innocent as myself, and yet he is in irons. His accusers, without doubt, are afraid that his answers would demolish the charges brought against him; but you are bound to do justice; and I demand that, before the report of the committee is received, he be examined in your presence." The proposition was favourably received by some, and loudly hooted by others. Tallien, the president, gave it his energetic support. "I will maintain," said he, "the liberty of speech; let every one freely express his opinion. I remind his colleagues that we are here for the people, and concerned only with their interest. It is time to have done with individual disputes. Let the friends of the Revolution prove to-day their love for liberty. I will proclaim the decrees which have passed for the maintenance of liberty of speech." Loud applause followed these words; and from the agitation which prevailed, there is no doubt that if Danton had been brought before them, his powerful voice would have broken the talisman of the Decemvirs, and closed the reign of blood. But Robespierre immediately mounted the tribune.

98. "From the trouble, for long unknown," said he, "which reigns in the Convention, from the agitation produced by the words you have just heard, it is evident that a great interest is at stake, and that the point now to be determined is, whether the safety of a few individuals is to prevail over that of the country. We shall see this day whether the Convention has courage to break a pretended idol, or to suffer it in its fall to overwhelm the Assembly and the people of France. Danton! you shall answer to inflexible justice: let us examine your conduct. Accomplice in every criminal enterprise, you ever espoused the cause which was adverse to freedom: you intrigued with Mirabeau and Dumourier, with Hébert, and Hérault de Séchelles; you

have made yourself the slave of tyranny. Mirabeau, who contemplated a change of dynasty, felt the value of your audacity, and secured it: you abandoned all your former principles, and nothing more was heard of you till the massacre in the Champ de Mars. At every crisis you have deserted the public interest; you have ever attached yourself to the traitor party." The terror inspired by these words restored silence in the Convention; and at the same time, St Just, followed by the other members of the Committee of Public Salvation, entered the hall. With slow steps, a sombre and decided air, they approached the Tribune, when Robespierre again addressed Legendre. "Go on; it is well that all the associates of the conspirators we have arrested should at once make themselves known. You have heard of the despotism of the Committees, as if the confidence which the people have reposed in you, and which you have transferred to the Committees, was not the surest guarantee for their patriotism. You affect to be afraid; but I say, whoever trembles at this moment is guilty, for never did innocence fear the vigilance of the public authorities." Unanimous applause from hands shaking with fright followed these words. None ventured to incur the terrible imputation—terror froze every heart; and St Just, without opposition, ascended the Tribune.

99. He there made a detailed exposition of the grounds of accusation against the Moderate party, recounted their private irregularities, their unpardonable clemency; charged them with being accomplices in every conspiracy, from that of the Royalists, whom they overthrew on the 10th August, to that of the Anarchists, whose treason had so recently been punished. "Citizens," said St Just, "the Revolution is in the people, and not in the resources of a few individuals. There is something terrible in the love of country. It is so exclusive that it sacrifices everything, without pity, without remorse, to the public interest. It precipitated Manlius from the Tarpeian rock, it drew Regulus back to Carthage, and put Marat in

the Pantheon. Your committee, impressed with these sentiments, have charged me to demand justice, in the name of the country, against men who have long betrayed it. May this example be the last you are called on to give of your inflexibility. Danton! you have become the accomplice of tyranny. You have conspired with Mirabeau and Dumourier, with Hébert, with Hérault de Séchelles. Danton! you have been the slave of tyranny. You have, it is true, opposed Lafayette; but Mirabeau, d'Orléans, Dumourier, did the same. Can you deny that you were sold to the three greatest enemies liberty ever had? You got from Mirabeau the direction of the department of Paris. At first you showed a menacing front to the court; but Mirabeau, who knew the value of your aid, bought you over. You were never heard of more in the Assembly, but you were found supporting the motion of Laclès, the minion of d'Orléans, in the Jacobins, which was the pretext made by the court for unfurling the red flag in the Champ de Mars, and massacring the patriots. You joined Brissot in drawing up the petition of the Champ de Mars, and escaped the fury of Lafayette, who butchered two thousand patriots. After Mirabeau's death, you conspired with Lameth and his party: you supported the Girondists in their suicidal efforts to plunge us into war. You became the associate of Guadet and Brissot: you spoke, on your return from Belgium, of the vices of Dumourier with as much admiration as the virtues of Cato. You held back from the revolution of 31st May, which overturned the Girondists. You have compared public opinion to a courtesan, who lavishes her favours on the most abandoned of mankind. These maxims were those of Catiline; they might well recommend you to the aristocracy. A bad citizen, you have conspired; a treacherous friend, you have betrayed. Justice demands the punishment of your double perfidy." The utter absurdity of imputing to Danton and his friends such contradictory crimes, and supposing them in league with their bitterest enemies, was too glaring to escape observation; but the Conven-

tion, mastered by fear, crouched beneath their tyrants, and *unanimously*, amidst loud applause, sent the accused to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The galleries imitated their example. From those benches, whence had issued so often bursts of applause at their speeches, were now heard only fierce demands for their heads.

100. When removed to the Conciergerie, preparatory to their trial, the astonishment of the captives was as great as when they entered the Luxembourg. "My late brethren," said Danton, "understand nothing of government: I leave everything in the most deplorable confusion. 'Twere better to be a poor fisherman than the ruler of men. My only comfort is, that my name is attached to some decrees which will show that I was not involved in all their fury." On their trial, which began on the 2d and continued to the 5th April, they evinced their wonted firmness, and addressed the judges in unusual terms of indignation. Danton, being interrogated by the president concerning his age and profession, replied—"My name is Danton, sufficiently known in the history of the Revolution; I am thirty-five; my abode will soon be in nonentity; and my name will live in the pantheon of history." Camille Desmoulins answered—"I am of the same age as the Sans-culotte Jesus Christ, when he died." Danton spoke with energy and resolution in his own defence. "My voice," said he, with that powerful organ which had been so often raised in the cause of the people, "will have no difficulty in refuting the calumnies contained in the act of accusation. Let the cowards who accuse me be brought forward; I will speedily cover them with confusion. Let the Committees appear; I require them both as accusers and judges. Let them appear: they will not. It matters little what judgment you pronounce; I have already told you my abode will soon be in nonentity. My life is a burden; I am weary of it, and will rejoice in the stroke that sends me to the grave." The president rang his bell, but Danton's voice of thunder drowned the noise. "Do you not hear me!"

said the president. "The voice of a man," replied Danton, "who defends his honour and his life, may well overcome your clamours. Individual audacity may well be coerced; but national audacity, of which I have so often given proofs—that is necessary; it is permitted in revolutions. When I see myself so grievously, so unjustly accused, I am no longer master of my indignation.

101. "Is it for a revolutionist such as me, so strongly pronounced, so irrecoverably implicated, to defend myself against such charges as are now brought against me? Me sold to the court!—me the accomplice of Mirabeau, of d'Orléans, of Dumourier! Does not all the world know that I combated Mirabeau, thwarted all his plans, defeated all his attempts against liberty? You, St Just, shall answer to posterity for such declamations, directed against the best friend of the people—against the most ardent defender of liberty. In looking over this list of horror, I feel my very soul shudder." "Marat," interrupted the court, "was reduced to defend himself; but he did so without calumniating his accuser." "Have I not," resumed Danton, "done more in behalf of freedom than could be expected from any citizen? Did I not show myself, when they wished to withdraw the tyrant, by removing him to St Cloud? Have I not placarded, in the district of the Cordeliers, invitations to insurrection? Let my accusers appear, and I will plunge them into the obscurity from which they never should have been dragged. Vile impostors, appear! I will soon tear from you the mask which shields you from the public indignation. It is truly an astonishing thing the long blindness of the National Convention till this day on my conduct, and their sudden illumination!"

102. After continuing in this manner for three days, during which his voice was sometimes so loud that it was heard across the Seine on the Quai de la Ferraille,* Robespierre deemed it high

* "The windows of the Tribunal were open, and Danton occasionally stretched his voice to such a pitch that his accents sounded across the Seine to the curious crowd gathered on the Quai de la Ferraille."—(The trial was in the Palais de Justice.)—*Hist. Parl.* xxii. 164.

time to bring the prosecution to a conclusion. The method adopted was the same as that which had proved fatal to the Girondists—viz., the taking advantage of his influence in the Convention, which authorised the public accuser to obtain at the moment a decree, authorising the Revolutionary Tribunal to declare *hors des débats*—in other words, to condemn, without further hearing—any accused party whom they deemed wanting in respect to the court. The austere indignation of Danton, the nerve of Desmoulins, the measured ability of Lacroix, rendered the judges apprehensive of a movement among the populace; to prevent which, the Convention, without hesitation, adopted the proposal. No sooner was this decree passed, than Amar hastened with it to the Tribunal, where Danton and his friends were prolonging their indignant defence.† "Here are the means," said Amar, "for stifling these wretches." Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, seized it with avidity, and read it to the court, demanding, at the same time, the instant condemnation of the accused. Danton rose and called the audience to witness that they had not been wanting in respect to the judges. "The time will come," said he, "when the truth will be known: I foresee the greatest calamities to France: here is the dictator unveiled." On the day following, the debates were closed before they had begun their defence, notwithstanding the most energetic remonstrance from Camille Desmoulins, who called the audience to witness that they were murdered. On the ground that the jury were now sufficiently enlightened, and that the third day of the trial had commenced, the public accuser refused to allow the witnesses whom Lacroix proposed to call to be examined, on the ground that, being members of the Con-

† "The public accuser read a decree recently passed by the National Convention, which puts out of court every accused person who does not show proper respect to the Tribunal."—*Hist. Parl.* xxxii. 160. The decree itself was in these terms: "The National Convention decrees that every one charged with conspiracy, who shall resist or insult the national court of justice, shall be put out of court."—*Décret*, April 14, 1794; *Hist. Parl.* xxxii. 187.

vention, they could not be at once witnesses and accusers. "We are about," said Danton and Lacroix, "to be judged without being heard in our defence: deliberation is at an end. Well! we have lived long enough to go to rest on the bosom of glory: let them lead us to the scaffold." The jury were enclosed, and soon after the president returned, and, with a savage joy, declared the verdict was Guilty. The court instantly pronounced sentence after they were removed, which was read to them in their cells in the evening. "We are sacrificed," said Danton, "to the ambition of a few dastardly brigands; but they will not long enjoy their triumph: I drag Robespierre after me in my fall." Lucile, the youthful wife of Camille Desmoulins, earnestly besought Madame Danton, a young woman of eighteen, to throw herself at Robespierre's feet, and pray for the lives of both their husbands, but she refused. "I will willingly," said she, "follow Danton to the scaffold, but I will not degrade his memory before his rival. If he owed his life to Robespierre, he would never pardon me, in this world or the next. He has bequeathed to me his honour—I will preserve it entire." Camille Desmoulins had less firmness. He tried to read "Young's Night Thoughts," but the book fell from his hands, and he could only articulate, "O my Lucile, O my Horace, what will become of you!"*

103. They went to the scaffold with the stoicism so usual at that period. A numerous escort attended them, and an immense crowd was assembled, which beheld in silence their former leaders led out to execution. Camille Desmoulins exclaimed, when seated on the fatal chariot—"This, then, is the recompense awarded to the first apostle of liberty!" In moving towards the scaffold, he never ceased to address the

* Hérault de Séchelles, on being conducted to his cell, after his condemnation, read for a while a volume of Rousseau, which he took from his pocket, and, closing it, said, "Oh, my master! thou hast suffered for the truth, and I am about to die for it: thou hast the genius, I the martyrdom: thou art a greater man, but which of us is the most philosophical?"—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vol. 63.

people, hoping to interest them in his favour. "Generous people, unhappy people," he exclaimed, "they mislead you: save me! I am Camille Desmoulins, the first apostle of freedom! It was I who gave you the national cockade; I called you to arms on the 14th July." It was all in vain; the invectives of the mob redoubled as they passed under the windows of Robespierre, who grew pale at the noise. The indignation of Camille Desmoulins at this proof of their mutability was so excessive that he tore his shirt; and though his hands were tied behind his back, his coat came off in venting his feelings on the people. At the Palais Royal he said—"It is here that, four years ago, I called the people to arms for the Revolution. Had Marat lived, he would have been beside us." Danton held his head erect, and cast a calm and intrepid look around him. "Do not disquiet yourself," said he, "with that vile mob."† At the foot of the scaffold he advanced to embrace Hérault de Séchelles, who held out his arms to receive him. The executioner interposed. "What!" said he, with a bitter smile, "are you more cruel than death itself? Begone! you cannot at least prevent our lips from soon meeting in that bloody basket." For a moment after, he was softened, and said—"O my beloved! O my wife! O my children! shall I never see you more?" But immediately checking himself, he exclaimed—"Danton, recollect yourself; no weakness!" Hérault de Séchelles ascended first, and died firmly. Camille Desmoulins regained his firmness in the last hour. His fingers, with convulsive grasp, held a lock of

† "They entered the city of Rome in a long dismal procession, guarded on each side by a file of troops under arms. In their looks no sign of repentance, no dejected passion; they retained an air of ferocity, and heard the taunts of the vulgar with sullen contempt. Not a word escaped from any of them unworthy of their warlike character. They were unfortunate, but still respected for their valour." How identical are the heroism of the brave and the baseness of the mob in every age! The words of Tacitus applied to the executions of Vitellius, might pass for a description of the last moments of Danton and Camille Desmoulins.—TACITUS, *Hist.* iv. 2.

Lucile's hair, the last relic of this world which he took to the edge of the next.* He approached the fatal spot, looked calmly at the axe, yet red with the blood of his friend, and said, "The monsters who assassinate me will not long survive my fall. Convey my hair to my mother-in-law." Danton ascended with a firm step, and said to the executioner—"You will show my head to the people, after my death; it is worth the pains." These were his last words. The executioner obeyed the injunction after the axe had fallen, and carried the head around the scaffold. The people clapped their hands!

104. The wife of Camille Desmoulins, a young woman of twenty-three, to whom he was passionately attached, wandered round the prison of the Lux-

embourg, in which her husband was confined, night and day during his detention. The gardens where she now gave vent to her grief had been the scene of their first loves; from his cell windows her husband could see the spot where they had met in the days of their happiness. Her distracted appearance, with some hints dropped in the jails by the prisoners as to their hopes of being delivered by the aid of the people, during the excitement produced by the trial of Danton and his friends, led to a fresh prosecution for a "conspiracy in the prisons," which was made the means of sweeping off twenty-five persons of wholly different principles and parties at one fell swoop. The apostate bishop Gobel, Chaumette, the well-known and once formidable prosecutor of the mu-

* The letters written by Camille Desmoulins during his imprisonment, and the night before his execution, to his wife, a young and elegant woman who had married him for love two years before, during the first fervour of the Revolution, are among the most interesting and pathetic monuments of the Revolution, opening as it were a glance into that awful amount of sorrow and wretchedness which that convulsion brought even upon its earliest and most ardent supporters. They are preserved in the *Histoire Parlementaire*, and the following extracts will convey some idea of their heart-rending affection: "My dear Lucile, my Vesta, my angel, destiny brings before my eyes, in my prison, that garden where I passed eight years of my life looking upon thee. A corner of the Luxembourg in sight recalls in crowds the memories of our loves. I am in solitary confinement, but never have I felt in thought, in imagination, almost in body, nearer to thee, to thy mother, to my little Horace. My complete justification is contained in my eight republican volumes. O my good Lulotte! let us speak of other things. I throw myself at thy knees; I stretch out my arms to embrace thee—I find no more my poor Lulotte! [Here we find the traces of a tear.] Send me the glass on which there is a C and a D—our two names; a book in 12mo, which I bought from Charpentier: that book treats of the immortality of the soul. I need to persuade myself that there is a God more just than men, and that I cannot fail to see thee again. Adieu, Lucile!—adieu! I cannot embrace thee; but in the tears which I shed, I seem still to hold thee to my bosom." [Here we find the trace of a second tear.]—*Second Letter*.—"I am ill: I have eaten nothing since yesterday but the soup you sent me. Heaven has had compassion on my innocence; a dream has been granted me, in which I have seen you all. Send me a lock of thy hair, and thy portrait—oh, I beseech you, for I think of

thee alone, and never of the business that has brought me here!"—*Last Letter*.—"I implore thee, by our eternal love, Lulotte, send me thy portrait! Amid the horrors of my prison, the day in which I see again thy portrait will be to me a fête, a day of ravishing joy. In the mean time, send me some of thy hair, that I may place it next my heart. My dear Lucile, behold me restored to the days of our early loves, when nought had interest for me but as appertaining to thee. Yesterday, when the citizen who carried my letter to thee came back, it seemed to me as if his very garments breathed of thee. Yesterday I discovered a crevice in my apartment. I applied my ear, and heard the voice of one ill and in pain. He asked my name, and I told it. 'O my God!' he exclaimed; and I recognised distinctly the voice of Fabre d'Eglantine. Pitt or Cobourg might have treated me thus!—but my colleagues! Robespierre, who signed the order for my imprisonment! the Republic, after all that I had done for it! It is the reward I meet for my services to it. I had dreamed of a republic that all the world would have adored. I could not have supposed that men would have been so savage and unjust. In spite of my sufferings, I believe that there is a God. I shall see thee again some day, O Lucile! O Annette! Sensitive as I was, is the death that delivers me from the sight of such crimes so great a misfortune? Adieu, Lucile! Adieu, my life!—my soul!—my divinity on earth! I leave you good friends, all men of virtue and feeling. Adieu, Lucile! my Lucile! my dear Lucile!—Adieu, Horace!—Adieu, Adèle!—Adieu, my father! I feel life fleeing from me. I still see Lucile! I see thee, my beloved—my Lucile! My hands in thy bonds embrace thee, and my disavowed head still turns its dying eyes to thee!"—*Hist. Parlementaire*. (Here is the pathos of nature! When will romance or poetry figure anything so touching?)

nicipality, the widow of Hébert, the widow of Camille Desmoulins, Arthur Dillon, a remnant of the Dantonists, and twenty others of inferior note, were indicted together for the crimes of having "conspired together against the liberty and security of the French people, endeavoured to trouble the state by civil war, to arm the citizens against each other, and against the lawful authority; in virtue of which they proposed, in the present month, to dissolve the national representation, assassinate its members, destroy the republican government, gain possession of the sovereignty of the people, and give a tyrant to the state." The absurdity of thus charging, as in one conspiracy, the leaders of two opposite factions, so recently at daggers-drawing with each other—Gobel and Chaumette, the partisans of anarchy and blood, with Dillon and the widow of Desmoulins, who had been exposing their lives to procure a return to humanity—produced no impression on the inexorable tribunal. They were all condemned, after a long trial, and the vital difference between them appeared in their last moments. The infamous Gobel wept from weakness; the atrocious Chaumette was almost lifeless from terror; but the widow of Desmoulins exhibited on the scaffold the heroism of Madame Roland and Charlotte Corday, and died rejoicing in the hope of rejoining her lost husband. She did not appear with the undaunted air of those heroines, but she showed equal firmness. She died not for her country, but for her husband; love, not patriotism, inspired her last moments. Her beauty, her innocence, the knowledge that she was the victim of her humanity, produced universal commiseration.

105. Thus perished the tardy but last defenders of humanity and moderation—the last who sought for peace, and advocated clemency toward those who had been vanquished in the Revolution. For long after their fall, no voice was heard against the Reign of Terror. Silent and unopposed, the tyrants struck redoubted blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondists had sought to prevent that fatal rule,

the Dantonists to arrest it: both perished in the attempt. They perished, because they were inferior in wickedness to their opponents; they fell, the victims of the little humanity which yet lingered in their bosoms. The combination of wicked men who thereafter governed France is without a parallel in the history of the world.* Their power, based on the organised weight of the multitude, and the ardent co-operation of the municipalities, everywhere installed by them in the possession of office, was irresistible. By them opulent cities were overturned; hundreds of thousands of deluded artisans reduced to beggary; agriculture, commerce, the arts destroyed; the foundations of every species of property shaken, and all the youth of the kingdom driven to the frontier, less to uphold the integrity of France than to protect themselves from the just vengeance which awaited them from within and without. All bowed the neck before this gigantic assemblage of wickedness. The revolutionary excesses daily increased, in consequence of the union which the constant dread of retribution produced among their perpetrators. There was no medium between taking a part in these atrocities and falling a victim to them. Virtue seemed powerless: energy appeared only in the extremity of resignation; religion in the heroism with which death was endured. There was not a hope left for France, had it not been for the dissensions which, as the natural result of their wickedness, sprang up among the authors of the public calamities.

106. It is impossible not to be struck, in looking back on the fate of these different parties, with the singular and

* "The tyrant proud frown'd from his lofty cell,
And with his looks made all his monsters tremble,
His eyes, that full of rage and venom swell,
Two beacons seem, that men to arms assemble,
His feltered locks, that on his bosom fell,
On rugged mountains briars and thorns resemble,
His yawning mouth that foamed clotted blood,
Gap'd like a whirlpool wide in Stygian flood."

Jerusalem Delivered, iv. 7.

providential manner in which their crimes brought about their own punishment. No foreign interposition was necessary; no avenging angel was required to vindicate the justice of the Divine administration. They fell the victims of their own atrocity, of the passions which they themselves had let loose, of the injustice of which they had given the first example to others. The Constitutionalist overthrew the ancient monarchy, and raised a throne surrounded by republican institutions; but their imprudence in rousing popular ambition paved the way for the 10th August, and speedily brought themselves to the scaffold. The Girondists established their favourite dream of a Republic, and were the first victims of the fury which it excited; the Dantonists roused the populace against the Gironde, and soon fell under the axe which they had prepared for their rivals; the Anarchists defied the powers

of Heaven itself; but scarcely were their blasphemies uttered when they were swept off by the partners of their bloody triumphs. One only power remained, alone, terrible, irresistible. This was the power of DEATH, wielded by a faction steeled against every feeling of humanity, dead to every principle of justice. In their iron hands, order resumed its sway from the influence of terror; obedience became universal from the extinction of hope. Silent and unresisted they led their victims to the scaffold, dreaded alike by the soldiers who crouched, the people who trembled, and the victims who suffered. The history of the world has no parallel to the horrors of that long night of suffering, because it has none to the guilt which preceded it; tyranny never assumed so hideous a form, because licentiousness never required so severe a punishment.

"Die weltgeschichte ist das weltgericht."

* "The world's history is the world judged."—SCHILLER.

CHAPTER XV.

REIGN OF TERROR—FROM THE DEATH OF DANTON TO THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE.

APRIL 5—JULY 27, 1794.

1. "ALL bad actions," says Sallust, "spring from good beginnings;"—"And the progress of these events," says Machiavel, "is this, that in their efforts to avoid fear, men inspire it in others; and that injury which they seek to ward off themselves they throw upon their neighbours, so that it seems inevitable either to give or receive offence."†—"You are quite wrong," said Napoleon to Talma, in the representation of Nero;

"you should conceal the tyrant; *no man admits his wickedness either to others or himself.* You and I speak history, but we speak it like other men." The words which Sallust puts into the mouth of Cæsar, and Napoleon addressed to the actor of Nero, point to the same, and one of the most important principles of human nature. When vice appears in its native deformity, it is universally shunned—its features are horrible alike to others and itself.‡ It is by borrowing the language, and rousing the pas-

† "Omnia mala exempla," says Sallust, "*bonis initiis orta sunt.*"—"E l'ordine di questi accidenti," says Machiavel, "*è che mentre che gli uomini cercano di non temere, cominciano a fare temere altrui, e quella injuria che gli scacciano di loro, la pongono sopra un altro, come se fusse necessario, offendere o esser offeso.*"

‡ "Vice is a monster of such hideous mien, That to be hated needs but to be seen; But seen too oft, familiar with his face, We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

POPE.

sions of virtue, that it insinuates itself into the minds, not only of the spectators, but of the actors; the worst deeds are committed by men who delude themselves and others by the noblest expressions. Tyranny speaks with the voice of prudence, and points to the dangers of popular insurrection; ambition strikes on the chords of patriotism and loyalty, and leads men to ruin others in the belief that they are saving themselves; democratic fury appeals to the spirit of freedom, and massacres thousands in the name of insurgent humanity. In all these cases, men would shrink with horror from themselves if their conduct appeared in its true colours; they become steeped in crime while yet professing the intentions of virtue, and before they are well aware that they have transgressed its bounds.

2. All these atrocities proceed from one source; criminality in them all begins when one line is passed. This source is the principle of expedience; this line is the line of justice. "To do evil that good may come of it" is perhaps the most prolific cause of wickedness. It is absolutely necessary, say the politicians of one age, to check the growing spirit of heresy; discord in this world, damnation in the next, follow in its steps; religion, the fountain of peace, is in danger of being polluted by its poison; the transient suffering of a few individuals will insure the eternal salvation of millions. Such is the language of religious intolerance, such the principles which lighted the fires of Smithfield. How cruel soever it may appear, say the statesmen of another age, to sacrifice life for property, it is indispensable in an age of commercial industry; the temptations to fraud are so great, the facilities of commission so extensive, that, but for the terror of death, property would be insecure, and industry, with all its blessings, nipped in the bud. Such is the language of commercial jealousy, and the origin of that sanguinary code which the humanity and extended wisdom of England has now perhaps too far relaxed. You would not hesitate, say the leaders of another period, to sacrifice a

hundred thousand men in a single campaign, to preserve a province, or conquer a frontier town; but what are the wars of princes to the eternal contest between freedom and tyranny? and what the destruction of its present enemies, to the liberty of unborn millions of the human race? Such is the language of revolutionary cruelty; such are the maxims which, beginning with the enthusiasm of philanthropists, ended in the rule of Robespierre. The unexampled atrocities of the Reign of Terror arose from the influence yielded to a single principle; the greatest crimes which the world has ever known, were but an extension of the supposed expedience which hangs for forgery and burns for heresy.

3. The error in all these cases is the same, and consists in supposing that what is unjust ever can be ultimately expedient, or that the Author of Nature would have implanted feelings in the human heart which the interests of society require to be continually violated. "A little knowledge," says Lord Bacon, "makes men irreligious, but extended wisdom brings them back to devotion." With equal truth it may be said, that "a little experience makes governments and people iniquitous, but extended information brings them back to the principles of justice." The real interests of society, it is at last perceived, can only be secured by those measures which command universal concurrence; and none can finally do this but such as are founded on the virtuous feelings of our nature. It is by attending only to the *first effect* of unjust measures that men are ever deceived on this subject; when their ultimate consequences come to be appreciated, the expedience is found all to lie on the other side. But these ultimate effects often do not appear for a considerable period, and hence the *immediate* danger of revolutions, and the extreme difficulty of arresting their course. The stoppage, however, is certain at last. When the feelings of the great body of mankind are outraged, or their interests menaced, by the measures of government, a reaction invariably, sooner or later, follows, and the

temporary advantages of injustice are more than counterbalanced by the permanent dissatisfaction which it occasions. The surest guide, it is at length discovered, is to be found in the inward monitor which nature has implanted in every human heart; and statesmen are taught by experience, that true wisdom consists in following what their conscience tells them to be just, in preference to what their limited experience, or mistaken views, may apprehend to be expedient.

4. Novelists and writers of the drama would do well to reflect on these observations. They generally represent their depraved characters as *admitting their wickedness*, but expressing their determination to adhere to it. This never occurs in real life. Men often admit the performance of, or profess an intention to perform, actions which the world calls wicked: but *they never admit they are wicked*. Invariably they speak of them as perfectly justifiable, or a commendable escape from absurd or iniquitous restraint. The libertine will avow all his deeds of perfidy—nay, he will glory in them; but he never allows they are wrong: on the contrary, he maintains they were no more than obedience to the dictates of nature, and that hypocritical cant alone can make them the subject of condemnation. The fraudulent bankrupt may not deny his deeds of deceit; but as long as he perseveres in his career, he represents them only as clever devices, indicating a superiority in the conduct of affairs over other men. The thief often admits his depredations, nay, he magnifies their number and dexterity; but while he remains a thief he never drops a hint as to their being criminal. The tyrant may, in a soliloquy, confess his cruel projects; but he never confesses they are cruel. State necessity, overruling destiny, are ever in his mouth; he is only watching

* "And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt as I do, yet public reason just,
Honour and empire with revenge enlarged,
By conquering this new world, compels me now
To do what else, though damned, I should
abhor.

So spake the fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds."
Paradise Lost, iv. 389.

over the safety of the commonwealth; he is anticipating or warding off the strokes of the traitor. Milton represents Satan justifying his temptation of our First Parents even amidst the innocence of Paradise. "Necessity, the tyrant's plea," was already in his mouth.*

5. The works of many of the greatest dramatists and romance-writers of modern times are characterised by this remarkable error—Racine and Molière, Alfieri and Scott, Lope de Vega and Bulwer, with all their profound knowledge of the human heart, have fallen into it.† Yet deeper observers of human nature have perceived the real character of man in this respect. Shakspeare draws, with a master's hand, the self-delusion of the human heart, and the *struggle* in the breast of the incipient criminal. Corneille represents his heroes justifying all their excesses on the grounds of state necessity; it was on this account that Napoleon said, if he had lived in his time, he would have made him his first councillor of state. Euripides and Sophocles exhibit the cruel deeds of their characters as overborne by irresistible destiny. Machiavel holds forth state policy as justifying deeds of wickedness to such an extent that subsequent ages have been doubtful whether he did not intend to vindicate them altogether. It is no doubt very convenient for a dramatist to represent his atrocious characters as laying bare their atrocity in conversation with confidants and in soliloquies; but no man ever met with this in real life. Those who look for it in the world will be constantly disappointed. Among the innumerable criminals whom the French Revolution warmed into life, there is not one who ever approached even to an admission that he had done wrong in the course of it. The same plea was Cromwell's apology for the murder of Charles I. He knew the human heart well who

† It is in an especial manner conspicuous in Alfieri. Madame de Staël was of the same opinion: "There is in the dramas of Alfieri such a profusion of energy and magnanimity, or, on the contrary, such an exaggeration of violence and crime, that it is impossible to recognise his characters as human beings. They are never so wicked or so generous as he paints them."—*Corinne*, lib. vii. c. 2.

said—"The heart is *deceitful above all things*, and desperately wicked." *

6. The truth of these principles was strongly exemplified in the later stages of the French Revolution. During the four months which elapsed between the death of Danton and the fall of Robespierre, DEATH became the sole engine of government; systematic and daily executions took place in the capital; extermination, conducted by despotic agents, prevailed in the provinces—and yet nothing but the language of philanthropy was breathed in the Convention, nothing but the noblest sentiments were uttered by the Decemvirs. Each defeat of their rivals only rendered the ruling faction more sanguinary. The successive proscriptions of the Royalists, the Girondists, the Constitutionalists, the Anarchists, and the Moderates, were immediately followed by a more violent effusion of human blood, and a more vehement profession of the principles of humanity. The destinies of France, as of every other country which undergoes the crisis of a revolution, had fallen into the hands of men who, born of the public convulsions, were sustained by them alone: they massacred in the name of their principles, they put to death in the name of the public welfare; but terror of their rivals was the real spring of their actions. The most barbarous cruelty, the most ruthless violence, the most degrading despotism, were represented as emanating from the principles of freedom, and as imperiously called for by state necessity. The noblest and most sacred motives which can influence the human breast—virtue, humanity, love for the public good, the freedom of the world—were incessantly invoked to justify their executions, to vindicate their tyranny, to prolong a power founded on the agony of the people.

7. Yet, so firmly was their power established that the death of Danton was

* On the evening after the execution of Charles I., Cromwell walked round the corpse in Whitehall, muffled up in a long black cloak, repeating to himself the words, "Dreadful necessity!"—*European Magazine*, xx. 106; and *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, i. 254.

followed by immediate and unqualified submission from every part of France. Legendre himself, his old friend, said at the Jacobin Club—"I am bound to declare before the people, that I am fully convinced, by the documents I have inspected, of Danton's guilt. Before his accusation I was his intimate friend; I would have answered for his patriotism with my head; but his conduct, and that of his accomplices, at their trial, leaves no doubt of their intentions." Robespierre made a laboured harangue, interrupted at every moment by applause, against his unfortunate rival. "It is evident," said Arthur, one of his own party, "that Danton was led to engage Dumourier to march to Paris. The money which Danton possessed was offered to Santerre, but not quickly enough to produce an insurrection." † The same sentiments were re-echoed from every part of France. From all the departments arrived a crowd of addresses, congratulating the Committee of Public Salvation and the Convention on their energy. Every one hastened to make his submission to the government, and to admit the justice of its proceedings. But while approbation was in every mouth, submission in every countenance, terror in every heart, hatred at the oppressors was secretly spreading, and the downfall of democratic tyranny preparing amidst the acclamations of its triumph.

8. The political fanaticism of that extraordinary period exceeded the reli-

† It clearly appears that Danton had at one period received large sums of money from the court. In addition to the evidence on this subject furnished by Bertrand de Molleville, already referred to (Chap. vii. § 24), it appears from a note of Lafayette's that he had previously agreed to sell himself to the court. "Danton sold himself for 100,000 francs (£4000), of which he only got 10,000. After the suppression of the disturbances, he was ready to sell himself to any party. While he was making incendiary motions at the Jacobins, he was the spy of the court, giving it a systematic account of all that passed there. Later, he received a great deal of money: the Friday before the 10th of August, he got 100,000 crowns. Madame Elizabeth said before that day—'We are tranquil; we can rely upon Danton.'"—Note found among the papers of General Lafayette; *Hist. Parl.* xxxii. 105, 106.

gious fervour of the age of Cromwell. Posterity will find it as difficult to credit the one as the other. "Plus le corps social transpire," said Collet d'Herbois, "plus il devient sain."—"Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas," exclaimed Barrère. "Le vaisseau de la Révolution ne peut arriver au port que sur une mer rougeie de flots de sang," said St Just. "Une nation ne se régénère que sur des monceaux de cadavres," rejoined Robespierre.* Such were the principles daily carried into practice for months together in every town in France. Alone and unrestrained, the Committee of Public Salvation struck repeated and resistless blows from one end of the kingdom to the other. Fertile in crime, abounding in wretchedness, that eventful reign was not wanting in the most heroic examples of virtue. "Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatus profugos liberos matres, secutes maritos in exilia conjuges, propinqui audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam adversus tormenta servorum fides, supremæ clarorum virorum necessitates, ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata, et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus." †

9. The professed object of the De-

* "If we wish to save the vessel of the Republic, there must be no pity; blood! blood! Let all the Capetians and Royalists of every denomination perish. We want neither a Cæsar nor a Pompey! that is my profession of faith."—ACHARD & GRAVIER, *juré national*, 10 *Ther.*, Ann. 2; *Papiers trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 225. These expressions, to which hundreds of others might be added, prove how true to nature the great Scottish novelist was in his delineation of the Covenanters. "We must smite them hip and thigh, even from the rising to the going down of the sun. It is our commission to slay them like Amalek, and utterly destroy all they have, and spare neither man nor woman, infant nor suckling; therefore hinder me not," said Burley, "for this must not be done negligently."—*Old Mortality*, chap. ix.

† "Yet the age was not so sterile in virtue as to be destitute of great examples. Mothers attended their flying children, wives followed their exiled husbands, relations were undaunted, sons-in-law unshaken, the fidelity of slaves firm even against the utmost tortures, the illustrious subjected to the utmost hardships, and that hardship itself bravely endured, and death, equal to the most renowned of antiquity, of daily occurrence."

cemvirs was to establish a republic in France after the model of the ancients, to change the manners, the habits, the public spirit of the country. Sovereignty in the people, magistrates without pride, citizens without vice, simplicity of manners, fraternity of relations, austerity of character—such was the basis on which their institutions were to rest. There was one objection to them, that they were utterly impracticable, from the character of the great body of mankind. Camille Desmoulins saw this, when, in a letter to his wife, the night before his execution, he said—"I had dreamt of a republic which all the world would have adored. I could not have believed that men were so ferocious and so unjust." "I knew well the great," said Alfieri, after witnessing at Paris the 10th August, "*but I did not know the little.*" ‡ Such were the errors which ruined France: a mistaken idea of the virtue of unsophisticated man, unbounded confidence in social regeneration, utopian expectations of human perfectibility, were the root of all the errors which prevailed. To accomplish these chimerical projects, it was indispensable to destroy the whole superior classes of society, to cut off all those who were pre-eminent among their neighbours, either for fortune, rank, talent, or acquirement. These, they seriously believed, were the only wicked men in the world. To destroy them was the end, accordingly, proposed in the indiscriminate massacres which were put in execution. And what would have been its consequence if completely carried into effect? To sink the whole human race to the level of the lowest classes, to annihilate all superiority in virtue, knowledge, or acquirement, and destroy everything which dignifies or adorns human nature. Such was the chimera which they followed through these oceans of blood. Politicians have no right, after such proceedings, to reproach religious enthusiasm with the reign of saints, or the expected approach of the millennium.

‡ "Je connais bien les grands, mais je ne connoissais pas les petits."—ALFIERI, *Vita*, i. 374 *ad fin.*

10. In pursuance of these views, St Just made a laboured report on the general police of the commonwealth, in which he recapitulated all the fabulous stories of conspiracies against the Republic; explaining them as efforts of every species of vice against the austere rule of the people; and concluding with holding out the necessity of the government striking without intermission, till it had cut off all those whose corruption opposed itself to the establishment of virtue. "You have been severe—you were right to be so, but you have acted judiciously. It was necessary to resist crime by inflexible justice, to destroy conspiracies, and to punish the sanguinary hypocrisy of those who, without courage, seek to restore the throne and destroy the Republic. The foundation of all great states has been laid in storms. The basis of all great institutions is terror. Where would now have been an indulgent Republic? We have opposed the sword to the sword, and its power is in consequence established. It has emerged from the storm, and its origin is like that of the earth out of the confusion of Chaos, and of man who weeps in the hour of nativity." As a consequence of these principles, he proposed a general measure of proscription against all the nobles as the irreconcilable opponents of the Revolution. "You will never," said he, "satisfy the enemies of the people, till you have re-established tyranny in all its horrors. They can never be at peace with you; you do not speak the same language; you will never understand each other. Banish them by an inexorable law; the universe may receive them; and the public safety is our justification." He then proposed a decree which banished all the ex-nobles, all strangers from Paris, the fortified towns, and seaports of France; and declared *hors la loi* whoever did not yield obedience in ten hours to the order. It was received with applause by the Convention, and passed, like all decrees of government at that time, without coming to a vote.

11. The Committee of Public Salvation, now confident in its own strength, and strong in the universal submission

of France, adopted several measures calculated to strengthen its own power, and subvert that of the people. The situations of the different ministers of state were abolished, and twelve committees appointed to carry on the details of government. These commissions, entirely appointed by the Committee of Public Salvation, and dependent on the will of its members, were, in fact, nothing but the offices in which they exercised their mighty and despotic powers. Shortly after, steps were taken to extinguish all the popular societies which did not immediately depend on the great parent club of the Jacobins. It was resolved at that society that they would no longer receive any deputation from bodies formed since the 10th August, or keep up any correspondence with them; and that a committee should be appointed, to consider whether it should be maintained with those which were formed before that event. This measure, directed in an especial manner against the club of the Cordeliers, the centre of the influence of Danton, soon produced the desired effect. Intimidated by the destruction of the leaders of that great society, the whole other clubs in France, to avoid the coming storm, dissolved themselves; and in less than ten days after the promulgation of this resolution, there remained no secondary club in France, but those which were affiliated with the Jacobins at Paris. That body thenceforward became the sole organ of government in regulating public opinion. It was next proposed to close the sittings of the Cordeliers; but this was unnecessary; that club, once so terrible, rapidly declined, and soon died a natural death. The Jacobins, swayed with absolute power by the Committee of Public Salvation, with its affiliated societies, alone remained of all the innumerable clubs which had sprung up in France. Thus, on all sides, the anarchy of the Revolution was destroying itself; and out of its ruins the stern and relentless despotism of a few political fanatics was wringing out of the heart's blood of France the last remnants of democratic fervour.

12. Robespierre was the leader of this sect of fanatics; but he was associated in the Committee with zealots more unpitiable or less disinterested than himself. These were St Just and Couthon. The former exhibited the true features of gloomy fanaticism. A regular visage, dark and lank hair, a penetrating and severe look, a melancholy expression of countenance, revived the image of those desperate Scottish enthusiasts of whom modern genius has drawn so graphic a picture. Simple and unostentatious in his habits, austere in private, and indefatigable in public, he was, at twenty-five, the most resolute, because the most sincere, of the Decemvirs. A warm admirer of the Republic, he was ever at his post in the committees, and never wanting in resolution during his missions to the armies: enthusiastic in his passion for the multitude, he disdained to imitate its vices or pander to its desires as Hébert did. Steele against every sentiment of pity, he demanded the execution of victims in the same manner as the supply of the armies. Proscriptions, like victories, were essential to the furtherance of his principles.* He early attached himself to Robespierre, from the similarity of their ideas, and the reputation of incorruptibility which he enjoyed; their alliance gave rise to a portentous combination of visionary ideas and domineering passion, with inflexible and systematic severity.

13. Couthon was the creature of Robespierre. A mild and beautiful countenance, a figure half-paralysed, concealed a soul animated with the most unpitiable fanaticism. His voice was soft and melodious; it was like the low ringing of a silver bell. These three men formed a Triumvirate, which soon acquired

the management of the Committee, and awakened an animosity on the part of the other members which ultimately led to their ruin. What rendered their proceedings especially dangerous was the extraordinary ability and energy with which they were conducted, and the eloquent language and generous sentiments which they put forth on all occasions to justify their tyrannical actions. The Triumvirate, however, though very powerful, were far from being omnipotent in the Committee of Public Salvation, and with the Committee of General Safety they were often on terms verging on open hostility. In the former and more important Committee, Barère, Billaud Varennes, Collet d'Herbois, formed a second party, often at variance with Robespierre; Carnot, Prieur, and Lindet, generally kept aloof from both. Robespierre's party in the Committee of Public Salvation was termed the "Men with a high hand:" Billaud Varennes was called the "Revolutionary party:" Carnot's the "Examiners." But though these divisions existed, and in the end produced important effects, they did not appear in any public act. To appearance the Committees were perfectly united; they wielded apparently by one will the whole powers of government. If the Convention was to be intimidated, St Just was employed; if surprised, Couthon was intrusted: if any opposition was manifested, Robespierre was sent for, and his terrible voice soon stifled the expression of discontent.

14. To accomplish their regeneration of the social body, the Triumvirate proceeded with gigantic energy, and displayed consummate ability. For two months after the fall of Danton, they laboured incessantly to confirm their power. Their commissioners spread terror through the departments, and communicated the requisite impulse to the affiliated Jacobin clubs, which alone now remained in existence. These clubs secured the elections of all the magistrates and public functionaries in their interest. The utmost pains were taken to render all the authorities of government energetic in spreading terror in every direction, by sternly shutting out

* "Too many laws, and too few examples, are made: only the more marked crimes are punished—dissembled crime escapes. *Cause the slightest transgression in any party to be punished*: that is the way to terrify the wicked, and make them feel that government has its eye everywhere. Direct the attention of society to the strong maxim of the public weal; let it occupy itself with the best modes of governing a free state."—ST JUST & ROBESPIERRE; *Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre*, ii. 260.

the feelings of mercy.* The national guard was universally devoted to their will, and proved the ready instrument of the most sanguinary measures. The armies, victorious on every side, warmly supported their energetic administration, and made the frontiers resound with the praise of the government. Strong in the support of such powerful bodies, the fanatical leaders of the Revolution boldly and universally began the work of extermination. The mandates of death issued from the capital, and a thousand guillotines were instantly raised throughout the towns and villages of France. Amidst the roar of cannon, the rolling of drums, and the sound of the tocsin, the suspected were everywhere arrested, while the young and active were marched off to the defence of the country. Fifteen hundred bastilles, spread through the departments, soon groaned with the multitude of captives; and these being insufficient to contain their numbers, the monasteries, the palaces, the chateaus, were generally employed as temporary places of confinement. The abodes of festivity, the palaces of kings, the temples of religion, were filled with victims; fast as the guillotine did its work, it could not reap the harvest of death which everywhere presented itself; and the crowded state of the prisons soon produced contagious fevers, which swept off thousands of their unhappy inmates.

15. To support these violent measures, the utmost care was taken to preserve in full vigour the democratic spirit in the Club of the Jacobins, the centre of the revolutionary action throughout France.

* "The tribunals ought to go direct to the point, and strike without pity all the conspirators; they ought also to be political tribunals; they ought to remember that the men who were not in favour of the Revolution were against it, and did nothing for their country. In a position of this kind, individual feeling ought to cease; it should expand so as to embrace the Republic. Every man who escapes from the national justice is a miscreant who will one day cause the death of republicans whom you ought to watch over. You have a great mission to fulfil; forget that nature made you a man with feeling. In the exercise of popular commissions, individual humanity, *humanity which takes the veil of justice, is a crime.*"—PÉTAN, *juré révol. de Paris. Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre*, ii. 370.

By successive *purifications*, as they were called, all those who retained any sentiments of humanity, any tendency towards moderation, were expelled, and none left but men of iron, steeled against every approach to mercy. The Club in this way at length became the complete quintessence of cruelty, and the focus of the most fearful revolutionary energy. It was its extraordinary energy and extensive influence, and the absolute direction it had obtained over all the affiliated clubs and departments, which constituted the real secret of Robespierre's power. Never had Turkish sultan so faithful a body of janizaries attached to his cause; never Romish pontiff so energetic a spiritual militia under his orders. It was the magnitude of their crimes against all classes, the certainty of punishment if he were overturned by any, which was the secret of their fidelity. The influence of this Club daily augmented in the latter stages of the Reign of Terror. As he approached the close of his career, Robespierre, suspicious of the Convention and the Mountain, rested almost entirely on that chosen band of adherents, whose emissaries ruled with absolute sway the municipality and the departments.

16. Eight thousand prisoners were soon accumulated in the different places of confinement in Paris; the number throughout France exceeded two hundred thousand. The condition of such a multitude of captives was necessarily miserable in the extreme; the prisons of the Conciergerie, of the Force, and the Mairie, were more horrible than any in Europe. All the comforts which, during the first months of the Reign of Terror, were allowed to the captives of fortune, had of late been withdrawn. Such luxuries, it was said, were an insupportable indulgence to the rich aristocrats, while, without the prison walls, the poor were starving for want. In consequence they established refectories, where the whole prisoners, of whatever rank or sex, were allowed only the coarsest and most unwholesome fare. None were permitted to purchase better provisions for themselves; and, to prevent the possibility of their doing so, a rigorous search was

made for money of every description, which was all taken from the captives. Some were even denied the sad consolation of bearing their misfortunes together; and to the terrors of solitary confinement were added those of death, which daily became more urgent and inevitable. The prodigious numbers who were thrust into the prisons, far exceeding all possible accommodation, produced the most frightful filth in some places, the most insupportable crowding in all: and, as the ineffable result of these, joined to the scanty fare and deep depression of these gloomy abodes, contagion made rapid progress, and mercifully relieved many from their sufferings. But this only aggravated the sufferings of the survivors; the bodies were overlooked or forgotten, and often not removed for days together. Not content with the real terrors which they presented, the ingenuity of the jailers was exerted to produce imaginary anxiety; the long nights were frequently interrupted by visits from the executioners, solely intended to excite alarm; the few hours of sleep allowed to the victims were broken by the rattling of chains and unbarring of doors, to induce the belief that their fellow-prisoners were about to be led to the scaffold; and the warrants for death against eighty persons in one place of confinement, were made the means of keeping six hundred in agony.

17. Despair of life, recklessness of the future, produced their usual effects on the unhappy crowd of captives. Some sank into sullen indifference; others indulged in immoderate gaiety, and sought to amuse life even at the foot of the scaffold. The greater part walked about, unable to bear the torture of thought when sitting still; few remained at rest,—

"Supin giaceva in terra alcuna gente;
Alcuna si sedea tutta raccolta,
Ed altra andava continuamente.
Quella che giva intorno era più molta;
E quella men che giaceva al tormento;
Ma più al duolo avea la lingua sciolta."^{*}

* "On the earth some lay supine,
Some crouching close were seated, others paced
Incessantly around; the latter tribe
More numerous; those fewer who beneath
The torment lay, but louder in their grief."

DANTE, *Inferno*, xiv. 22.

The day before his execution, the poet Ducorneau composed a beautiful ode, which was sung in chorus by the whole prisoners, and repeated, with a slight variation, after his execution.[†] At other times the scene changed; in the midst of their ravings the prisoners first destined for the scaffold were transported by the Phedon of Plato and the death of Socrates; infidelity in its last moments betook itself with delight to the sublime belief of the immortality of the soul. The prisoners whose hearts were overflowing with domestic sorrow, were in a peculiar manner open to the generous emotions; friendships were formed in a few hours; common dangers excited a universal and mutual sympathy; even the passion of love was often felt on the verge of the tomb. The universal uncertainty of life, combined with the multitude exposed to similar chances, induced both a warm sympathy in hearts which in other circumstances might have remained strangers to it, and a strange indifference to individual fate. Religion penetrated those gloomy abodes, and often lent its never-failing support to suffering humanity: and nothing astonished the few who escaped from confinement so much as the want of sympathy for the sufferings of mankind which generally prevailed in the world.

18. From the farthest extremities of France crowds of prisoners daily arrived at the gates of the Conciergerie, which successively sent forth its bands of victims to the scaffold. Grey hairs and youthful forms; countenances blooming with health, and faces worn with suffering; beauty and talent, rank and virtue, were indiscriminately rolled together to the fatal doors. With truth might have been written over the portals what Dante placed over the entrance of his *Inferno*:—

† In the transport of the moment another exclaimed in extempore verse—

"Amis! combien il a d'attraites
L'instant où s'unissent nos âmes!
Le cœur juste est toujours en paix;
O doux plaisir que n'eût jamais
L'ambitieux avec ses trames!
Venez, bourreaux! nous sommes prêts."

"Per me si va nella città dolente;
Per me si va nell' eterno dolore;
Per me si va tra la perduta gente.

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate."*
Sixty persons often arrived in a day, and as many were on the following morning sent out to execution. Night and day the cars incessantly discharged victims into the prisons: weeping mothers and trembling orphans, grey-haired sires and youthful innocents, were thrust in without mercy with the brave and the powerful: the young, the beautiful, the unfortunate, seemed in a peculiar manner the prey of the assassins. Nor were the means of emptying the prisons augmented in a less fearful progression. Fifteen only were at first placed on the chariot, but the number was soon augmented to thirty, and gradually rose to seventy or eighty persons, who daily were sent forth to the place of execution; when the fall of Robespierre put a stop to the murders, arrangements had been made for increasing the daily number to one hundred and fifty.† An immense aqueduct, to remove the gore, had been dug from the Seine as far as the Place St Antoine, where latterly the executions took place; and four men were daily employed in emptying the blood of the victims into that reservoir.‡

* "Through me you pass into the city of woe;
Through me you pass into eternal pain;
Through me among the people lost for aye;
All hope abandon, ye who enter here."

DANTE, *Inferno*, iii. 1.

† "They had arranged everything, so as to be able to send 150 at a time to the place of execution. Already an immense aqueduct, to carry off the flow of blood, had been bored in the Place St Antoine. Every day human blood poured into buckets, and at the hour of execution four men were occupied in emptying them into this aqueduct."—RIVOUFFE, *Sur les Prisons*, 84; *Rév. Mémoires*, xxiii. 84.

‡ "Α, καὶ ποῦ ἔρχεται μὲν; πρὸς ποῖον ὁρίζηται;
Πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρεΐδων; ἢ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἑνός;
Μιγδὼν μὲν αὖτε, πόλλα συνιστάται
Αὐτοῖσι κακὰ τε καὶ ἄγασται
Ἀνδρῶν σφαιρῶν καὶ ἄνδρῶν συντροχῶν."

ÆSCHYLUS, *Agam.* 1050.

"Whither do you lead me? To what bourne? To the house of the Atreides, if you do not already know it—dwelling abhorred of Heaven—human shamble-house, and floor blood-bespattered." Verily, says Bulwer, no prophet like the poet.

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19. The female prisoners, on entering the jails, and frequently during the course of their detention, were subjected to indignities so shocking that they were often worse than death itself. Under the pretence of searching for concealed articles, money, or jewels, they were obliged to undress in presence of their brutal jailers, who, if they were young or handsome, subjected them to searches of the most rigorous and revolting description.§ This process was so common that it acquired a name, and was called "Rapiotage." Many monsters made their fortunes by this infamous robbery. A bed of straw alone awaited the prisoners when they arrived in their wretched cells: the heat was such, from the multitudes thrust into them, that they were to be seen crowding to the windows, with pale and cadaverous countenances, striving through the bars to inhale the fresh air. Fathers and mothers, surrounded by their weeping children, long remained locked in each other's arms, in agonies of grief, when the fatal hour of separation arrived. The parents were in general absorbed in the solemn reflections which the near approach of death seldom fails to awaken; but the children, with frantic grief, clung with their little hands round their necks, and loudly implored to be placed, still embraced in each other's arms, under the guillotine.

20. The condition of the prisoners in these jails of Paris, where above ten thousand persons were at last confined, was dreadful beyond what imagination could conceive.

§ "La prisonnière en entrant est fouillée, volée: on ne lui laisse que son mouchoir; couteau, ciseaux, argent, assignats, or et bijoux—tout est pris: vous entrez nu et dépouillée. Ce brigandage s'appelle *rapioter*. Les femmes offraient à la brutalité des geôliers tout ce qui pouvait éveiller leurs féroces desirs et leurs dégoûtantes propos: les plus jeunes étaient déshabillées, fouillées: la cupidité satisfaite, la lubricité s'éveille; et ces infortunées, les yeux balassés, tremblantes, éplorées devant ces bandits, ne pouvaient cacher à leurs yeux ce que la pudeur même dérober à l'amour trop heureux. Cet affreux brigandage a fait la fortune de ces monstres."—*Tableaux des Prisons de Paris pendant la Terreur*, 1797, vol. ii. 84.

"No light; but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe.
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where
peace
And rest can never dwell: hope never comes,
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges." *

The following description is from an eyewitness of these horrors: the fastidiousness of modern manners may revolt at some of its details, but the truth of history requires that they should be recorded. "From the outer room, where examinations are conducted, you enter by two enormous doors into the dungeons—infected and damp abodes, where large rats carry on a continual war against the unhappy wretches who are there accumulated together, gnawing their ears, noses, and clothing, and depriving them of a moment's respite even by sleep. Hardly ever does daylight penetrate into these gloomy abodes: the straw which composes the litter of the prisoners soon becomes rotten from want of air, and from the ordure and excrement with which it is covered; and such is the stench thence arising, that a stranger, on entering the door, feels as if he were suffocating. The prisoners are all either in what are called the straw chambers or in the dungeons. Thus poverty is there regarded as a fresh crime, and leads to the most dreadful punishment; for a lengthened abode in these horrid receptacles is worse than death itself. The dungeons are never opened but for inspection, to give food to the prisoners, or to empty the vases. The superior class of chambers, called the straw apartments, do not differ from the dungeons except in this, that their inhabitants are permitted to go out at eight in the morning, and to remain out till an hour before sunset. During the intervening period, they are allowed to walk in the court, or huddle together in the galleries which surround it, where they are suffocated by infectious odours. There is the same accumulation of horror in their sleeping chambers: no air, rotten straw, and perhaps fifty prisoners thrust into one hole, with their heads lying on their own filth, surrounded by every species of dirt and contagion. Nor were these

disgusting circumstances the only degradation which awaited the unhappy prisoners. No one could conceive the woe of the state to which the human species can be reduced, who had not witnessed the calling of the roll in the evening, when three or four turnkeys, each with half a dozen fierce dogs held in a leash, call the unhappy prisoners to answer to their names, threatening, swearing, and insulting, while they are supplicating, weeping, imploring: often they ordered them to go out and come in three or four times over, till they were satisfied that the trembling troop was complete. The cells for the women were as horrid as those for the men, equally dark, humid, filthy, crowded, and suffocating: and it was there that all the rank and beauty of Paris was assembled."

21. It was three in the afternoon when the melancholy procession set out from the Conciergerie; the troop slowly passed through the vaulted passages of the prison, amidst crowds of captives, who gazed with insatiable avidity on the aspect of those about to undergo a fate which might so soon become their own. The higher orders in general behaved with firmness and serenity; silently they marched to death, with their eyes fixed on the firmament, lest their looks should betray their indignation. Numbers of the lower class piteously bewailed their fate, and called heaven and earth to witness their innocence. The pity of the spectators was in a peculiar manner excited by the bands of females led out together to execution; fourteen young women of Verdun, of the most attractive forms, were cut off together. "The day after their execution," says Riouffe, "the court of the prison looked like a garden bereaved of its flowers by a tempest." On another occasion, twenty women of Poitou, chiefly the wives of peasants, were placed together on the chariot; some died on the way, and the wretches guillotined their lifeless remains; one kept her infant in her bosom till she reached the foot of the scaffold; the executioners tore the innocent from her breast, as she suckled it for the last time, and the screams of maternal agony

* *Paradise Lost*, l. 63.

were only stifled with her life. In removing the prisoners from the jail of the Maison Lazare, one of the women declared herself with child, and on the point of delivery: the hard-hearted jailers compelled her to move on: she did so, uttering piercing shrieks, and at length fell on the ground, and was delivered of an infant in presence of her persecutors.*

22. Such accumulated horrors annihilated all the charities and intercourse of life. Before daybreak the shops of the provision merchants were besieged by crowds of women and children clamouring for the food which the law of the maximum in general prevented them from obtaining. The farmers trembled to bring their produce to the market, the shopkeepers to expose it to sale. The richest quarters of the town were deserted; no equipages or crowds of passengers were to be seen on the streets; the sinister words, *Propriété Nationale*, imprinted in large characters on the walls, everywhere showed how far the work of confiscation had proceeded. Passengers hesitated to address their most intimate friends on meeting; the extent of calamity had rendered men suspicious even of those they loved the most.

"In secret murmurs thus they sought relief,
While no bold voice proclaim'd aloud their grief.

O'er all one deep, one horrid silence reigns;
As when the rigour of the winter's chains,
All nature, heaven and earth at once con-
strains:

* "In one of these removals devised for the purpose of harassing the miserable prisoners, Dumoulier arrived at four in the morning, followed by a large car to carry off the female prisoners. One of them, who was near her confinement, having been rudely awoken, felt symptoms indicating an immediate seizure. She implored to be permitted to remain a few days: she was accused of imposture; she was not listened to; her reiterated prayers, her tears, the entreaties of her companions—all were in vain: she had to march with the others. This youthful victim dragged herself along, supported by several men, uttering cries of agony and despair. Scarcely had she crossed the garden and reached the threshold of the door, when her pains returned with redoubled violence: there was barely time to get her conveyed to a neighbouring chamber: she fell upon a bed, and was delivered in the presence of this savage and his myrmidons."—*Tableau de la Maison Lazare*, p. 226, vol. xxiii.; *Rev. Mém.*

The tuneful feather'd kind forget their lays,
And shivering tremble on the naked sprays;
Ev'n the rude seas, composed, forget to
roar,

And freezing billows stiffen on the shore."
LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, l. 258.

Every one assumed the coarsest dress and the most squalid appearance; an elegant exterior would have been the certain forerunner of destruction. At one hour only were any symptoms of animation to be seen; it was when the victims were conveyed to execution. The humane fled with horror from the sight; the infuriated rushed in crowds to satiate their eyes with the spectacle of human agony. Night came, but with it no diminution of the anxiety of the people. Every family early assembled its members; with trembling looks they gazed round the room, fearful that the very walls might harbour traitors.† The sound of a foot, the stroke of a hammer, a voice in the streets, froze all hearts with horror. If a knock was heard at the door, every one, in agonised suspense, expected his fate. Unable to endure such protracted misery, numbers committed suicide.‡ "Had the reign of Robespierre," says Fréron, "continued longer, multitudes would have thrown themselves under the guillotine; the first of social affections, the love of life, was already extinguished in almost every heart."

23. In the midst of these unparalleled atrocities, the Convention were occupied with the establishment of the civic virtues. Robespierre pronounced a discourse on the qualities certain to a republic. He dedicated a certain number

† "Omai le stragi,
Le violenze, le rapine, l'onte,
Son lieve male; il pessimo è del mal
L'alto tremor, che i cuori tutti ingombra:
Non che parlar, neppur oser mirarsi
L'un l'altro in volto i cittadini incerti:
Tanto è il sospetto e il diffidar, che trema
Del fratello il fratel, del figlio il padre:
Corrotti i vili, intimoriti i buoni,
Negletti i dubbii, trucidati i prodi,
Ed avviliti tutti: ecco qual sono
Quei già superbi cittadin di Roma,
Terror finora, oggi d'Italia scherno."

ALFIERI, *Virginia*, Act iii. scene 2:

‡ "Pars animam laqueo claudunt, mortisque
timorem
Morte fugant; ultroque vocant venientia
fata."

OVID, *Metam.* vii. 605.

of the decadal fêtes to the Supreme Being, to Truth, to Justice, to Modesty, to Friendship, to Frugality, to Good Faith, to Glory, and to Immortality! Barère prepared a report on the suppression of mendicity, and the means of relieving the indigent poor. Robespierre had now reached the zenith of his popularity with his faction; he was denominated the Great Man of the Republic; his virtue, his genius, his eloquence, were in every mouth. The speech which he made on this occasion was one of the most remarkable of his whole career. "The idea," said he, "of a Supreme Being, and of the immortality of the soul, is a continual call to justice; it is therefore a social and republican principle. Who has authorised you to declare that the Deity does not exist? O you who support in such impassioned strains so arid a doctrine, what advantage do you expect to derive from the principle that a blind fatality regulates the affairs of men, and that the soul is nothing but a breath of air impelled towards the tomb? Will the idea of annihilation inspire man with more pure and elevated sentiments than that of immortality? will it awaken more respect for others or himself, more courage to resist tyranny, greater contempt for pleasure or death? You who regret a virtuous friend, can you endure the thought that his noblest part has not escaped dissolution? You who weep over the remains of a child or a wife, are you consoled by the thought that a handful of dust is all that remains of the beloved object? You, the unfortunate, who expire under the strokes of an assassin, is not your last voice raised to appeal to the justice of the Most High? Innocence on the scaffold, supported by such thoughts, makes the tyrant turn pale on his triumphal car. Could such an ascendant be felt, if the tomb levelled alike the oppressor and his victim?"

"Observe how, on all former occasions, tyrants have sought to stifle the idea of the immortality of the soul. With what art did Cæsar, when pleading in the Roman Senate in favour of the accomplices of Catiline, endeavour to throw doubts on the belief of its im-

mortality; while Cicero invokes against the traitor the sword of the laws and the vengeance of Heaven! Socrates, on the verge of death, discoursed with his friends on the ennobling theme; Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, on the eve of executing the most heroic design ever conceived by man, invited his companions to a banquet in another world. The principles of the Stoics gave birth to Brutus and Cato, even in the ages which witnessed the expiry of Roman virtue; they alone saved the honour of human nature, almost obliterated by the vices and the corruption of the empire. The Encyclopedists contained some estimable characters, but a much greater number of ambitious rascals. Many of them became leading men in the state. Whoever does not study their influence and policy would form a most imperfect notion of our Revolution. It was they who introduced the frightful doctrine of atheism; they were ever in politics below the dignity of freedom; in morality they went as far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices. Their disciples declaimed against despotism, and received the pensions of despots; they composed alternately tirades against kings, and madrigals for their mistresses; they were fierce with their pens, and rampant in antechambers. That sect propagated with infinite care the principles of Materialism, which spread so rapidly among the great and the *beaux esprits*. We owe to them that selfish philosophy which reduced egotism to a system; regarded human society as a game of chance, where success was the sole distinction between what was just and unjust; probity as an affair of taste or good breeding; the world as the patrimony of the most dexterous of scoundrels.

"Among the great men of that period was one* distinguished by the elevation

* Rousseau, whose remains had shortly before been translated to the Pantheon. Robespierre composed this eloquent speech in the cottage which Rousseau had inhabited at Montmorency, or in the forest of the same name—a striking proof of the influences which directed him, from the opening to the close of his eventful career.—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, viii. 175.

of his soul and the greatness of his character, who showed himself a worthy preceptor of the human race. He attacked tyranny with boldness; he spoke with enthusiasm of the Deity. His masculine and upright eloquence drew in colours of fire the charms of virtue; it defended the elevated doctrines which reason affords to console the human heart. The purity of his principles; his profound hatred of vice, his supreme contempt for the intriguing sophists who usurped the name of philosophers, drew upon him the hatred and persecution of his rivals and his friends. Could he have witnessed our Revolution, of which he was the precursor, and which bore him to the Pantheon, can we doubt he would have embraced with transport the doctrine of justice and equality? But what have the others done? They have frittered away their opinions, sold themselves to the gold of d'Orléans, or withdrawn into a base neutrality. The men of letters in general have dishonoured themselves in this revolution; and, to the eternal disgrace of talent, the reason of the people alone accomplished its triumphs.

"What strange coalitions have we seen, in persons embracing the most opposite opinions, in favour of the doctrines which I combat! Have we not heard, in a popular society, the traitor Guadet denounce a citizen for having pronounced the name of Providence? Have we not, some time after, heard Hébert accusing another of having written against atheism? Was it not Vergniaud and Gensonné who, in your very presence, descanted with fervour from your tribune on the propriety of banishing from the preamble of the constitution the name of the Supreme Being, which you had placed there? Danton, who smiled with scorn at the words glory, virtue, posterity—Danton, whose system it was to vilify whatever can dignify the mind—Danton, who was cold and mute in the midst of the greatest dangers of liberty, was warm and eloquent in support of the same atheistical principles. Whence so singular a union on this subject among men so divided on others? Did they wish to compensate their indulgence

for aristocracy and tyranny by their war against the Deity? No! it was because they all alike, though from different motives, strove to dry up the fountains of whatever is grand and generous in the human heart. They embraced with transport, to justify their selfish designs, a system which, confounding the destiny of the good and the bad, leaves no other difference between them but the casual distinctions of fortune—no other arbiter but the right of the strongest or the most deceitful.

"Fanatics! hope nothing from us. To recall the worship of the Supreme Being is to level a mortal stroke at fanaticism. Fiction in the end disappears before truth, folly before reason: unrestrained, unpersecuted, all sects should be lost in the universal religion of nature. Ambitious priests! do not expect us to restore your reign. Such an enterprise would be beyond our power. — (Loud applause.) Priests are to morality what charlatans are to medicine. How different is the God of nature from the God of the church! — (Loud applause.) The priests have figured to themselves a god in their own image; they have made him jealous, capricious, cruel, covetous, implacable; they have enthroned him in the heavens as a palace, and called him to the earth only to demand, for their behoof, tithes, riches, pleasures, honours, and power. The true temple of the Supreme Being is the universe; his worship, virtue; his fêtes, the joy of a great people, assembled under his eyes to draw closer the bonds of social affection, and present to him the homage of pure and grateful hearts." In the midst of the acclamations produced by these eloquent words, the Convention decreed unanimously that they recognised the existence of the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, and that the worship most worthy of Him was the practice of the social virtues.

24. This speech is not only remarkable as containing the religious views of so memorable an actor in the bloodiest periods of the Revolution, but as involving a moral lesson of perhaps greater moment than any that has occurred in the history of mankind. For the first

time in the annals of mankind, a great nation had thrown off all religious principle, and openly defied the power of Heaven itself; and from amidst the wreck which was occasioned by the unchaining of human passions, arose a solemn recognition of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul! It seemed as if Providence had permitted human wickedness to run its utmost length, in order, amidst the frightful scene, to demonstrate the necessity of religious belief, and vindicate the majesty of its moral government. In vain an infidel generation sought to establish the frigid doctrine of Materialism, and extinguish all belief of an existence or retribution hereafter. Their principles received their full development; the anarchy they are fitted to induce was experienced, and that recognition was wrung from a suffering which had been denied by a prosperous age. Nor is this speech less striking as evincing the fanaticism of that extraordinary period, and the manner in which, during revolutionary convulsions, the most atrocious actions are made to flow from the purest and most benevolent expressions. If you consider the actions of Robespierre, he appears the most sanguinary tyrant that ever desolated the earth; if you reflect on his words, they seem dictated only by the noblest and most elevated feelings. There is nothing impossible in such a combination; the history of the world exhibits too many examples of its occurrence. It is the nature of fanaticism, whether religious or political, to produce it. The inquisition of Spain, the crusade against the Albigeois, the fires of Smithfield, the *autos-da-fé* of Castile, arose from the same principles as the daily executions of the French tyrant. It is because revolutions lead to such terrible results, by so flowery and seductive a path, that they are chiefly dangerous; and because the ruin thus induced is irrevocable, that the seducers of nations are doomed by inexorable justice to the same infamy as the betrayers of individuals.

25. Two unsuccessful attempts at assassination increased, as is always the case, the power of the tyrants. The first of these was made by an obscure, but

intrepid man, of the name of L'Amiral, who tried to assassinate Collot d'Herbois; the second, against Robespierre, by a young woman, named Cécile Renaud. L'Amiral, when brought before his judges, openly avowed that he had intended to assassinate Robespierre before Collot d'Herbois.* When called on to divulge who prompted him to the commission of such a crime, he replied firmly—"That it was not a crime; that he wished only to render a service to his country; that he had conceived the project without any external suggestion; and that his only regret was that he had not succeeded." Cécile called at Robespierre's house, and entreated in the most earnest manner to see him; the urgency of her manner excited the suspicion of his attendants, and she was arrested. Two knives, found in her bundle, afforded a presumption as to the purpose of her visit; but there was no other evidence against her, and she positively denied on her examination having intended to injure any one. Being asked what was her motive for wishing to see him, she replied, "I wished to see how a tyrant was made. I admit I am a Royalist, because I prefer one king to fifty thousand." She behaved on the scaffold, when executed, in accordance with the sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal, some weeks after, with the firmness of Charlotte Corday. L'Amiral, turning to Cécile Renaud, and gazing on the multitude, said, "You wished to see how one tyrant was made: there are hundreds under your eyes." The cortège consisted of eight chariots; and the beauty of the women seated in them, as well as the scarlet robes in which they were

* The following letter, found among Robespierre's papers, shows with what feelings he was regarded at the time by his partisans: "I have been struck with horror on hearing the dangers you have run; reassure yourself, brave republican! The Supreme Being, whose existence you have just proved, watches over your life; it will be preserved in spite of your numerous enemies, and the Republic will be saved. A trap has been set for you in offering you the national palace for a residence; take care not to accept it: it is impossible to dwell in a palace and continue a friend of the people."—*Citoyen D. à ROBESPIERRE*, 12 *Prairial*, An. 2. *Papiers intimes trouvés chez Robespierre*, ii. 152.

arrayed, excited unusual attention. A great number of other persons, sixty in all, were involved in Océile Renaud's fate, among whom were a number of young men brought from the frontier, where they had been bravely combating in defence of their country. Her father, aunt, and brother, were doomed along with her, though she solemnly protested their innocence, and there was not a vestige of evidence against them. Among the rest were, a youth named Hypolite Montmorency Laval, of distinguished talents and fine figure, whose only offence was the name he bore and the genius he had inherited; M. de Sombréuil, and M. Michonis, jailer of the Temple, accused of humanity to its illustrious inmates; the Prince de St Maurice; an elegant actress, Grandmison, accused of no other crime but having awakened the love of M. Sartines; and a beautiful young woman, Mademoiselle Saint Amaranthe, a friend of Robespierre, who was executed with her mother for an expression accidentally dropped when in company with himself, at dinner at his own house, on the number of deputies who were about to be brought to punishment.* The whole sixty were conducted together in red shirts to the place of execution, as if they had all been assassins; though not one stroke had been given, and hardly one knew another even by sight. The trial of the whole before the Revolutionary Tribunal occupied only two hours. Fouquier Tinville was indignant at their firmness. "I must get," said he, "with the cortège to the scaffold, should it cost me my dinner, to see if they will brazen it out to the last."† Robespierre strongly opposed, in the Committee of Public Salvation, the proposal to include Mademoiselle Saint Amaranthe in the prosecution, which was brought forward by Vadier. "I propose," said the latter, "to make

* Mademoiselle Saint Amaranthe looked so beautiful with the scarlet robe reflected on her cheeks, that in a fortnight all the Parisian ladies had red shawls "à la Sainte Amaranthe."—*Deux Amis*, xii. 302.

† "Voyez," dit Fouquier, "comme elles sont effrontées! Il faut que j'aille les voir monter sur l'échafaud pour m'assurer si elles conserveront ce caractère, dis-je ne passerai-je pas à dîner."—*PAUDRONNE*, v. 277.

my report on the project of assassination, and I will include the family Saint Amaranthe in it." "You shall do no such thing," said Robespierre, in a haughty tone. "I have the proofs," replied Vadier, "and I shall bring them all forward." "Proofs or no proofs," resumed Robespierre; "if you do, I will attack you." "You are the tyrant of the Committee," exclaimed Vadier. "I the tyrant of the Committee!" rejoined Robespierre: "well, I free you from my tyranny: I retire. Save the country without me if you can: as for me, my mind is made up; I will not play the part of Cromwell." He withdrew, and was not again at the dreadful Committee. But though convinced of her innocence, Robespierre had not the courage to defend Mademoiselle St Amaranthe and her family in the Convention, where a word from him might have averted their fate. Such is the slavery in democratic times under which statesmen lie to public opinion. But this pusillanimity led to its own punishment, for it caused the people to ascribe all the executions to Robespierre, when in reality he had come to disapprove of them, and thus prepared the public mind to rejoice at his fall.

26. The Committee of Public Salvation took advantage of the sensation produced by this unsuccessful attempt, to bring forward a proposal for the refusing of quarter to the British and Hanoverian troops. On 29th May, Barère read in the Convention the report of that ruling Committee, which recounted all the hostilities of Great Britain, and accused that power as being the instigator of these conspiracies. "Too long," said he, "we have slept on conspiracies; the plots of Danton and Hébert have not awakened us. Yet a few days of impunity to the English and Austrians, and the country will become only a heap of ruins and ashes, covered with the crimes and vengeance of despotism. Let us, then, declare war to the death with the English and Hanoverians. Soldiers of liberty! when the chances of war shall throw an English or Hanoverian into your hands, think of the ashes of Toulon and of La Vendée. Strike! None should return to the libticide shores

of Britain, nor enter the free realms of France. Let the English slaves perish, and Europe will be free." On this report the Convention decreed *unanimously*,—"No prisoner shall be taken from the English or Hanoverians."* Robespierre spoke with singular satisfaction of this bloody resolution. "It will," said he, "be a noble subject of contemplation to posterity—it is already a spectacle worthy of the attention of earth and heaven, to see the Representative Assembly of the French people, placed on the inexhaustible volcano of conspiracies, with the one hand bear to the Eternal Author of all things the homage of a great people, and with the other launch the thunderbolt against the tyrants, and recall to the world the flying footsteps of liberty, justice, and virtue. They shall perish, the tyrants leagued against the French people: they shall perish, all the factions which are leagued with them for the destruction of our liberties. You will not make peace, but you will give it to the world, you will take it from crime."—(Loud applause.)

27. Meanwhile, a magnificent fête was prepared by the Convention in honour of the Supreme Being. Two days before it took place, Robespierre was appointed President, and intrusted with the duty of Supreme Pontiff on the occasion. He marched fifteen feet in advance of his colleagues, in a brilliant costume, bearing flowers and fruits in his hands. His address to the people, which followed, was both powerful and eloquent. "God," said he, "*has not created kings to devour the human race; He has not created priests to harness them like vile animals to the chariots of kings, and to exhibit to the world examples of perfidy, avarice, and baseness; but He has created the universe to attest His power, and man to aid Him in the glorious undertaking—to love his fellows, and arrive at happiness by the path of virtue. It is He who placed in the bosom of the triumphant oppressor remorse and terror, and in the heart of the oppressed innocent calmness and resolution; it is He who compels the just man to hate*

the wicked, and the wicked to respect the just; it is He who makes the mother's womb leap with tenderness and joy, and bathes with delicious tears the eyes of a son pressed against his mother's bosom; it is He who causes the most imperious passions to yield to the love of country; it is He who has covered nature with charms, with riches, and majesty. All that is good flows from Him, or rather is a part of Himself. Evil springs from depraved man who oppresses, or permits the oppression of his fellow-creatures. The Author of Nature, in engraving, with His immortal hand, on the heart of man the code of justice and equality, has traced the sentence of death against tyrants. He has bound together all mortals by the chain of love—perish the tyrants who would venture to break it!"

28. These eloquent words excited, as well they might, the warmest hopes in all present that Robespierre was about to put his principles in practice, and at length bring the reign of blood to a close. But they were speedily dashed to the earth by the words which closed his address—"People! to-day let us give ourselves up to the transports of pure happiness; to-morrow we shall with increased energy combat vice and the tyrants!" The ceremony on this occasion, which was arranged under the direction of the painter David, was very magnificent. An amphitheatre was placed in the gardens of the Tuileries, opposite to which were statues representing Atheism, Discord, and Selfishness, which were destined to be burned by the hand of Robespierre. Beautiful music opened the ceremony, and the president, after an eloquent speech, seized a torch, and set fire to the figures, which were soon consumed; and when the smoke cleared away, an effigy of Wisdom was seen in their place, but it was remarked that it was blackened by the conflagration of those that had been consumed. Thence they proceeded to the Champ de Mars, where patriotic songs were sung, oaths taken by the young, and homage offered to the Supreme Being.

29. These measures and declarations on the part of Robespierre produced a great impression in Europe. Foreign

* "Il ne sera aucun prisonnier Anglais ou Hanovrien."—*Décret, 7 Prairial, (29th May)*—*Moniteur, May 29, 1794.*

nations, who had been horrified by the awful catastrophes of the Reign of Terror, had seen with undisguised satisfaction the execution of Danton and his party, who had commenced the Revolution, and brought the King to the scaffold; and of Hébert and the Anarchists, who had carried its atrocities and impiety to their most dreadful length. When, therefore, they beheld the government which had effected their destruction expressing such humane sentiments in such beautiful language, the hope became general that a reaction had at length set in—that Robespierre had acquired the mastery of the Revolution, and that out of the excess of anarchy had arisen the power which could coerce it. Foreign powers, accordingly, began to entertain sanguine hopes that the Revolution had reached its limit, and that a government had at last arisen with which it might be practicable to negotiate, and possibly conclude a durable peace.

30. The effect of these steps was not less remarkable in France itself. At the fête of the Supreme Being, on 7th June, the power of Robespierre appeared to have reached such a point, that, far beyond that of any king, it more nearly resembled that of a god upon earth. "Never," says an eyewitness, "had the sun shone with a brighter radiance: never was a more joyous and enthusiastic concourse of spectators assembled. Robespierre himself was astonished at the immense crowd of people who filled the gardens of the Tuileries. Hope and gaiety beamed from every countenance; the smiling looks and elegant costume of the women diffused a universal enchantment. As he marched along, overshadowed by his plumes, adorned with his tricolor scarf, the air resounded with cries of 'Vive Robespierre!' and his countenance was radiant with joyfulness. Alexander, when declared the son of Jupiter by the oracle of Ammon, was not more proud. 'See how they applaud him!' said his colleagues. 'He would become a god! he is no longer the high-priest of the Supreme Being.'" The Committee of Public Salvation being now avowedly in possession of supreme power, their adulators in the Convention and Jacobin Club offered them the

ensigns of sovereignty. But they had the good sense to perceive that the people were not yet prepared for this change, and that the sight of guards or a throne might shake a power against which two hundred thousand captives in chains could not arouse resistance. "The members of the Committee," said Couthon, "have no desire to be assimilated to despots; they have no need of guards for their defence; their own virtue, the love of the people, Providence, watch over their days; they have no occasion for any other protection. When necessary, they will know how to die at their post in defence of freedom." Even as it was, the jealousy of the people was aroused by the undisguised supremacy assigned to Robespierre at the ceremony; whispers were heard, that "he would be a god." "He is only teaching the Republic to adore another, that its members may one day adore himself," said one. "He has invented God, because he is the supreme tyrant," said another; "he would be his high-priest."

31. But the retreat from crime is not to nations, any more than individuals, on a path strewn with flowers; and many and woeiful were the calamities through which France had to pass, before it regained the peace and security of a settled government. This was speedily demonstrated. The bloody intentions announced by Robespierre were too effectually carried into execution on the third day following the fête of the Supreme Being, by the decree of the 22d Prairial, for increasing the powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, passed on the motion of Couthon. By this sanguinary law, every form, privilege, or usage, calculated to protect the accused, were swept away. "Every postponement of justice," said Couthon, "is a crime; every formality indulgent to the accused is a crime: the delay in punishing the enemies of the country should not be greater than the time requisite for identifying them." The

* "I have the following energetic denunciation from one who heard it uttered at the Tuileries on the day of the fête by a veritable Sans-culotte—'Look at that —! not content with being master, he must be a god too.'" —VILLATZ, *Mystères de la Mère de Dieu Dévoilés*, 32.

right of prosecution was extended to the Convention, the Committee of Public Salvation, the Committee of General Safety, the commissioners of the Convention, and the public accuser; no distinction was to be made between members of the Convention and ordinary individuals. The right of insisting for an individual investigation, and of being defended by counsel, had been withdrawn by a previous decree on the 2d June. In addition to those struck at by former laws, there were included in this new decree, "all those who have seconded the projects of the enemies of France, either by favouring the retreat of, or shielding from punishment, the aristocracy or conspirators; or by persecuting and calumniating the patriots; or by corrupting the mandates of the people; or by abusing the principles of the Revolution, of the laws, or of the government, by false or perfidious applications; or by deceiving the representatives of the people; or by spreading discouragement or false intelligence; or by misleading the public by false instructions or depraved example." The proof requisite to convict of these multifarious offences was declared to be—"Every piece of evidence, material, moral, verbal, or written, which is sufficient to convince a reasonable understanding." The Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four separate courts, each possessing the same powers as the original, a public accuser, and a sufficient number of judges and jurymen awarded to each, to enable them to proceed with rapidity in the work of extermination.

32. Accustomed as the Convention was to blind obedience, they were startled by this project. "I demand an adjournment. If this law passes, nothing remains," said Ruamps, "but to blow out our brains." Alarmed at the agitation which prevailed, Robespierre mounted the Tribune. "For long," said he, "the Assembly has argued and decided on the same day, because for long it has been liberated from the empire of faction. Two opinions, strongly pronounced, divide the Republic. The one is to punish severely and inexorably all attempts against

liberty; the other is the cowardly and criminal opinion of the aristocracy, who have never ceased since the commencement of the Revolution to demand, directly or indirectly, an amnesty for the conspirators and enemies of the country. For two months the Convention has sat under the sword of assassins; and the very moment when liberty appears to have gained its greatest triumph, is precisely the one when the conspirators against the country act with most audacity. Citizens, be assured the conspirators wish to divide—they wish to intimidate us! Have we not defended a part of the Assembly * against the poniards which wickedness and a false zeal would have drawn against them? We expose ourselves to individual assassins to destroy those who would ruin the Republic. We know how to die, provided the Convention and the country are saved. I demand that the project be discussed, article by article, and without an adjournment. I have observed that for long the Convention has discussed and decreed at once, because a great majority were really intent on the public good. I demand that, instead of pausing on the proposal for adjournment, we sit till eight at night, if necessary, to discuss the project of the law which has now been submitted to it." The Convention knew their master, and in *thirty minutes* the law was passed.

33. On the following day some members, chiefly adherents of the old party of Danton, endeavoured to overthrow this sanguinary decree of the Assembly. Bourdon de l'Oise proposed that the safety of the members of the Convention should be provided for by a special enactment, to the effect that they should not be indicted but in pursuance of a decree of that body. He was ably supported by Merlin; and the legislature seemed inclined to adopt the proposal. Couthon attacked the Mountain, from which the opposition seemed chiefly to emanate. Bourdon replied—"Let the members of the Committee know," said he, "that if they are patriots, so are we.

* The seventy-three arrested Girondists, who had not been tried with their leaders in the October preceding.

I esteem Couthon, I esteem the Committee; but, more than all, I esteem the unconquerable Mountain, which has saved the public freedom."—"The Convention, the Committee, the Mountain," said Robespierre, "are the same thing. Every representative who loves liberty, every representative who is resolved to die for his country, is part of the Mountain. Woe to those who would assassinate the people, by permitting some miserable intriguers to divide the patriots, in order to elevate themselves on the public ruin!" The imperious tone of Robespierre, the menaces of his colleagues, again overawed the Assembly, and the law passed without the protecting clause proposed by Bourdon. Every individual in the Convention was now at the mercy of the Dictators; and the daily spectacle of fifty persons executed, was enough to subdue more undaunted spirits.

34. It is not surprising that the Convention, in this manner, made an unwonted effort to avert the passing of this terrible law; for the consciences of many told them, what is now known to have been the case, that its almost unlimited powers were mainly directed against themselves. From the invaluable papers found in Robespierre's possession after his death, by Courtois, and first published in 1828,* it is now known that the secret views of Robespierre, in proposing this sanguinary law, were to destroy a large portion of the Convention. He had great confidence in himself and the influence of his eloquence with the people; and he still clung with fanatical obstinacy to the belief in their virtue. But he had seen enough to distrust the integrity of nearly all who had risen to power, or were intrusted with office. The idol of public opinion, he desired to rule by it alone, and had no doubt of his ability to do so. He was in despair at the universal profligacy, selfishness, and corruption with which he was surrounded in all the branches of admini-

* "Papiers inédits trouvés chez Robespierre, St Just, Payan, &c. Paris, 1828. 3 vols." They had been in great part, in the first instance, suppressed by Courtois; and a complete set was first published by the French government on his death, in 1826.

stration, civil and military. Universal suffrage and self-government, instead of having produced a better set of public functionaries than those who had owed their appointment to the nobility, had brought up one *so infinitely worse* than Robespierre, the incarnation of the democratic principle, felt that the first step in social regeneration must be to destroy them all. He was overwhelmed with horror at the situation of the commonwealth, and the total failure of the vast streams of blood he had caused to flow to produce any, even the slightest, practical amelioration in the administration of affairs. He constantly said, "All is lost; we have no longer any resource: I see no one to save the country."† He often said, "Woe to those who deem the country centred in themselves, and who make use of liberty

† "His mind was much distracted: although, in the trial of Hebert, Danton, and Chaumette, a crowd of men well worthy of the scaffold had been justly stricken, he deplored nevertheless those passions, hatred, and vengeance, not love of country and justice, had selected the heads that were to fall. He saw that the executions had in no degree diminished the dangers. Around him, in the principal offices of the Republic, he beheld men without probity, without morals, stained for the most part with infamous crimes, but protected by a popularity which rendered it impossible to touch them. He beheld grouped around these, other men who had never aided the good cause unless by disgraceful means, and who employed, to defend themselves, every art of intrigue, lying, and calumny, with the ability acquired by six years' practice. Thus he was a prey to disgust and despair. What availed it that our arms were successful against foreigners? In the very heart of its power, the nation was in the hands of miscreants. Was it not clear that anarchy, counter-revolution, and the restoration of the ancient régime, must be the result of such a state of things? During the last days that he visited the committees, Robespierre exclaimed habitually, 'All is lost: there is no help for it: I no longer see a man who can save the country.' He proposed the law of the 22d Prairial with the sole purpose of creating a controlling power, of which he intended to make use at the right time for purifying the Convention. St Just was absent; he communicated his plan to Couthon alone, and he took charge of drawing up the measure. Billaud, Collot, Barère, and Vadier, only obtained their knowledge of it through Couthon's report, and they flung back the bill upon the committee with more decided energy than the Assembly had shown in discussing it."—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxiii. 182, 183.

as of their own property. Their country dies with them; and the revolutions which they have appropriated are but a change of servitude. No Cromwell for France—not even myself.” But meanwhile a very formidable opposition was secretly organising itself in the Convention. The project of this law, as it struck at nearly all the members both of the government and the Convention, was accordingly warmly combated in both the Committees and the latter. It was brought forward in the latter with the knowledge only of Couthon, and, as soon as the discussion was over, it was vehemently assailed in the Committee of Public Salvation.* The truth was, that Robespierre, St Just, and Couthon, now stood nearly alone there: they beheld the legislature and whole offices of government, from the highest to the lowest, filled by such an

infamous set of scoundrels, whom universal suffrage had brought up to the head of affairs, that they could see no chance for the Republic but in extending extermination to nearly the whole persons in authority in the state.†

35. Armed by this accession of power, the proscriptions proceeded during the next six weeks with redoubled violence. The power of the Committee of Public Salvation was prodigious, and wielded with an energy to which there is nothing comparable in the history of modern Europe. The ruling principle of that extraordinary government was to destroy the whole aristocracy both of rank and talent. Power of intellect, independence of thought, was in an especial manner the object of the Dictator's jealousy; he regarded it with more aversion than the aristocracy either of birth or wealth.‡ It was on this

* “The day following the 22d Prairial, Billaud Varennes loudly accused Robespierre the moment he entered the Committee, and upbraided him and Couthon with having brought before the Convention the abominable decree which filled all true patriots with horror. ‘When a member of the Committee,’ added Billaud, ‘presumes on his own sole responsibility to introduce a decree to the Convention, liberty is sacrificed to the will of an individual.’ ‘I see perfectly,’ said Robespierre, ‘that I am alone, and that no one supports me;’ and forthwith declaimed furiously. His tones were so loud that many citizens assembled in the terrace of the Tuilleries. They closed the windows, and the discussion went on with the same fervour. ‘I know,’ said Robespierre, ‘that there is a faction in the Convention who wish to destroy me, and you are here defending Ruamps.’ ‘It must be said,’ replied Billaud, ‘after your decree, that you wish to guillotine the Convention.’ Robespierre replied excitedly, ‘You are all witnesses that I do not say that I wish to guillotine the National Convention. I know thee now,’ he added, turning to Billaud. ‘And I also know thee for an anti-revolutionist,’ replied the latter. Robespierre became much agitated, walking up and down the committee; he even carried his hypocrisy the length of shedding tears.”—*LECOINTRE de Versailles, Réponse des deux Membres des Comités*, Nov. 8; *Hist. Parl.* xxxiii. 184, 185.

† Among the very interesting papers found in Robespierre's house after his death, was the following note in his own handwriting, as to the character of some of the leading members of the Convention, whose coalition soon after produced his overthrow: “All the chiefs of the Revolution are scoundrels, already stained by infamy and crime. *Thuriot* was never more than a partisan of Orleans:

his silence since the fall of Danton, and his own expulsion from the Jacobins, is in striking contrast with his eternal talk before that time. He confines himself to silent intrigues and agitation among the Mountain, when the Committee of Public Safety proposes any measure fatal to the factions. *Bourdoin de l'Oise* has covered himself with crime in La Vendée, where he delighted, in his orgies with the traitor Tunk, to slay the volunteers with his own hand. He unites treachery with savage fury. He has been the most violent defender of atheism. He has never ceased striving to make the decree proclaiming the existence of the Supreme Being a means of raising up enemies to the government among the Mountain—and he has succeeded. The day of the fête, in presence of the people, he permitted himself to indulge in the grossest and most indecent sarcasms on this subject. *Léonard Bourdon*—a despicable intriguer at all times—was one of the principal accomplices and the inseparable friend of Clotuz; he was a party to the conspiracy planned at Gobel's. Nothing can equal the baseness of the intrigues he sets on foot to swell the number of his stipendiaries. At the Jacobins he was the orator most indefatigable in propagating the doctrines of Hébert.”—*Notes écrites de la main de Robespierre; Papiers inédits de Robespierre*, ii. 37, iii. 111; and *Hist. Parl.* xxxiii. 168, 172.

‡ “What is our object? The carrying out of the constitution in favour of the people.—Who are our enemies? The wicked and the rich.—The people must be enlightened: but what are the obstacles to the enlightenment of the people? Mercenary writers, who deceive them by impudent daily impostures.—What are we to conclude from this? That literary men must be proscribed as the most dangerous enemies of the country.—How is the civil

foundation that his authority rested; the mass of the people ardently supported a government which was rapidly destroying everything which was above them in station, or superior in ability. Every man felt his own consequence increased, and his own prospects improved, by the destruction of his more able or more fortunate rivals. Inexorable towards individuals or leaders, Robespierre was careful of protecting the masses of the community; and the lower orders, who always have a secret pleasure in the depression of their superiors, beheld with satisfaction the thunder which rolled innocuous over their heads, striking every one who could by possibility stand in their way. The whole physical strength of the Republic, which must always be drawn from the labouring classes, was thus devoted to his will. The armed force of Paris, under the orders of Henriot, and formed of the lowest of the rabble, was at his disposal; the Club of the Jacobins, purified and composed according to his orders, was ready to support all his projects; the Revolutionary Tribunal blindly obeyed his commands; the new municipality, with Henriot at its head, was devoted to his will. By the activity of the Jacobin clubs, and the universal maintenance of the same interests, a similar state of things prevailed in every department of France. Universally the lowest class considered Robespierre as identified with the Revolution, and as centring in his person all the projects of aggrandisement which were afloat in their minds. His speeches and measures breathed that ardent wish for the amelioration of the working classes, by the division of property and extirpation of capital, which afterwards, under the name of socialism and communism, and guided by the genius of Lamartine and Louis Blanc, so strongly agitated France and Europe. None re-

mained to contest his authority, but the remnants of the Constitutional and Girondist parties, who still lingered in the Convention.

36. In pursuance of these principles, the government of Robespierre, amidst all its severity to those who were either elevated by birth, possessed of fortune, distinguished by talent, or allied by habit or inclination to any of these higher classes, had made several steps towards the establishment of institutions designed for the elevation and relief of the labouring poor, and which, if combined with a just and rational government in other respects, might have been attended with the most salutary effects. "Education," said Barère, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, "is the greatest blessing which man can receive: it is the only one which the vicissitudes of time cannot take away. The incalculable advantage of revolutions is, that merit obtains the rank which is due to it, and that each citizen fills the situation for which he is qualified by the species of talent which he possesses. The republican, therefore, should be instructed in such a manner as to be prepared for every situation either of peace or of war." In pursuance of these principles, it was decreed that six young men should be sent to Paris from every district in the Republic, to be educated at the public expense in the *École de Mars*, and placed under the immediate direction of the Committee of Public Salvation, to be instructed in the art of war and fortification. This was immediately carried into effect, and became the foundation of the far-famed Polytechnic School, which furnished such an inexhaustible supply of skilled officers for the armies of the empire.

37. The frightful misery in the interior of the empire, the natural result of the Revolution, at the same time attracted the attention of government, and they prepared to meet it in a noble spirit. "While the cannon," said Carnot, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, "thunders on the frontier, mendicancy, that scourge of monarchies, has made frightful progress in the interior. Yet it is an evil dis-

war to be terminated? 1. *By the proscription of traitorous and counter-revolutionary writers; and by the dissemination of good writings.* 2. *By the punishment of traitors and conspirators.* 3. *By the nomination of generous patriots, and the rejection of all others.* 4. *Food and popular laws.*" — *Catechisme écrit par la main de Robespierre. Papiers inédits trouvés chez Robespierre*, ii. 13.

graceful to a republic, incompatible with a popular government. The shameful word *beggar* should be unknown in a republican dictionary, and the picture of mendicity on the earth has hitherto been nothing but that of constant conspiracies of the class of proprietors against that of non-proprietors. Let us leave to insolent despotism the construction of hospitals, to bury the unfortunates whom it has created, or to support for a moment the slaves whom it could not devour. That horrible generosity of the despot aids him in deceiving the people. Despotism has favoured the mendicants, only because they were base and suppliant. But what has it done for the general wide-spread indigence of the country? What for tottering age or helpless infancy? What for the bereaved widow or the weeping orphan? Nothing; because they were independent, and would rather perish than fall at its feet. The true principles of beneficence are to succour, *in their own homes, infancy and youth, where it is destitute; manhood, where it is sick or without employment; old age, where it is impotent or infirm.*" In pursuance of these just and enlightened principles, a great variety of regulations were brought forward and decreed for the relief, *in their own homes*—not in hospitals or by money charity—of orphan and destitute children, and their education; for the succour of middle-aged men and women in a state

of temporary destitution; and for the permanent support of widows, the aged, and the impotent, as well as those who had been mutilated in the public service, and their widows and children.—“*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*” The true principles of the management of the poor are to be found in the report of the Committee of Public Salvation, and regular governments will never act so wisely for their own as well as their people’s interest, as when they take this leaf out of the book of their enemies.*

38. Robespierre, shortly before his fall, thus summed up the principles of his administration: “I have spoken of the virtue of the people; but that virtue, demonstrated by the whole Revolution, would not alone suffice to defend us against the factions who never cease to corrupt and tear asunder the Republic. Why is that? Because there are two wholly different people in France—the mass of the citizens, pure, simple, loving justice, and friendly to liberty; that mass which has conquered its enemies within, and shaken the throne of tyrants: the other is an aggregation of rascals and intriguers, of aristocrats and charlatans, who would convert power and instruction to no other purpose but their own aggrandisement. As long as that impure race exists, the condition of the Republic will be unhappy and precarious. Let them reign for a day, and the country

* The provisions of this law, evidently drawn up by Robespierre, and agreed to by the Committee of Public Salvation and the Convention, are very remarkable, and may serve as a model for many governments, which in other respects with justice decry their proceedings. Its details are far too minute for a work of general history, but the principles on which they were founded were these:—1. That the succour of the destitute, the orphans, and the impotent, is a duty of the state, and should be discharged by the public functionaries, and from the state funds. 2. That the distribution of relief should be made by a public officer, to be appointed for that purpose in each of the departments of the Republic. 3. That in each department there shall be opened a register, to be entitled “Book of National Beneficence,” in which shall be a title, 1st, For infirm or aged cultivators; 2d, For infirm or aged artisans; 3d, For mothers and widows. For these classes it was calculated that there would be required in all the departments—

	FRANCE.	£
For the first,	7,144,000 ..	285,760 a-year.
For the second,	2,040,000 ..	81,600 ...
For the third,	3,060,000 ..	122,400 ...
For sick poor in their own houses,	160,000 ..	6,400 ...
	12,404,000 ..	496,160 ...

The sum allotted to each pauper receiving public aid was to be ten sous (4d.) a-day for each adult, and six sous (2½d.) a-day for each child under ten years of age. The whole relief was to be given in the houses of the poor; and it was calculated that, in the first instance, the number of families in health receiving succour would be 106,000, or 425,000 individuals, and the sick 21,000. There can be no doubt that these numbers were below what would have been required; but these enactments contain the principles of all right legislation on the subject.—See *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution*, xxxiii. 37, 68.

is lost. It is for you to deliver yourselves from them by imposing energy and unchangeable concert. In saying these words, I am perhaps sharpening poniards against myself, and it is for that very reason that I pronounce them. You will persevere in your principles and your triumphant march; you will stifle crime and save your country. I have lived enough. I have seen the French people start from the depth of servitude and debasement to the summit of glory and of republican virtue. I have seen their fetters broken, and the guilty thrones which oppressed the earth shaken by their triumphant arms. I have seen—more marvellous still—a prodigy which the corruptions of the monarchy, and the inexperience of the first periods of the Revolution, could hardly have permitted us to hope—an assembly invested with the power of the French nation, marching with a firm and rapid step towards the completion of the public happiness—devoted to the people, and to the triumph of equality, worthy of giving to the world the signal of liberty and the example of every virtue. Complete, then, citizens, your sublime work! You have placed yourselves in the front rank, to sustain the first assault of the enemies of humanity. We will deserve that honour, and we will trace with our blood the path to immortality. May you ever display that unalterable energy, which is required to enable you to resist the monsters of the universe combined against you, and enjoy in peace the fruits of your virtues, and the blessings of the people!"

39. But in the midst of these warm anticipations and eloquent declamations, the finances of the Republic were daily falling into a more deplorable condition, and its prodigious expenditure, external and internal, was sustained only by a ceaseless and constantly increasing issue of assignats. By a report of Cambon, the minister of finance, on 16th May 1794, it appeared that the assignats which had been created up to that period amounted to the enormous sum of 8,778,000,000 francs (£351,120,000 sterling); of which number there still remained in circulation 5,898,000,000

francs, or £235,920,000. So immense a mass of paper, amounting at the very lowest estimate to three times the whole present circulation of either France or England, taking both specie and bank-notes into view, of course could not exist in circulation without producing a depreciation in its value to a ruinous extent, the more especially as the whole transactions between man and man in the country were at a stand, in consequence of the blasting operation of the law of the maximum; and foreign commerce, equally with domestic expenditure, was annihilated. But as the assignats bore a forced circulation, and the refusal to take them at par would probably lead to a denunciation at the nearest revolutionary committee, there was no alternative but to shun the pestilence as much as possible, and avoid either selling anything, or engaging in any transaction whatever in which money was employed. But creditors could not do this, and fraudulent debtors gladly bought up assignats, and forced a discharge of their debts for a fiftieth or hundredth part of their real value.

40. While the assignats were thus sweeping away the whole capital of the state, the march of the Revolution was equally devastating and relentless in the destruction of human life. The proceedings of the Revolutionary Tribunal, after the law of 22d Prairial had passed, were so brief as hardly to deserve the name of a trial; while the columns of the *Moniteur* of the following day exhibited fatal proof, that to be arraigned before that tribunal, and sent to the guillotine, were in general the same thing.* Bands of thirty, forty, and

* A curious proof of this extraordinary rapidity came out subsequently on the trial of Fouquier Tinville. Wolf, one of the clerks of the Revolutionary Tribunal, being asked how it happened that some persons had been executed whose sentences had not even been signed, gave the following answer: "No criminal could be executed without a certificate of the sentence from the principal clerk of court, and the clerk, for his own safety, would not give the certificate till he had the sentence signed by the judge. But the time being too short for copying out these judgments the same day, the clerk obtained the judge's signature to a form, which he could fill up each day at his leisure, and in the mean time he ran no risk in giving the requi-

fifty persons, were successively brought up, often two sets in a day, composed of men and women, old, middle-aged, and young, generally wholly unconnected with each other, and who never knew of each other's existence till they heard each other's names in one accusation. Royalists, Dantonists, Anarchists, and Constitutionalists, were all huddled together in one indictment, under a charge of "conspiracy against the Republic;" and that fatal word was sufficient to warrant proceeding for life and death against a crowd of men and women, total strangers to each other, but who had all, from some ground or other, awakened the jealousy of the Decemvirs. The slightest symptom of disapprobation at the existing régime—a word, a look, a gesture, a sigh, a tear, were sufficient, if deposed to by the most infamous witness, to secure an immediate condemnation; and upon a charge of conspiracy with others whose principles and connexions were diametrically opposed to theirs, thus included with them in the same doom. In this way crowds of Royalists and Anarchists were sent to the scaffold together, because the one had been connected with those who blamed the Revolution for going too far, the other for not going far enough. Even a declaration by women that they were pregnant often failed in procuring so much as a temporary suspension of their fate.* A deplorable *equality* was observed between the number of persons indicted one day before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and that which appeared next day in the columns of the *Moniteur* as having perished on the scaffold; and so generally was the danger of expressing sympathy with the

site certificate. But in this instance, where the sentence produced is still blank, Legris, the clerk who wrote it, was himself arrested at five o'clock next morning, and executed at four o'clock in the afternoon."—*Procès de FOUQUIER TINVILLE, Bull. du Trib. Rév. No. 22.*

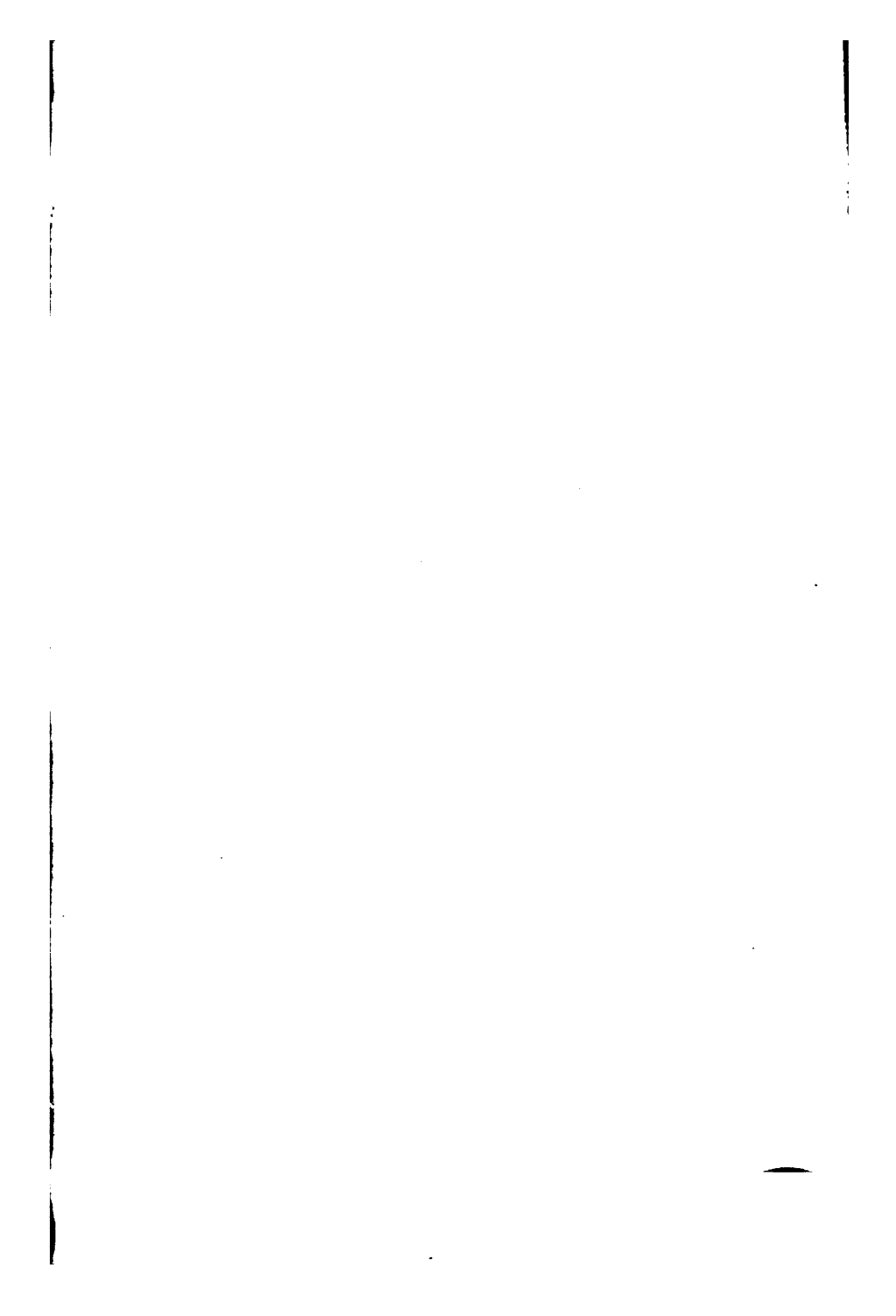
* "I saw," said Wolf, a clerk of the Revolutionary Tribunal, "at least ten or twelve women executed the day they had declared themselves pregnant. Their cases were, indeed, referred to the medical men; but on their declining, through terror, to speak decidedly, they were all executed."—*Réponse de WOLF; Procès de FOUQUIER TINVILLE, No. 22.*

victims understood, that no tears were shed, nor did mournful visages appear even in the streets when the melancholy procession proceeded along, conveying them to the scaffold; and if a dead body was seen on the wayside, the traveller, as in the days recorded by Tacitus, averted his eyes lest he should be seen to shudder, and denounced at the Jacobin Committee as a counter-revolutionist.†

† The following were the numbers daily executed in Paris during the latter period of the Reign of Terror:—

		Exe- cuted.
17 Prairial	or 5 June 1794	25
18	6	26
19	7	27
20	8	26
21	9	28
22	10	18
23	11	27
24	12	25
25	13	30
26	14	43
27	15	38
28	16	41
29	17	56
1 Messidor	19	29
2	20	37
3	21	48
4	22	27
5	23	31
6	24	52
7	25	47
8	26	51
9	27	30
11	29	32
12	30	31
13	1 July	33
14	2	37
15	3	31
16	4	33
17	5	31
18	6	30
19	7	76
21	9	78
22	10	81
23	11	29
24	12	32
25	13	53
27	15	49
28	16	48
29	17	49
1 Thermidor	19	51
2	20	47
3	21	52
4	22	54
5	23	74
6	24	43
7	25	47
8	26	55
9	27	49
10	28	27
11	29	73

—Compiled from the *Moniteur* of the above dates, a few days after each.





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The Last Victims of the Reign of Terror.

p. 81.

41. The trial of these unhappy captives was as brief as during the massacres in the prisons. "Did you know of the conspiracy of the prisons, Dori-val?"—"No." "I expected no other answer; but it will not avail you." To another, "Are not you an ex-noble?"—"Yes." To a third, "Are you not a priest?"—"Yes, but I have taken the oath." "You have no right to speak; be silent." "Were not you architect to Madame?"—"Yes, but I was disgraced in 1788." "Had you not a father-in-law in the Luxembourg?"—"Yes." Such were the questions which constituted the sole trial of the numerous accused; often no witnesses were called; their condemnations were pronounced almost as rapidly as their names were read out; the law of 22d Prairial had dispensed with the necessity of taking any evidence when the court were convinced by moral presumptions. The indictments were thrown off by hundreds at once, and the name of the individual merely filled in; the judgments were printed with equal rapidity, in a room adjoining the court; and several thousand copies circulated through Paris by little urchins, exclaiming, amidst weeping and distracted crowds, "Here are the names of those who have gained prizes in the lottery of the holy guillotine!" The accused were executed soon after leaving the court, or at latest on the following afternoon.

42. Since the law of the 22d Prairial had been passed, the heads had fallen at the rate of thirty or forty a-day. "This is well," said Fouquier Tinville; "but we must get on more rapidly in the next decade; four hundred and fifty is the very least that must then be served up." To facilitate this immense increase, spies were sent into the prisons in order to extract from the unhappy wretches their secrets, and designate to the public accuser those who might first be selected. Those infamous wretches soon became the terror of the captives. They were enclosed as suspected persons; but their real mission was soon apparent from their insolence, their consequential airs, the preference shown them by the jailers,

and their orgies at the doors of the cells with the agents of the police. As they were sent there to get up a fresh conspiracy in the prisons, they were not long of accomplishing their purpose. A hundred and seventy were denounced at the Luxembourg alone. The spies, whose mission was soon discovered, were caressed, implored by the trembling prisoners, and received whatever little sums they had been able to secrete about their persons, to keep their names out of the black list; but in vain.* The names of such as they chose to denounce were made up in a list, called in the prisons "The Evening Journal," and the public chariots were sent at nightfall to convey them to the Conciergerie, preparatory to their trial on the following morning. When the unfortunate captives heard the rolling of the wheels of the cars which were sent to convey them, the most agonising suspense prevailed in the prisons. They flocked to the wickets of their corridors, placed their ears on the bars to hear the list, and trembled lest their names should be called out by the officers. Those who were named embraced their companions in misfortune, and received their last adieu: often the most heart-rending separations were witnessed; a father tore himself from the arms of his children, a husband from his shrieking wife. Such as survived had reason to envy the lot of those conducted to the den of Fouquier Tinville; restored to their cells, they remained in a state of suspense worse than death itself till the same hour on the following night, when the rolling of the chariot-wheels renewed the universal agony of the captives.

43. To such a degree did the torture of suspense prey upon the minds of the prisoners, that they became not only reckless of life, but anxious for death. They realised the terrible

* Immense sums of money were given, by such of the captives as had succeeded in secreting any, to these wretches to procure even a temporary respite from insertion in the fatal lists, nor did they despise the smallest bribes. Sometimes their gratuities were as high as 400 louis; sometimes as low as a bottle of brandy.—*Tableau Historique de la Maison St Lazare*, p. 58.

peculiarity which Dante describes as the last aggravation of the infernal regions—

—“Che è tanto greve
A lor, che lamentar gli fa sì forte?
Rispose; Dicrolti molto breve.
Questi non hanno speranza di morte.”*

The inhabitants who had reason to apprehend detention became indifferent to all the precautions requisite to secure their safety; many who had escaped, voluntarily surrendered themselves to their persecutors, or waited, on the high-road, the first band of the national guard to apprehend them. The young Princess of Monaco, in the flower of youth and beauty, after receiving her sentence, declared herself pregnant, and obtained a respite; the horrors of surviving those she loved, however, so preyed upon her mind, that the next day she retracted her declaration. “Citizens,” said she, “I go to death with all the tranquillity which innocence inspires.” Soon after, turning to the jailer who accompanied her, she gave him a packet, containing a lock of her beautiful hair, and said, “I have only one favour to implore of you, that you will give this to my son: promise this as my last and dying request.” Then, turning to a young woman near her, recently condemned, she exclaimed, “Courage, my dear friend! courage! Crime alone can show weakness!” She died with sublime devotion, evincing in her last moments, like Madame Roland and Charlotte Corday, a serenity rarely witnessed in the other sex.

44. Madame Lavergne had hoped that, by her intercession, she would move the hearts of the judges in favour of her husband, the commandant of Longwy. When she saw that all was unavailing, and that sentence of death was pronounced, a cry of “Vive le Roi!” was heard; all the spectators trembled at the fatal words. “Vive le Roi!” exclaimed Madame in more ener-

getic terms; and when those next her exclaimed that she had lost her reason, she repeated the same words in a calmer voice, so as to leave no room for doubt as to her deliberate intention. She obtained the recompense she desired in dying beside her husband. Soon after a sister followed the same method to avoid surviving her brother, and a young woman, to accompany the object of her affection to another world. Madame de Grammont, disdaining to employ words in her own defence, which she well knew would be unavailing, protested only the innocence of Mademoiselle du Chatelet, who sat at the bar beside her.† Servants frequently insisted upon accompanying their masters to prison, and perished with them on the scaffold. Many daughters went on their knees to the members of the Revolutionary Committee, to be allowed to join their parents in captivity, and, when brought to trial, pleaded guilty to the same charges. The efforts of the court and jury were unable to make them separate their cases; the tears of their parents even were unavailing: in the generous contention, filial affection prevailed over parental love.‡ A father and son were confined together in the Maison St Lazare; the latter was involved in one of the fabricated conspiracies of the prison: when his name was called out to stand his trial, his father came forward, and, by personating his son, was the means of saving his life, by dying in his stead. “Do you know,” said the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal to Isabeau, “in whose presence you are standing?”—“Yes,” re-

† “I am aware,” said she, “it would be useless to speak about myself; but what has this angel done? (pointing to Madame du Chatelet)—she who never took any part in public strife, who belonged to no party, was involved in no intrigue, but was devoted only to works of conscious benevolence. There are others as innocent; none so little liable to suspicion as she.”—SENAC DE MEILHAN, 147.

‡ “O miracle! O strife of wondrous kind! Where love and virtue such contention wrought, Where death the victor had for meed assign’d, Their own neglect each other’s safety sought.”

Jerusalem Delivered, ii. 31.

* “What doth agrieve them thus,
That they lament so loud? He straight replied—
That will I tell thee briefly: these of death
No hope may entertain.”

CARY’S DANTE, *Inferno*, iii. 43.

plied the undaunted young man ; "it is here that formerly virtue judged crime, and that now crime murders innocence." Nearly all the members of the old Parliament of Paris suffered on the scaffold. One of them, M. Legrand d'Alleray, was, with his wife, accused of having corresponded with his emigrant son. Even Fouquier Tinville was softened. "Here," said he, "is the letter brought to your charge ; but I know your writing ; it is a forgery."—"Let me see the paper," said d'Alleray. "You are mistaken," said the intrepid old man ; "it is both my writing and my signature."—"Doubtless," replied Fouquier, still desirous to save him, "you were not acquainted with the law which made it capital to correspond with emigrants ?"—"You are mistaken again," said d'Alleray ; "I knew of that law ; but I knew also of another, prior and superior, which commands parents to sacrifice their lives for their children." Still Fouquier Tinville tried to furnish him with excuses ; but the old man constantly eluded them ; and at length said—"I see your object, and thank you for it ; but my wife and I will not purchase life by falsehood : better to die at once. We have grown old together, without having ever told a falsehood ; we will not begin when on the verge of the grave. Do your duty ; we shall do ours. We blame you not ; the fault is that of the law." They were sent to the scaffold.

45. The vengeance of the tyrants fell with peculiar severity upon all whose talents or descent distinguished them from the rest of mankind. The son of Buffon, the daughter of Vernet, perished without regard to the illustrious names they bore. When the former was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the charge of being implicated in the conspiracy in the Luxembourg, he said, "I was confined in the St Lazare, and could not have conspired in the Luxembourg."—"No matter," said Fouquier Tinville, "you have conspired *somewhere* ;" and he was executed with the prisoners from the Luxembourg. On being placed on the scaffold, he said, "I am the son of Buffon," and presented his arms to be

bound. Florian, the eloquent novelist, pleaded, in vain, in a touching petition from prison, that his life had been devoted to the service of mankind, that he had been threatened with the Bastille for some of his productions, and that the hand which had drawn the romance of William Tell, and depicted a paternal government under Numa, could not be suspected of a leaning to despotism. He was not executed, as the fall of Robespierre prevented it ; but he was so horror-struck with the scenes he had witnessed in prison, that he died after the hour of deliverance had arrived. Lavoisier was cut off in the midst of his profound chemical researches ; he pleaded in vain for a respite to complete a scientific discovery. Almost all the members of the French Academy were in jail, in hourly expectation of their fate. Roucher, an amiable poet, a few hours before his death, sent his miniature to his children, accompanied by these touching lines :—

"Ne vous étonnez pas, objets charmans et doux,
Si quelque air de tristesse obscurcit mon visage ;
Lorsqu'un crayon savant dessinait mon image,
J'attendais l'échafaud et je songeais à vous."

André Chénier, a young man whose eloquent writings pointed him out as the future historian of the Revolution, and Chamfort, one of its earliest and ablest supporters, were executed at the same time. The former was engaged, immediately before his execution, in composing some pathetic stanzas, addressed to Mademoiselle de Coigny, for whom he had conceived a romantic attachment in prison, among which is to found the following :—

"Peut-être avant que l'heure en cercle promé-
nende
Ait posé sur l'émail brillant,
Dans les soixante pas où sa route est bornée,
Son pied sonore et vigilant,
Le sommeil du tombeau pressera mes pau-
pières"—

At this unfinished stanza the poet was summoned to the guillotine. His brother Joseph, who had the power to save his life, refused to do so—even to the tears of their common parent, prostrate before him. Literary jealousy steeled the young revolutionist against

the first feelings of nature. Roucher and André Chénier were seated together in the chariot, and discoursed there, like Cato, on the immortality of the soul. Chénier, when on the scaffold, struck his head against one of the beams of the guillotine, exclaiming, "Tis a pity! there was something there." A few weeks longer would have swept off the whole literary talent as well as dignified names of France. In a single night three hundred families of the Faubourg St Germain were thrown into prison. Their only crimes were the historic names which they bore, embracing all that was illustrious in the military, parliamentary, or ecclesiastical history of France. There was no difficulty in finding crimes to charge them with—their names, their rank, their historic celebrity, were sufficient.

46. In the midst of the general massacre, Malesherbes, the generous and intrepid defender of Louis XVI., was too immaculate a character to escape destruction. For some time he had lived in the country, in the closest retirement; a young man accused of being an emigrant, concealed in his house, furnished a pretext for the apprehension of the venerable old man and all his family. When he arrived at the prison, all the captives rose up and crowded round him: they brought him a seat. "I thank you," said he, "for the attention you pay to my age; but I perceive one amongst you feebler than myself—give it to him." He was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal along with his whole family: even the judges of that sanguinary court turned aside their heads to avoid beholding the heart-rending spectacle. They were all condemned together. His daughter, Madame de Rozambo, when preparing to mount the fatal chariot, perceived Mademoiselle Sombreuil, whose heroic devotion had saved her father on the 2d of September, but who had again followed him to prison. Throwing herself into her arms, she exclaimed, "You have had the good fortune to save your father, and I have the glory of dying with mine!" Malesherbes stumbled over a stone as he crossed the court, with his arms bound, to mount

the chariot: he said with a smile—"That is a bad omen: a Roman would have turned back." Recollecting, with the malice of demons, the heroic manner in which he had come forward to defend the unhappy Louis, the monsters applied to him the cruel privilege invented in those days of woe, for such as were esteemed the greatest criminals. He was selected as the *last* victim for execution, and had the agony of seeing his daughter, Madame Rozambo, and granddaughter, Madame de Châteaubriand, with her husband, guillotined before his eyes, ere death put a period to his sufferings.* When bound to the plank, his grey hairs were observed to be sprinkled with the blood of the children he had seen suffer before him. With him was included in the indictment M. d'Espréménil, so long the idol of the populace of Paris, and who had done so much in its earlier stages to urge on the Revolution. He was condemned and executed with Malesherbes, and evinced the same sublime constancy in his last moments.

47. The next trial of note, and perhaps the most iniquitous of the many iniquitous ones which took place before the Revolutionary Tribunal, was that of the farmers-general of the revenue. The only motive for their prosecution appears to have been the hope of obtaining something considerable from the confiscation of their estates; but the Committee of Public Salvation had much difficulty in finding any charge to prefer against them. On 5th May, Dupin read a long report to the Convention, concluding with a motion, which, like all the others at that period, was unanimously adopted, that all the farmers-general then living should be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Thither they were accordingly brought on the 8th, and at once condemned to be executed. The only thing like a criminal act adduced against them was that of having realised usurious profits,

* "Oh gioja! più gran pena che la morte
Dar ti, pos' io? Saveneti innanzi dunque,
Cadanghi, Eletra pria, Pilade poesia;
Quandi ei sovr' essi cada."

ALFIERI, *Oreste*, Act iv. scene 4.
—How identical is the infernal spirit of cruelty in all ages!

and mixed water with their tobacco prior to 1776 to make it weigh heavier. On these charges they were all straightway condemned. When going to the scaffold, it was discovered that in the hurry three subordinate officers had been sentenced instead of three farmers-general, and twenty-eight only were executed; but the three missing ones were soon after got, all between seventy and eighty years of age, and guillotined without mercy.* Shortly after, the Abbé de Fénélon, grand-nephew of the illustrious prelate of the same name, was led forth to execution. He was eighty-nine years old, and had spent his long life in deeds of beneficence. He went to death surrounded by a crowd of orphan Savoyard children, to whom he had acted as a father. Such was his bodily weakness, owing to his great age, that he required to be helped up the steps of the scaffold: but the firmness of his mind was unshaken; and his last request was, that his arms should be unbound, that he might give his last blessing to his numerous *protégés*. The request was granted, and they received the benediction kneeling and in tears around the scaffold.

48. Madame Elizabeth, sister to Louis XVI., was the next victim. When she was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, the judges and the jury manifested an unusual degree of impatience for her condemnation. She was brought into court with twenty-four other persons, most of them of high birth or descent. "What has she to complain of?" said Fouquier Tinville, casting his eyes on the illustrious group: "when she sees herself at the foot of the scaffold surrounded by that faithful noblesse, she will believe herself still at

* The sentence was in these terms: It is clear that a plot has existed against the French people, tending to aid in every possible way the enemies of France, notably by the exercise of every kind of exaction and oppression, by mixing tobacco with water, and ingredients ruinous to health, and extorting from six to ten per cent.—*Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, May 8, 1794. It appears from Dupin's evidence, when afterwards Fouquier Tinville was charged with this iniquity, that their death had previously been arranged by the Committee of Public Salvation.—*Procès de FOUQUIER TINVILLE*; *Bull. du Trib. Rév.*; *Réponse de Dupin*, p. 2.

Versailles." Like the king and queen, she manifested the utmost composure and serenity when under examination; her answers, clear, distinct, and perfectly true, left no room for suspicion or misconstruction. Being accused of having succoured some men who had been wounded in the Champs Elysées, on the occasion of the revolt, she replied—"Humanity alone led me to dress their wounds; I needed no inquiry into the origin of their sufferings to feel the obligation to relieve them. I never thought this a merit, but I cannot see how it can be considered as a crime."—"Admit, at least," said the president, "that you have nourished in the young Capet the hope of regaining the throne of his father."—"I devoted myself," said she, "to the care of that infant, who was the more dear to me as he had lost those to whom he owed his being." Being accused of being an accomplice of the tyrant—"If my brother had been a tyrant," she replied, "neither you nor I would have been where we now are." She was sentenced along with many others of illustrious rank and dignified virtue. On being taken to the room where the condemned were assembled, she exhorted them with so much calmness and serenity to die, that they were all encouraged by her example. On the chariot she declared that one of her companions had disclosed to her that she was pregnant, and thus was the means of saving her from destruction. When she had ascended the scaffold, the executioner rudely undid the clasp which closed the veil across her breast. "In the name of modesty," she said to one of the bystanders whose arms were not tied, "cover my bosom."† She

† "Ἡ δὲ καὶ θνητῶν ὁμῶς
Παλλὴν πρόβουλον εὖχεν ὑπερχημῶς παύσιν
Κρυπτοῦς ἂν κρύπτειν ὀμμάτων ἀργεῖον χεῖρην."
EURIPIDES, *Hecuba*, 566.

—"Careful in death,
With decent grace, her robe to enfold,
Veiling what eye of man should ne'er behold."

A similar instance of heroic virtue in death occurred in a female martyr in the early Christian church. Perpetua and Felicitas, both Christians, were sentenced, in the year 203, to be killed by wild cattle at Carthage. They were both attacked, accordingly, by furious bulls, who tossed them on their

embraced all her companions as they successively mounted the scaffold: she herself, according to the usual custom of the period, being selected to suffer last. She died with the serenity of an angel, praying for those who had taken her life. The beauty of her form, and the placidity of her expression, awakened sentiments of commiseration even among the most savage of the revolutionary spectators. With her was executed Madame de Montmorin—the same who, when the States-General walked in procession to church on May 4, 1789, expressed to Madame de Staël her distrust in the unbounded hopes of felicity to France which the latter anticipated from the Revolution.*

49. Custine, son of the celebrated general of the same name, was executed for having let fall some expressions of attachment to his father; Alexander Beauharnais, for having failed to raise the siege of Mayence. The former had been offered, the night before his execution, the certain means of escape; he refused to make use of them, as his doing so would have endangered the life of the daughter of his jailer, who had generously been instrumental in arranging the plan for his delivery. Thirty thousand francs had bribed the jailer; the carriage was ready; his weeping wife threw herself at his feet, conjuring him to make use of these means of escape; but he resolutely refused, lest he should endanger those who had perilled all in his behalf, and was car-horns. So violent was the shock, that Perpetua fell on the ground stunned; but, partially recovering her senses, she was seen gathering her torn clothes about her, so as to conceal her limbs, and after tying her hair, she helped Felicitas to rise, who had been severely wounded; and, standing together, they calmly awaited another attack. The people, struck by their heroism, called out that they should be sent to the place where those not killed by the wild beasts were despatched by the "Confectorii," which was accordingly done.—ST AUGUSTIN, *Sermons*, 283—294; TERTULLIAN, *de Anima*, c. 65; TILLEMONT, *Annales de l'Empire*, t. iii. p. 213. How interesting to find the noble conceptions of female virtue formed by the Greek poet, successively realised by the Christian martyr in the third and the royal victim in the eighteenth century!

**Ann.* chap. iv. § 4. Her husband had been murdered during the massacres in the prisons on September 2.

ried off to the scaffold, while Madame Custine lay insensible on the floor of his cell. The letter of Beauharnais, the night before his execution, was couched in the most touching strains of eloquence. Marshal Luckner, whom the Jacobins had so long represented as the destined saviour of France; General Biron, whose amiable qualities, notwithstanding the profligacy of his character, had long endeared him to society; General Lamarière, whose successful war of posts had so long covered the northern frontier, and many other distinguished warriors, were sent to the scaffold. All showed the same heroism in their last moments; but not greater than was displayed by pacific citizens and young women, who had been totally unaccustomed to face danger. It was in the class of nobles that the greatest courage was shown: they firmly protested their devotion to their God and their king, and their readiness to die in their service. The priests died like worthy martyrs of their faith, bestowing to their last moments the succours of religion on the captives about to suffer, with whom they were surrounded. Many of the peasants and poorer classes piteously bewailed their fate in being cut off, they knew not why, and condemned, they knew not with whom. Dietrich, mayor of Strassburg, one of the most ardent friends of liberty, wrote to his son the night before his execution—"As he valued his last blessing, never to attempt to revenge his death." One prisoner alone excited the contempt of the spectators, by raising piteous cries on the chariot, and striving in a frenzy of terror with the executioners on the scaffold: it was Madame du Barri, the associate of the infamous pleasures of Louis XV. She had made her escape to London, but returned to France to disinter her diamonds and jewels, which she had secretly buried under a tree in her park, at Luciennes, near Versailles. She was there betrayed by Zamora, a black page, on whom she had long lavished the most unbounded kindness. Her cries on the chariot, when going to the scaffold, resounded through the crowd. "Life! life!" she exclaimed: "life for repent-

ance and devotion to the Republic." Her fine black hair behind was cut off, but that in front remained; and she shook her head in the hope of softening the people by the display of her still beautiful ringlets. Some among the bystanders shuddered, others laughed. Instead of answering, the executioner pointed out, smiling, the block on the guillotine on which her head was to rest. When lifted on the scaffold, being unable to stand, she piteously prayed for a minute's respite, and uttered shrieks when bound to the plank which froze every heart with horror. Yet was this lamentable spectacle not without a beneficial effect; it recalled the people to a sense of the horror of the punishment, which, from the general heroism or resignation of the victims, had come, strange to say, to be almost forgotten.*

50. While prostituted beauty was thus evincing a fearful picture of the weakness of splendid guilt in its last moments, the courage with which a number of young women, supported by the recollections of virtue and the influence of religion, underwent the same fate, excited universal astonishment and sympathy. Two cases in particular, at the very close of the Reign of Terror, attracted general notice, and contributed in no small degree to produce a general heart-sickening at the reign of blood. They are thus described by an eyewitness of these melancholy scenes: "On the 28th of May, fourteen young women of Verdun were brought out for execution together, for no other crime but that of having presented bouquets of flowers to the King of Prussia, when he entered the town in 1792. They

were all alike dressed in white, as if they had been going to a marriage. Their youth, their beauty, their innocent air, touched even the most savage hearts with pity, and many tears were secretly shed at the sight of so many innocent human beings being taken together to the scaffold. It was generally observed, after they had been guillotined, that it was like cutting the spring out of the year. A few days after, the whole nuns of the Abbey of Montmartre, with the lady-abbess at their head, were executed together. They began to chant the *Salve Regina* as they left the doors of the Conciergerie, and continued singing during their whole passage along the streets; and the mournful strain had not ceased, though they were eighteen in number, till the head of the last had fallen under the guillotine. Their constancy, piety, and resignation produced a profound impression on the multitude, long unaccustomed to impressions of that description, and for once silenced the furies of the guillotine,† who usually danced round the loaded chariots, singing revolutionary songs, from the time they left the doors of the Conciergerie till they reached the scaffold in the Place de la Revolution. It was chiefly in consequence of the mournful impression produced by this execution, that the place of punishment was removed, first to the Place St Antoine on the 2d June, and on the 7th to the Barrière du Trône, in the Faubourg St Antoine." The furies of the guillotine, paid for their insults, at an early hour stationed themselves round the chariots which awaited the victims in the court of the Palace of Justice, while the executioners were drinking in the neighbouring wine-shops; and, when the prisoners were seated, danced round them without ceasing, mocking their sufferings, till they reached the scaffold.

51. Dreadful as were these scenes at Paris, the ebullitions of revolutionary revenge were, if possible, more strongly marked in the provinces than even in the metropolis. A full account of these atrocities would fill many volumes; but

* "It is among the nobility that I have seen," says an eyewitness, "the greatest courage: they declared aloud their unalterable attachment to royalty, and their unlimited devotion to their king; they shed with joy their blood on the scaffold for the cause of the monarchy. But what excited the most universal sympathy was the touching resignation of the ministers of the Christian religion. They ministered to the unhappy prisoners in their last moments; they spread before them all the consolations of religion, and taught them to look upon death as the asylum of the just and the persecuted; they themselves gave the example of every virtue, and practised evangelical morality in all its purity."—*François Oesaire*, i. 41, 42.

† "Les lâcheuses de la guillotine," alluding to their passion for licking up blood which fell from the scaffold.

a few details, in addition to those contained in the former chapters, may serve as an example of the rest. The disturbances on the northern frontier led to the special mission of a monster named Lebon to those districts, armed with the full power of the Revolutionary Government. His appearance in these departments could be compared to nothing but the apparition of those hideous furies so much the object of dread in the times of paganism. In the city of Arras, above two thousand persons, brought there from the neighbouring departments, perished by the guillotine. To add to the tortures of his victim, Lebon kept a man in suspense for a quarter of an hour under the blade of the guillotine, in order to augment the bitterness of death by reading, before it fell, a letter which he knew would distress him. He did the same with two young Englishwomen, who, under pretence of being aristocrats, had been sent to the scaffold. "It is well," said he, "that the aristocrats like you should hear, in their last moments, the triumph of our armies." "Monster!" said one of the English ladies, Miss Plunkett, "you think to increase the bitterness of death; but undeceive yourself: though women, we can die courageously; and you will die the death of a coward." Yet even these atrocities were palliated in the Convention, when the people of the north implored an investigation into them. "The proceedings of Lebon," said Ba-

* "The Committee, citizen colleague, reminds you that, invested with unlimited powers, you ought energetically to adopt every measure requisite for the public safety. Keep up your revolutionary attitude. Your powers are unlimited. The amnesty pronounced by the Capetian Constitution (that of 1791) and appealed to by all these miscreants, is a crime in itself which cannot shield others; sins against the Republic can only be redeemed by the axe. The tyrant appealed to it—the tyrant was stricken. Shake over the heads of the traitors the torch and the axe: go forward, citizen colleague, in this revolutionary track which you have courageously marked out: the Committee applauds your labours."—*Signé BARRÈRE, BILLAUD VARENNE, CARNOT; Paris, 27 jour du neuvième mois, l'an 2 de la République (18th October 1793). Histoire de la Convention*, iii. 207.

† This monster was very amorous in his disposition, and mingled lechery with his cruelties. "He never caressed his wife or his mistress without saying, 'This beautiful head

rère, "may have been a little *harsh as to form*; but these charges have been suggested by wily aristocrats. The man who crushes the enemies of the people can never be a proper object of censure. What is not permitted to the hatred of a republican against aristocracy? How many generous sentiments atone for seeming harshness in the prosecution of the public enemies! Revolutionary measures are ever to be spoken of with respect." The Convention passed to the order of the day. It is no wonder they did so; for it appears, from a letter of the Committee of Public Salvation still extant, that his proceedings were expressly enjoined by themselves.* Mingling treachery and seduction with sanguinary oppression, this monster in the human form turned the despotic powers with which he was invested into the means of individual gratification. After having disgraced the wife of a nobleman, who yielded to his embraces in order to save her husband's life, he put the man to death before the eyes of his devoted consort; a species of treachery so common, says Prudhomme, that the examples of it were innumerable. Children whom he had corrupted were employed by him as spies upon their parents; and so infectious did the cruel example become, that the favourite amusement of this little band was putting to death birds and small animals, with little guillotines made for their use.†

would be cut off the moment I ordered it.' Lebon has returned from Paris; immediately a *jury terrible*, similar to that at Paris, has been adopted at the revolutionary tribunal. A vigorous arrest has caused the incarceration of the wives or husbands of the male and female aristocrats already in prison. A search has just been made by a *commission ardente* of seven patriots (I was one of them). The guillotine *has never been idle since*: dukes, marquises, counts, barons, *male and female, fall like hail*."—*DARTRE & ROBESPIERRE*, No. 88.—*Pap. trouv. chez Robespierre*; and *Rap. de Couvroux*, *Ibid.* i. 75.

It is a curious fact, highly illustrative of the progress of revolutions, that this monster in human form was at first humane and inoffensive in his government, and that it was not till he had received reiterated orders from Robespierre, with a hint of a dungeon in case of refusal, that his atrocities commenced. Let no man, if he is not conscious of the utmost firmness of mind, be sure that he would not, in similar circumstances, have done the same.—*Duchesse d'Angantes*, vii. 213, 214.

52. The career of Carrier at Nantes, where the popular vengeance was to be inflicted on the Royalists of the western provinces, was still more relentless.* One of the depots for the prisoners contained fifteen hundred women and children, who, without either beds or straw, were huddled together on the damp floor, and often kept two days without food. The men purchased their lives only by bribery, the women by prostitution. Such as withstood the advances of their oppressors were sent without mercy to the scaffold: the children, who had neither money nor pleasure to offer, were all sacrificed. Repeated fusillades cut them down. Five hundred of these innocents of both sexes, the eldest of whom was not fourteen years old, were on one occasion led out to the same spot to be shot. Never was so deplorable a spectacle witnessed. The littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets, at the first discharge, to fly over their heads; they broke their bonds, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung round their knees, and, with supplicating hands and agonised looks, sought for mercy. Nothing could soften these assassins;† they put

* "Everything without exception was burned, massacred, destroyed: towns, burghs, villages have disappeared, and the sword has finished what the flames had spared. It is thus that La Vendée has been revived."—*Rapport de JULIEN fils à ROBESPIERRE*, 30 Ventose, 1794; *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre*, No. 83.

† "Who can relate the horrors of that day, When first these walls became the victor's prey?

With what a stride devouring slaughter pass'd,

And swept promiscuous orders in her haste!

O'er noble and plebeian ranged the sword;
Nor pity, nor remorse one pause afford.
The sliding streets with blood were clotted o'er,

And sacred temples stood in pools of gore.
The ruthless steel, impatient of delay,
Forbade the sire to linger out his day;
It struck the bending father to the earth,
And clogg'd the wailing infant at his birth.
(Can innocents the rage of parties know,
And they who ne'er offended find a foe!)
Age is no plea, and childhood no defence,
To kill is all the murderer's pretence.
Rage stays not to inquire who ought to die,
Numbers must fall, no matter which or why."

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, il. 99.

them to death even when lying at their feet. A large party of women, most of whom were with child, and many with babes at their breast, were put on board the boats in the Loire. The innocent caresses, the unconscious smiles of these little innocents, filled their mothers' breasts with inexpressible anguish; they fondly pressed them to their bosoms, weeping over them for the last time. One of them was delivered of an infant on the quay; hardly were the agonies of childbed over, when she was pushed, with the new-born innocent, into the galley. After being stripped naked, their hands were tied behind their backs; their shrieks and lamentations were answered by strokes of the sabre; and while struggling betwixt terror and shame to conceal their nudity from the gaze of the executioners, the signal was given, the planks cut, and the shrieking victims buried in the waves. Carrier himself had a vessel elegantly fitted up, which plied on the Loire, and in which, surrounded by a number of friends and courtesans, he enjoyed the spectacle of the sufferings of the Royalists. Female jealousy added to the zest of the abandoned ministers of his pleasures; they enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing their rivals destroyed. The shrieks of some hundred victims precipitated into the waves did not interrupt for more than a minute or two the revels in this floating palace of wine and licentiousness. Human cruelty, it would be supposed, could hardly go beyond these executions; but they were surpassed by Lebon‡ at Bordeaux.§ A woman was accused of having wept at the execution of her husband: she was condemned, amidst the applauses of the multitude, to sit several hours under the suspended blade, which shed upon her,

‡ Son of the Lebon at Arras.

§ The principle of the commissioners at Bordeaux was to destroy the mercantile aristocracy. "The mercantile aristocracy must be destroyed like that of the priesthood and the nobility. The commissioners strike surely; they pardon no one, because they are convinced that such of the aristocrats as have not taken part in the conspiracies have not the less wished the counter-revolution in their hearts."—*Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre*; DAILLET, No. 84; BAISSART, No. 85; *Rapport de COURTOIS*, i. 75, 76.

drop by drop, the blood of the deceased, whose corpse was above her on the scaffold, before she was released by death from her agony.

53. One of the most extraordinary features of these terrible times, was the apathy which the better classes, both in Paris and the provinces, evinced, and the universal disposition to bury anxiety in the delirium of present enjoyment. The people who escaped death went to the operas without intermission, with equal unconcern whether thirty or a hundred heads had fallen during the day. The class of proprietors at Bordeaux, Marseilles, and all the principal towns, timid and vacillating, could not be prevailed on to quit their hearths; while the Jacobins, ardent, reckless, and indefatigable, inured to crime, plunged a merciless sword into the bosom of the country. The soldiers everywhere supported their tyranny: the prospect of ransacking cellars, ravishing women, and plundering coffers, made them universally faithful to the government. St Just, when sent down by Robespierre to Strassburg, wrote to him that the excess of cruelty had blunted men to its effects. The career of Tallien at Bordeaux at first was equally sanguinary: in a short time seven hundred victims perished on the scaffold. But he was at length awakened to more humane feelings by the influence of his beautiful mistress, whom he afterwards married, Madame de Fontenay,* one of those singular characters whom the Revolution raised to eminence, and who had the

virtue to apply the influence which her personal charms gave her to the purposes of humanity. "When in a country which we all conceived to be on the point of regeneration," says Louvet, "the men of property were everywhere so timid, and the wicked so audacious, it became evident that all assemblages of men, once dignified with the name of the people by such fools as myself, are, in truth, nothing more than an imbecile herd, too happy to be permitted to crouch under the yoke of a despotic master."

54. The Committee of Public Salvation incessantly urged Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, to accelerate the executions. He himself declared, on his subsequent trial, "that on one occasion they ordered him to increase them to one hundred and fifty a-day, and that the proposal filled his mind with such horror, that, as he returned by the Seine, the river appeared to run red with blood, and the pavement on the streets to be strewn with decapitated human heads." The pretended conspiracy in the prisons served as an excuse for a frightful multiplication in the number of victims. One hundred and sixty were denounced in the prison of the Luxembourg alone, and from one to two hundred in the other prisons of Paris. A fabricated attempt at escape in the prison of La Force, was made the ground for sending several hundreds to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Fouquier Tinville had made such an enlargement of the hall of that dreaded court, that room was afforded for one hundred and

* Madame de Fontenay, whose humanity, not less than her beauty, renders her deserving a place in the portrait gallery of the Revolution, was the daughter of the Count of Cabarus, a Frenchman by descent, but who had long been established in Spain, and was born at Madrid in 1784. Her mother was a Valencian lady, whom Cabarus had seduced. She united in her person and character the beauty and fire of the sunny province where her mother first drew breath, with the grace and spirit of coquetry of that where her father was born. Like Cleopatra or Theodora, she seemed born to rule the world by subduing its conquerors. The enthusiasm of the Revolution soon drew her from Spain to Bordeaux, where she soon attracted general notice by the brilliancy of her dress, her dazzling beauty, and the vehemence with which, like

Théroigne de Méricourt at Paris, she espoused the cause of the Revolution. Dressed as an Amazon, with her dark locks surmounted by a tricolor plume, she was to be seen at the clubs, the theatres, and on horseback in the streets, where she pronounced several eloquent speeches in favour of the Revolution. But, unlike Théroigne, she had a heart. Suffering never failed to melt her; and when she acquired an influence over Tallien, which she did the moment he arrived as one of the commissioners of the Convention at Bordeaux, she exerted it entirely to save victims from the vengeance of the Republicans. Her influence soon after had no small share in bringing about the 9th Thermidor and fall of Robespierre, in which Tallien bore so prominent a part.—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vii. 333, 334.

sixty to be tried at once; and he proposed to place at the bar the whole prisoners charged with the conspiracy in the Luxembourg at one sitting. He even went so far as to erect a guillotine in the court-room, in order to execute the prisoners the moment the sentence was pronounced; but Collot d'Herbois objected to this, as tending "to demoralise punishment." A guillotine had been prepared, however, with four blades placed crosswise, which could behead four prisoners at once.

55. But there is a limit to human suffering—an hour when indignant nature will no longer submit, and courage arises out of despair. That avenging hour was fast approaching. The lengthened files of prisoners daily led to the scaffold had long excited the commiseration of the better classes in Paris; the shops in the Rue St Honoré were shut, and its pavement deserted, when the melancholy procession, moving towards the Place de la Révolution, passed along. Alarmed at these signs of dissatisfaction, the Committee changed, as already mentioned, the place of execution, and fixed it first on the Place St Antoine, and soon after at the Barrière du Trône, in the Faubourg St Antoine. But even the workmen of that revolutionary district ere long manifested impatience at the constant repetition of the dismal spectacle. The middle classes, who constituted the strength of the national guard in Paris, began to be alarmed at the rapid progress and *evident descent* of the proscriptions. At first the nobles and ecclesiastics only were included: by degrees the whole landed proprietors were reached; but now the work of destruction seemed to be fast approaching every class above the lowest. On the lists of the Revolutionary Tribunal, in the latter days of the Reign of Terror, are to be found tailors, shoemakers, hairdressers, butchers, farmers, mechanics, and workmen, accused of anti-revolutionary principles. From the 10th June to the 17th July, that court had sentenced twelve hundred and eighty-five persons to death. The people felt pity for these proscriptions, not only

from their frequency, but their near approach to themselves. Their reason was at length awakened by the revolutionary fever having exhausted itself; humanity began to react against the ceaseless effusion of human blood, after all their enemies had been destroyed. It was impossible that pity should not at length be awakened in the breast of the spectators, for never had such scenes of woe been exhibited to the public gaze. "The funeral cars," says the republican historian, Lamartine, "often held together the husband, wife, and all their children. Their imploring visages, which mutually regarded each other with the tender expression of a last look, the heads of daughters falling on the knees of their mothers, of wives on the shoulders of their husbands, the pressure of heart against heart, both of which were so soon to cease to beat—now grey hairs and auburn locks cut by the same scissors, now wrinkled heads and charming visages falling under the same axe; the slow march of the cortège, the monotonous rolling of the wheels, the hedge of sabres around the procession, the stifled sobs of the victims, the hisses of the populace, the cries of the furies of the guillotine—all impressed a mournful character on these assassinations, which seemed to be provided for no other purpose but to serve for the pastime of the people."

56. A considerable party in the Convention eagerly embraced the same sentiments: their conspicuous situation rendered it probable that they would be among the first victims; and every one, in the hope of saving his own life, ardently prayed for the downfall of the tyrants. It was well known in that Assembly that Robespierre had let fall some expressions, indicating an intention to destroy many of its members; and the law of 22d Prairial was regarded as a means of attaining that object. The Committee of Public Salvation was not ignorant of these dispositions. But these expressions of public feeling only inspired the oppressors with greater impatience for human blood. "Let us put," said Vadier, "a wall of heads between the people and ourselves." "The

Revolutionary Tribunal," exclaimed Billaud Varennes, "thinks it has made a great effort when it strikes off seventy heads a-day; but the people are easily habituated to what they always behold: to inspire terror, we must double the number." "How timid you are in the capital!" said Collot d'Herbois; "can your ears not stand the sound of artillery? It is a proof of weakness to execute your enemies one after another; you should mow them at once down with cannon." The judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, many of whom came from the galleys of Toulon, laboured incessantly at the work of extermination, and mingled indecent ribaldry and jests with their unrelenting cruelty to the crowds of captives who were brought before them. An old man, who had lost the use of speech by a paralytic affection, being placed at the bar, the president exclaimed, "No matter; it is not his tongue, but his head, that we want."

57. The superstition or vanity of Robespierre furnished the first pretext for a combination to shake his power. The members of the different committees, alarmed for their own safety, were secretly endeavouring to undermine his influence, when the fanaticism of an old woman, named Catherine Théot, gave them the means of extending their apprehensions to a larger circle. She proclaimed herself the mother of God, and announced the approaching arrival of a regenerating Messiah. An ancient ally of Robespierre, Dom Gerle, was the associate of her frenzy; they held nocturnal orgies, in which Robespierre was invoked as the Supreme Pontiff. The Committee of Public Salvation, who were acquainted with all their proceedings, and from the majority of whom Robespierre was now almost entirely estranged, beheld, or feigned to behold, in these extravagances, a design to make him the head of a new religion, which might add to the force of political power the weight of spiritual fervour. Vadier was intrusted by the Committee with the duty of investigating the mysteries: his report, which was read amid loud laughter in the Convention, represented the "conspiracy as the result partly

of the immeasurable malice of the priests, partly of the formidable faction which the popular axe had destroyed!" It turned the fanatics into derision, but at the same time denounced them as worthy of death; and they were accordingly thrown into prison. The opponents of Robespierre, in the Committee and Convention, eagerly seized hold of this circumstance to connect his name with the remnants of former superstition, and expose it to that most formidable of all assaults in France, the assault of ridicule. Robespierre strove to save these fanatics, but his colleagues withstood his influence: irritated, he retired from their meetings, from which he was absent for the next six weeks, and confined himself to the club of the Jacobins, where his power was still predominant.

58. Naturally suspicious, the apprehensions of the tyrant now increased to the highest degree. He had become not less fearful of his colleagues than of his enemies. His house was guarded by a body of Jacobins, armed with pistols, chiefly composed of jurymen from the Revolutionary Tribunal. He seldom went out unattended by this obnoxious band. His table was covered with letters, in which he was styled the "Envoy of God," the "New Messiah," the "New Orpheus."* On every side his likeness was to be seen in marble,

* "Thou who enlightenest the universe with thy writings, who strikest terror into tyrants and strengthenest the hearts of the people, thou fillest the world with thy renown; thy principles are those of nature, thy language that of humanity; thou restorest the dignity of mankind; a second creator, thou regeneratist the human race in this world.—J. P. BESSON."—*Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre*, ii. 116.

"Blessed be Robespierre, the worthy imitator of Brutus. All confide in your incorruptible zeal. The crown, the triumph, are due to you, and they will be yours, while applauding citizens bow before the altar we shall raise to you, and which posterity will revere as long as men know the value of liberty."—*Ibid.* ii. 118.

"Your task is written in the book of destiny; it will be worthy of your great soul."—*Ibid.* ii. 119.

"Nature has just presented me with a son; I have ventured to make him bear the weight of your name. * * * I said to myself—Robespierre has ever been, and will by future ages be, regarded as the corner-stone in the

bronze, or canvass, and below each, lines in which the Jacobinical poets extolled him above Cato and Aristides. In the bed of Catherine there was found a letter addressed to Robespierre, in which he was styled "the Son of the Supreme Being," "the Eternal Word," "the Redeemer of the Human Race," "the Messiah designated by the Prophets." Old women wrote to him in the strain of the Song of Simeon, rejoicing they had lived to see the advent of the day of salvation. Children over the whole Republic were called after his name; the admiration with which he was surrounded approached to idolatry. But all his efforts, and all the adulation of his satellites, could not dispel the terrors which had seized his mind. In his desk, after his death, was found a letter in the following terms: "You yet live! assassin of your country, stained with the purest blood of France. I wait only the time when the people shall strike the hour of your fall. Should my hope prove vain, this hand which now writes thy sentence, this hand which thy bewildered eye seeks in vain, this hand which presses thine with horror, shall pierce thee to the heart. Every day I am with thee; every hour my uplifted arm is ready to cut short thy life. vilest of men! live yet a few days to be tortured by the fear of my vengeance; sleep to dream of me; let my image and thy fear be the first prelude of thy punishment. This very night, in seeing thee, I shall enjoy thy terrors: but thy eyes shall seek in vain my avenging form."

59. His violent partisans strongly urged the immediate adoption of the most vigorous measures. They earnestly pressed him to assume the dictatorship, now that the municipality and the majority of the Convention were at his feet, and Danton and Hébert were no more. But he constantly refused, alleging that the unity required was in the institutions, not the individuals intrusted with the government. "A dictatorship," said he, "is the last

structure of our constitution. May it please God that you confide to none other than yourself the carrying out of your plans."—*Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre*, ii. 125, 126.

step in the despair of nations. Founded as a barrier against tyranny, it soon becomes the greatest tyranny itself. It saves a day to ruin an age. Rather let the day perish, and the future be preserved; let the people be maimed, be injured, even ruined, rather than subjected to that humiliating guardianship which, under pretence of saving, in fact enslaves them. Nations have their childhood, their maturity, their old age—you must watch over the childhood, but not bury it. Unity is necessary to the Republic, I admit, but it is unity in institutions, not men; so that, if a man is cut off, the unity may revive in his successor,* on the condition that that unity shall not be perpetuated long, and that the first magistrate shall speedily descend to the rank of a simple citizen. Many men are useful, none indispensable,—the people alone are immortal." Foiled in this proposal, Robespierre's friends unceasingly urged him to the most violent measures. Henriot and the mayor of Paris were ready to commence a new massacre, and had a body of three thousand young assassins ready to aid those of 2d September; St Just and Couthon were to be relied on in the Committee of Public Salvation; the president Dumas and the vice-president Coffinhal, were to be depended on in the Revolutionary Tribunal. "Strike soon and strongly," said St Just. "DARE! that is the sole secret of revolutions." The secret designs of Robespierre are clearly revealed in the following letter, written to him at this period by Payan, then mayor of Paris, and entirely devoted to his interests: "The change of all others most essential is, to augment the powers of the *central government*. All our authority is useless; it is alone by augmenting the executive that any good can be done.† Would you crush

* "Le Roi est mort: Vive le Roi." The same necessity of unity in power, and unbroken succession in that power, is felt by all governments, monarchical or democratic. The only difference is, that the former admits hereditary succession, the latter contends for rotation of office.

† "Warn the citizens of France that an infamous death awaits all who oppose the Revolutionary Government. Let those drawing

the refractory deputies, obtain great victories in the interior—bring forward a report which may strike at once against all the disaffected. Pass salutary decrees to restrain the journals; render all the public functionaries responsible to you alone; let them be incessantly occupied in centralising public opinion: hitherto your efforts have been confined to the centralising of the physical government. I repeat it: you require a vast report, which may embrace at once all the conspirators. Blend them altogether—the Dantonists, the Royalists, the Orléanists, the Hébertists, the Lafayetteists, the Bourdonists. Commence the great work." They had already marked out Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Thuriot, Rovère, Lécointre, Panis, Monestier, Legendre, Fréron, Barras, and Cambon, as the first victims. But the conspirators had no armed force at their command: the club of the Jacobins, which they wielded at pleasure, was only powerful from its weight on public opinion; the committees of government were all arrayed on the other side. Robespierre, therefore, was compelled to commence the attack in the Convention: he expected to sway them by the terror of his voice; or if, contrary to all former precedent, they held out, his reliance was on the municipality, and an insurrection of the people, similar to that which had been so successful on the 31st May. By their aid he hoped to effect the proscription of his opponents in the Committee of Public Salvation, and their associates in the Mountain, as he had formerly done that of the Girondists, and of the Commission of Twelve; and measures were in preparation at the Hotel de Ville, for carrying these intentions into effect.*

up reports make salutary suggestions; and let the Committee of Public Safety acquire more confidence, more importance, and more authority. Augment, augment the weight of the central power, to enable it to crush with ease all the conspirators. You could not select a more opportune moment for destroying all conspirators."—FAYAN TO ROBESPIERRE, 9 Messidor, Ann. 2. *Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre*, li. 359, 364.

* "Decree: Council-General of the commune of Paris, 9th Thermidor—Collot d'Herbois, Amar, Leonard Bourdon, Fréron, Tal-

60. In a meeting of the Jacobins, held on the 3d Thermidor (21st July), he prepared the minds of the audience for a revolt against the Convention. "The Assembly," said he, "labouring under the gangrene of corruption, and unable to throw off its impurities, is incapable of saving the Republic: both will perish; the proscription of the patriots is the order of the day. For myself, I have one foot in the grave; in a few days I shall place the other in it: the result is in the hands of Providence. You see between what shoals we are compelled to steer; but we shall avoid shipwreck. Generally speaking, the Convention is pure: it is above fear as above crime. It has nothing in common with a knot of conspirators. For my own part, happen what may, I declare to the counter-revolutionists, whose safety is in the ruin of their country, that, despite all intrigues directed against me, I will continue to unmask the traitors, and to succour the oppressed." The Jacobins were by these and similar addresses prepared for a revolutionary movement; but the secret of the insurrection, which was fixed for the 9th Thermidor, was confided only to Henriot and the mayor of Paris.

61. The leaders of the Convention and of the committees, on their side, were not idle. The immediate pressure of danger had united all parties against Robespierre. He made no secret, in the popular society, of his resolution to decimate the Convention. At leaving one of the meetings where his designs had been openly expressed, Barère exclaimed, "That Robespierre is insatiable; because we won't do everything he wishes, he threatens to break with us. If he speaks of Thuriot, Guffroi, Rovère, and all the party of Danton, we

lien, Panis, Carnot, Dubois Cranoé, Vadier, Javoligne, Fouché, Granet, and Moïse Bayle, shall be arrested, that the Convention may be freed from the oppression under which they hold it. A civic crown is offered to the noble citizens who shall arrest these enemies of the people. The same men who overthrow the tyrant, and the faction of Brissot, will destroy all these scoundrels, who, by imprisoning some of our best patriots, have dared more than Louis XVI."—*Pièces inédites trouvées chez Robespierre; Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxiii. 356.

understand him; even should he demand Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Lëgendre, Fréron, we may consent in good time; but to ask Duval, Audoin, Leonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland, is out of the question. To proscribe members of the Committee of General Safety, is to put the poniard to all our throats." Impressed with these feelings, they resolved to stand on their guard; though they did not as yet venture to commence an attack on Robespierre, whose name was terrible, and his influence still so much the object of dread. They were indefatigable in their endeavours to discredit him with the public, and held meetings every night to concert measures for their common defence. These meetings were held sometimes at the house of Barraa, sometimes at those of Tallien, Rovère, Bourdon de l'Oise, or other persons threatened. The extraordinary, the profound mystery in which the proceedings of Robespierre were kept, the scaffold ready to cut them off, gave these meetings all the character of a dark conspiracy. Robespierre had information that a conspiracy was hatching against his authority, and the police furnished him daily with notes on the proceedings of the conspirators; but with such circumspection did they act, that no distinct clue to their designs was obtained. Tallien was the leader of the party—an intrepid man, and an old supporter of the revolutionary tyranny, but who had been awakened, during his sanguinary mission to Bordeaux, to better feelings, by the influence of his beautiful mistress already mentioned, afterwards well known as Madame Tallien, of extraordinary attractions, and more than masculine firmness of character.

62. Meanwhile the leaders of the opposite parties, who now divided equally the committees and the Convention, were diverging from each other as much in the measures which were severally advocated, as in the preparations they were making for mutual hostility. Alienated from his colleagues in the committees, disgusted with the universal turpitude and corruption with which government was surrounded, and seriously alarmed at the growing influence

of public opinion, which daily called loudly for a stop to the carnage, Robespierre began at length to see the necessity of arresting the terrible effusion of blood, which had doubled in Paris since he had ceased to attend the Committee of Public Salvation. He meditated the destruction of Collet d'Herbois, Barère, and Billaud Varennes, as well as nearly all the members of the Committee of General Safety. He was at length awakened to the hopelessness of going on destroying till every Royalist, intriguer, Dantonist, or guilty functionary, was no more; he became alive to the dreadful nature of the system of government when it had ceased to be immediately directed by himself, and threatened a dangerous reaction. His private letters to his brother, during the six weeks which preceded his fall, deplored the system which was going forward, and its fatal effect in alienating, by the horror it excited, the supporters of the Revolution. He was seldom, between the 15th June and the 24th July, to be seen at the Convention; but his speeches at the Jacobin club loudly condemned the cruel measures of the committees, professed a disposition to return at last to a more moderate system of government, and openly announced the necessity of destroying the tyrants who were oppressing innocence throughout France.* He had

* This appears more particularly in the debate at the Jacobins on 11th July (23 Messidor) 1794, of which a very imperfect report is preserved. Robespierre then said: "The object of the speaker is to stop the effusion of human blood shed by crime. The sole desire, on the contrary, of the authors of these conspiracies is to slay all patriots, and above all, to destroy the Convention, since the Committee has indicated the views from which it must be cleansed. Who have unremittently pointed out the errors of crime, and defended the betrayed patriots? Is it not the members of the Committee? Those who demand justice can be objects of terror to the chiefs of the factions alone; and those who wish to destroy the members of the Committee in public opinion can only design to serve the projects of the tyrants interested in the fall of a committee which denounces, and will speedily annihilate them."—*Journal de la Montagne*, 24 Messidor, 1794, No. 77, vol. v. p. 25.

Napoleon was of opinion that the character of Robespierre had been too severely handled by subsequent writers. "He was of opinion," says Las Cases, "that Robespierre had

even gone so far as to frame a ministry, to be formed after he had destroyed his enemies in the committees. Hermann was to be intrusted with the home administration; Payan and Julien with public instruction; Buchot or Fourcade with foreign affairs; d'Albarade with the marine; and Henriot was to be mayor of Paris.

63. During Robespierre's secession from the Committee of Public Salvation, however, that terrible body had lost none of its fearful and bloodthirsty energy. The daily executions in the capital had doubled, and now sometimes rose as high as seventy or eighty in a day; and on the 6th Thermidor, three

neither talent, nor force, nor system; that he was the true emissary of the Revolution, who was sacrificed the moment that he strove to arrest it in its course—the fate of all those who before himself had engaged in the attempt; but that he was by no means the monster that was commonly believed." "Robespierre," said he, "was at last desirous to stop the public executions. He had not been at the committees for six weeks before his fall; and in his letters to his brother, who was attached to the army at Nice—letters which I myself saw—he deplored the atrocities which were going forward, as ruining the Revolution by the pity which they excited. Cambacérès, who is to be regarded as an authority for that epoch, said to me, in relation to the condemnation of Robespierre, 'Sire, that was a case in which judgment was pronounced without hearing the accused.' ('Un procès jugé, mais non plaidé.') You may add to that, that his intentions were different from what is generally supposed. He had a plan, after having overturned the furious factions whom he required to combat, to have returned to a system of order and moderation." "Some time before his fall," said Cambacérès, "he pronounced a discourse on that subject, full of the greatest beauties: it was not permitted to be inserted in the *Moniteur*, and all traces of it have, in consequence, been lost."—LAS CASES, I. 386. This is the one already referred to, pronounced at the Jacobins, 23 Messidor (11th July) 1794, *Journal de la Montagne*, v. 25, No. 77. Levasseur de la Sarthe also strenuously supports the same opinion, maintaining that Robespierre was cut off just at the moment when he was preparing to return to a system of humanity and beneficence. "What think you of Robespierre?" said some one to Levasseur at Brussels, in his old age. "Robespierre!" answered he, "do not mention his name; it is all I regret: the Mountain was under a cloud when it sacrificed him." Vadier, an exile, and ninety years of age, was of the same opinion. "I am ninety-two," said he in his old age; "the force of my opinion is daily increasing. There is but one act of my life which I regret, and that is

days before the fall of Robespierre, the Committee of Public Salvation, "to judge more quickly the enemies of the people, in detention over the whole Republic," had agreed to a decree appointing four popular commissions, to try without juries the whole prisoners in the different jails in the departments.* The name of Robespierre is not affixed to this resolution; but it was entirely in conformity with a plan which Payan, his intimate friend, proposed to him, in order to dispose of nine thousand prisoners at Orange, who were summarily judged by a commission sent down from Paris, which destroyed them with unheard-of rapidity.† And from a manu-

having misunderstood Robespierre, and taken a citizen for a tyrant."—LEVASSEUR, IV. 110, 111. If this be true, it only augments the weight of the moral lesson to be derived from their history—that, even by such men, a return to order and justice was found to be indispensable, but that even to them the attempt at such a return was fatal.—LAMARTINE, *Hist. des Girondins*, viii. 241.

* "The Committees of Public Safety and of General Security decree—

"1. In three days citizens shall be appointed to fulfil the duties of the four popular commissions created by the decree of the 13th Ventose.

"2. They shall sit in judgment upon all those arrested in the prisons of the departments.

"3. Their sittings shall be at Paris.

"4. The judgments of these commissions shall be revised by the Committees of Public Safety and General Security.

"5. A district comprising several departments shall be assigned to each commission. (Signed) B. Barère, Dubarran, C. A. Priour, Louis du Bas Rhin, Lavicomterie, Collet d'Herbois, Carnot, Couthon, R. Lindet, Saint Just, Billaud Varennes, Voulard, Vadier, Amar, M. Bayle."—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxiii. 395.

† "From nine to ten thousand persons to be tried at Orange: the impossibility of conveying them to Paris. It is proposed, 1. To appoint a Revolutionary Tribunal to sit at Orange, for the purpose of judging the anti-revolutionists of the departments of Vaucluse and the Mouths of the Rhone. 2. To compose this tribunal of a public accuser and six judges. 3. Its power shall be divided into two sections. 4. It shall judge upon revolutionary principles, without written instructions, and without the intervention of a jury." This Tribunal accordingly was instituted, and the president in a few days wrote to Payan—"In the first six days of our operation we have done more than the Revolutionary Tribunal of Nîmes in a month; we have given a hundred and ninety-seven judgments in eighteen days."—*Deux Amis*, xii. 344, 345; and *Papier. Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre*, i. 77, 872.

script note in his own handwriting, found among Robespierre's papers after his death, there is one which openly announces the intention of cutting off the whole middle classes, and for that purpose arming against them the lower.* Vadier, Amar, Voulant, and the other members of the Committee of General Safety, vied with Collet d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes in that of Public Salvation, in measures of extermination. So familiar had the work of destruction become, that it had grown into a subject of merriment. "This is well; the crop is large; the baskets will be filled," said one, when signing a long list "for execution." "I could not help laughing at the figure these wretches cut on the scaffold," exclaimed another. "I often go to see the executions," said a third; "come to-morrow, there will be a grand display." In effect, the members of the committees sometimes went to contemplate the last moments of their victims from some of the neighbouring windows.

64. At length, on the 8th Thermidor (26th July), the contest began in the National Convention. The discourse of Robespierre, which he had composed the day before in the solitudes of the forest of Montmorency, under the inspiration of the genius of Rousseau, was dark and enigmatical, but earnest and eloquent. He wore the dress in which he had appeared at the fête of the Supreme Being on the 7th June. "Citizens," said he, "let others lay before you flattering pictures; I will unveil the real truth. I come not to increase terrors spread abroad by perfidy; I come to defend your outraged authority, and violated independence: I will also de-

fend myself. You will not be taken by surprise, for you have nothing in common with the tyrants who attack me. The cries of oppressed innocence will not offend your ears; their cause cannot be alien to you. Tyrants seek to destroy the cause of freedom by giving it the name of tyranny; patriots reply only by the force of truth. Think not I am here to prefer accusations; I am coming to discharge duty—to unfold the hideous plots which threaten the ruin of the Republic. We have not been too severe. I call to witness the Republic, which yet breathes—the Convention, surrounded by the respect of the people—the patriots, who groan in the dungeons which wretches have opened for them. It is not we who have plunged the patriots into prisons; it is the monsters whom we have accused. It is not we who, forgetting the crimes of the aristocracy, and protecting the traitors, have declared war against peaceable citizens, and erected into crimes things indifferent, to find guilty persons everywhere, and render the Revolution terrible even to the people; it is the monsters whom we have to accuse.

"They call me a tyrant. If I were so, they would fall at my feet: I should have gorged them with gold, assured them of impunity to their crimes, and they would have worshipped me. Had I been so, the kings whom we have conquered would have been my most cordial supporters. It is by the aid of scoundrels you arrive at tyranny. Whither tend those who combat them? To the tomb and immortality! Who is the tyrant that protects me? What is the faction to which I belong? It is yourselves! What is the party which, since the commencement of the Revolution, has crushed all other factions—has annihilated so many specious traitors? It is yourselves; it is the people; it is the force of principles! This is the party to which I am devoted, and against which crime is everywhere leagued. I am ready to lay down my life without regret. I have seen the past; I foresee the future. What lover of his country would wish to live when he can no longer

* "One will is requisite—one alone. Our internal dangers spring from the bourgeois class—we must summon the people. The sans-culottes must be paid and kept in the towns. They must be provided with arms, and show that the insurrection spreads from one to another on the same principle. Writers must be proscribed as the most dangerous enemies of their country, and, above all, guilty deputies and administrators must be punished. If these deputies are sent, the Republic is lost." —*Note écrite de la main de Robespierre; Deux Amis*, xii. 853. *Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre*, i. 36, li. 15.

succour oppressed innocence? Why should he desire to remain in an order of things where intrigue eternally triumphs over truth; where justice is deemed an imposture; where the vilest passions, the most ridiculous fears, fill every heart, instead of the sacred interests of humanity? Who can bear the punishment of seeing that horrible succession of traitors more or less skilful in concealing their hideous vices under the mask of virtue, and who will leave to posterity the difficult task of determining which was the most atrocious? In contemplating the multitude of vices which the Revolution has let loose pell-mell with the civic virtues, I own I sometimes fear I shall be sullied in the eyes of posterity by their calumnies. But I am consoled by the reflection that, if I have seen in history all the defenders of liberty overwhelmed by calumny, I have seen their oppressors die also. The good and the bad disappear alike from the earth; but in very different conditions. No, Chaumette! 'Death is not an eternal sleep!'—Citizens, efface from the tombs that maxim engraven by sacrilegious hands, which throws a funeral pall over nature, which discourages oppressed innocence: write rather, 'Death is the commencement of immortality!' I leave to the oppressors of the people a terrible legacy, which well becomes the situation in which I am placed: it is the awful truth, 'Thou shalt die!'

"We no longer tread on roses; we are marching on a volcano. For six weeks I have been reduced to a state of impotence in the Committee of Public Salvation; during that time has faction been better restrained, or the country more happy? Representatives of the people, the time has arrived when you should assume the attitude which befits you; you are not placed here to be governed, but to govern the depositaries of your confidence. Let it be spoken out at once: a conspiracy exists against the public freedom; it springs from a criminal intrigue in the bosom of the Convention; that intrigue is conducted by the members of the Committee of General Safety; the enemies of the Republic have contrived to array that Com-

mittee against that of Public Salvation; even some members of this latter have been infected; and the coalition thus formed seeks to ruin the country. What is the remedy for the evil? To punish the traitors; to purge the committees of their unworthy members; to place the Committee of General Safety under the control of that of Public Salvation; to establish the unity of government under the auspices of the Convention; and thus to crush faction under the weight of the national representation, and raise on its ruins the power of justice and freedom."

65. This speech was received with breathless attention; not a sound was heard during its delivery; not a whisper of applause followed its close. At the proposal that it should be printed, the first symptoms of resistance began. Bourdon de l'Oise opposed its publication; but, Barère having supported it, the Convention, fearful of committing itself openly with its enemies, agreed to the proposal. The members of the Committee of General Safety, seeing the majority wavering, deemed it now necessary to take decisive steps. "It is no longer time," said Cambon, "for dissembling: one man paralyses the Assembly, and that man is Robespierre."—"We must pull the mask off any countenance on which it is placed," said Billaud Varennes; "I would rather that my carcass served for a throne to the tyrant, than render myself by my silence the accomplice of his crimes."—"It is not enough," said Vadier, "for him to be a tyrant; he aims further, like a second Mahomet, at being proclaimed the envoy of God." Fréron proposed to throw off the hated yoke of the committees. "The moment is at last arrived," said he, "to revive the liberty of opinion. I propose that the Assembly shall reverse the decree which permitted the arrest of the representatives of the people; who can debate with freedom when imprisonment is hanging over his head?" Some applause followed this proposal; but Robespierre was felt to be too powerful to be overthrown by the Convention, unaided by the committees: this extreme measure therefore was rejected, and the Assembly contented itself

with reversing the decree which ordered the publication of his address, and sent it to the committees for examination. "Had Robespierre," said Barère, "for the last four decades attended the committees, or attended to its operations, he would have suppressed his address. You must banish from your thoughts the word *accused*." In the end Robespierre retired, surprised at the resistance he had experienced, but still confident of success on the following day, from the contemplated insurrection of the Jacobins and of the municipality, and the unbounded influence which he had long enjoyed with the people.

66. In the evening he repaired to the popular society, where he was received with enthusiasm. Henriot, Dumas, Coffinhal, and his other satellites, surrounded him, and declared themselves ready for action. After reading the speech he had delivered in the Convention, Robespierre said, "That speech is my last testament. I see how it is: the league against me is so powerful that I cannot hope to escape it. I die without regret. I bequeath to you my memory. You will defend it."—"No; you shall live, or we shall die together," exclaimed the people from the galleries. "No," he replied; "I have read to you my testament; my death-bed testament." Upon these words, pronounced in a solemn and mournful tone, sobs were heard in all parts of the hall. Coffinhal, Duplay, Payan, Buonarrotti, Lebas, David, rose at once and conjured him not to despair, but to save them, the country, and himself. "I know," said Henriot, "the road to the Convention, and I am ready to take it again."—"Go," said Robespierre, "separate the wicked from the weak; deliver the Assembly from the wretches who enthral it; render it the service which it expects from you, as you did on the 31st May and the 2d June. March! you may yet save liberty!" After describing the attacks directed against his person, he added, "I am ready, if necessary, to drink the cup of Socrates." "Robespierre," exclaimed David, "I am ready to drink it with you: the enemies of Robespierre are those of the country; let them be named, and they shall cease

to exist."* Couthon then proposed the immediate expulsion of all the members of the Convention who had voted against the printing of Robespierre's speech, and they were instantly, including Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, forcibly turned out, in the midst of mingled hisses and menaces. During all the night, Robespierre made arrangements for the disposal of his partisans on the following day. Their point of rendezvous were fixed at the Hotel de Ville, where they were to be in readiness to receive his orders from the National Convention.

67. The two committees, on their side, were not idle. During the whole night they sat in deliberation. It was felt by every one that a combination of all parties was required to shake the redoubted power of Robespierre. All their efforts, accordingly, were directed to this object. St Just continued firm to his leader; but, by unremitting exertions, the Jacobins of the Mountain succeeded in forming a coalition with the leaders of the Plain and of the Right. Tallien, who was the life of the conspiracy, was stimulated to exertion by the danger of Theresa de Fontenay, who was in prison, and threatened with instant death if the power of Robespierre was not immediately destroyed. She had contrived, by bribing the jailers, to send a note written with blood to him, which was secretly put into his hand in the street, by a female who instantly disappeared, which announced her trial for the succeeding day.† This intelligence stimulated his efforts, and he was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about the requisite coalition of

* David, much to his credit, admitted, after the 9th Thermidor, he had said this. "Robespierre called out that it only remained for him to drink the hemlock. I said to him, 'I shall drink it with you.'"—Paroles de David, Séance du 10 Thermidor, 1794; *Journal de la Montagne*, 11, 93, vol. v. p. 770.

† "The officer of police has just left: he came to announce to me that to-morrow I should go up to the tribunal; that is to say, to the scaffold. This bears little resemblance to the dream I had last night—Robespierre was no more, and the prisons were opened. But, thanks to your cowardice, there will soon be no one in France to realise this dream."—THERESA to TALLIEN, 7th Thermidor, 1794; LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, viii. 316.

parties. "Do not flatter yourselves," said Tallien to the Girondists, "that he will ever spare you; you have committed an unpardonable offence in being freemen. Let us bury our ruinous divisions in oblivion. You weep for Vergniaud—we weep for Danton; let us unite their shades by striking Robespierre."* "Do you still live!" said he to the Jacobins; "has the tyrant spared you this night? yet your names are the foremost on the list of proscription. In a few days he will have your heads, if you do not take his. For two months you have shielded us from his strokes; you may now rely on our support as on our gratitude." The Côté Droit long resisted the energetic efforts made by the Jacobins in the Convention to bring them over to a coalition, but at length they acquiesced, unable, as they themselves said, to bear any longer the sight of fifty heads falling a-day. The friends of Danton were so exasperated at the death of their leader, that they repelled at first all advances towards a reconciliation; but at length, moved by the entreaties of the Plain and the Right, they agreed to join the conspiracy. Before daybreak, all the Convention had united for the overthrow of the tyrant.

68. At an early hour on the morning of the 9th Thermidor (27th July), the benches of the Convention were thronged by its members; those of the Mountain were particularly remarkable for the serried ranks and determined looks of the coalition. The leaders walked about the passages, confirming each other in their resolution. Bourdon de l'Oise pressed Durand Maillane by the hand, Rovère and Tallien followed his example—"Oh, the gentlemen of the Côté Droit are honest men!" said the latter. Tallien evinced that undoubting confidence which is so often the

* "Le ciel entre nos mains a mis le sort de Rome,

Et son salut dépend de la perte d'un homme :
Si l'on doit le nom d'homme à qui n'a rien
d'humain

A ce tigre altéré de tout le sang Romain !
Combien pour le repandre a-t-il formé de
brigues ;

Combien de fois changé de partis et de ligues,
Tantôt ami d'Antoine, et tantôt ennemi,
Et jamais insolent ni cruel à demi."

CORNÉILLE, *Cinna*, Act 1, scene 3.

presage and cause of success. "Take your place," said he, entering from the lobby, where he had been walking with Durand Maillane; "I have come to witness the triumph of freedom; this evening Robespierre is no more." At noon St Just mounted the tribune: Robespierre took his station on the bench directly opposite, to intimidate his adversaries by his look. But he could not bear the glance of Tallien, whose countenance expressed the greatest determination, and whom he with justice regarded as his most formidable adversary. Already his weakness, on the approach of personal danger, was manifest. His knees trembled, the colour fled from his lips as he ascended to his seat; the hostile appearance of the Convention already gave him an anticipation of his fate.

69. St Just commenced the debate with a speech from the tribune. "I belong," said he, "to no party; I will combat them all. The course of events has possibly determined that this tribune should be the Tarpeian rock for him who now tells you that the members of the committees have strayed from the path of wisdom." Upon this he was violently interrupted by Tallien, who took the lead in the revolt. "Shall the speaker," said he, "forever arrogate to himself, with the tyrant of whom he is the satellite, the privilege of denouncing, accusing, and proscribing the members of the Assembly? Shall he for ever go on amusing us with imaginary perils, when real and pressing dangers are before our eyes? After the enigmatical expressions of the tyrant yesterday from that place, can we doubt what St Just is about to propose? You are about," said he, "to raise the veil: I will tear it asunder!" Loud applauses on all sides followed this exclamation. "Yes!" exclaimed he, "I will tear it asunder. I will exhibit the danger in its full extent; the tyrant in his true colours! It is the whole Convention which he now proposes to destroy. He knows well, since his overthrow yesterday, that, however much he may mutilate that great body, he will no longer find it the instrument of his tyrannical designs. He is resolved that no sanctu-

ary should exist for freedom, no retreat for the friends of the Republic. He has in consequence resolved to destroy you all; yes, this very day, ay, in a few hours. Two thousand assassins have sworn to execute his designs; I myself last night heard their oaths, and fifty of my colleagues heard them with me. The massacre was to have commenced in the night with the Committee of Public Salvation and that of General Safety, all of whom were to have been sacrificed, except a few creatures of the tyrant; the fidelity of the soldiers, who feared the Convention, alone has preserved them from this terrible calamity. Let us instantly take measures commensurate to the magnitude of the danger; let us declare our sittings permanent till the conspiracy is broken, and its chiefs arrested. I have no difficulty in naming them; I have followed their steps through their bloody conspiracy: I name Dumas, the atrocious President of the Revolutionary Tribunal; I name Henriot, the infamous commander of the national guard."

70. Here Billaud Varennes interrupted the orator, and gave some fuller details on the conspiracy which had been matured in the Society of the Jacobins, and denounced Robespierre as its chief. "Yesterday," said he, "at the Jacobins were several base apostates; hardly one of them had tickets of admission, but they fully developed the plan of massacring the Convention. There I heard the most infamous sallies vented against the men who have never deviated from the Revolution. I see on the Mountain there, some of the men who menaced the national representation." At these words a cry arose—"Seize him! seize him!" and the individual alluded to was dragged from his seat, and hurled out amidst loud applause. "The Assembly will perish," he concluded, "if it shows the least signs of weakness."—"We shall never perish!" exclaimed the members, rising in a transport of enthusiasm from their seats. Tallien resumed: "Can there be any doubt now about the reality of the conspiracy? have you conquered so many tyrants only to crouch beneath the yoke of the most atrocious of them all? I see among you a new Cromwell. The charge

against Robespierre is already written in your hearts. Is there one among you who will declare that he is not an oppressor? If there is, let him stand forth; for him have I offended. Tremble, tyrant! tremble! See with what horror freemen shrink from your polluted touch! We enjoy your agony; but the public safety requires it should no longer be prolonged. I declare, if the National Convention hesitate to pass the decree of accusation, I will plunge this dagger in your bosom." and he drew the glittering steel from his breast in the midst of deafening shouts from the Convention, which shook with the tumult. During this impassioned harangue, which was pronounced with the most vehement action, Robespierre sat motionless, but deadly pale. The Convention, amidst a violent tumult, declared its sittings permanent till the sword of the law had secured the Revolution, and decreed the arrest of Henriot, Dumas, and the other associates of the tyrant; and numerous measures of precaution were suggested.

71. Robespierre tried in vain, during the tumult which followed this address, to obtain a hearing. The president, Thuriot, whom he had often threatened with death, constantly drowned his voice by ringing his bell. In vain he looked for support among the former satellites of his power; all, frozen with terror, shrank from his gaze. "A bas le tyran!" resounded from all sides of the hall. Barère then, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, related that an officer of the Allies, made prisoner in a late action in Belgium, had said, "All your successes will not avail you; we are not the less confident; we shall conclude a peace with *a fraction of the Convention*, and soon change the government." The government cannot conceal that the moment of danger has arrived. The committees are attacked; their members are covered with calumnies; the conspirators would destroy whatever intelligence or energy there is in the country, and denounce members on whose patriotism you are now to pronounce." On his motion the Convention decreed, by acclamation, that all ranks in the national guard above

that of chief of a legion should be suppressed, that each commander of a legion should command in his turn, and that the mayor and municipality of Paris should answer with their heads for the security of the Convention. This decree was levelled at Henriot. But Tallien, who perceived that, amidst these multifarious proposals, the main object of destroying Robespierre was likely to be forgotten, resumed his place in the tribune. "Let us think only of the tyrant: you have not a moment to lose; he is every hour collecting his strength. Why accumulate charges, when his conduct is engraven on every heart? Let him perish by the arm he has invented to destroy others. To what accused did he ever give the right of speaking in his defence? Let us say with the juries of the Revolutionary Tribunal, 'Our minds have long been made up.' If you declare him *hors la loi*, can he complain who has put *hors la loi* nine-tenths of France? Let there be no formalities with the accused; you cannot too much abridge their punishment; he has told you so himself a hundred times. Let us strike him in the bosom of the Assembly; let his associates perish with him on the bench of the Revolutionary Tribunal, in the club of the Jacobins, at the head of the traitorous municipality.

72. "Were I," continued Tallien, "to recount the acts of individual oppression of which he has been guilty, I would say that, during the time when Robespierre was charged with the general police, they have all been committed, and that the patriots of the Revolutionary Committee of the Section of Indivisiibility have been arrested."—"It is false!" cried Robespierre; "I"—"Loud cries drowned his voice. For a moment he fixed an eager gaze on the most ardent of the Mountain. Some averted their eyes; others looked down: the great majority remained motionless. Casting then a despairing look round the hall, he at length turned to the few survivors of the Girondists. "Turn away from these benches!" they exclaimed; "Vergniaud and Condorcet have sat here."—"Pure and virtuous citizens," said he to the deputies on the right, "will you give me the

liberty of speech which the assassins refuse?" A profound silence followed the demand. "For the last time, President of Assassins!" said he, turning to the chair, "will you allow me to speak?" The continued noise drowned his voice. "You shall not have it but in your turn;" and soon "Never, never!" resounded on all sides.

"Diversi lingue, orribili favella,
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle,
Facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira
Sempre 'n quell' aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando 'l turbo spira."

He then sank on his seat, pale and exhausted; his voice, which had become a shrill scream from agitation and vehemence, at length totally failed; foam issued from his mouth. "Wretch!" exclaimed a voice from the Mountain, "you are choked by the blood of Danton."—"Ah! you would avenge Danton," rejoined Robespierre: "cowards! why did you not defend him?"—"I demand the arrest of Robespierre," cried Louchet. "Agreed! agreed!" resounded on all sides. "Citizens," exclaimed Billaud Varennes, "liberty is about to be restored."—"Say rather," replied Robespierre, "that crime is about to prevail: the Republic is abandoned to brigands." The act of accusation was then carried amidst the most violent agitation. The younger brother of Robespierre had the generosity to insist that he should be included in the charge. "I am as culpable as my brother," said he; "I share his virtues, I am willing to share his fate." Lebas followed his example. At length the two Robespierres, Lebas, Couthon, St Just, Dumas, and Henriot, were unanimously decreed under arrest, and ordered to be sent to prison; and the Convention broke up, in the utmost agitation, at five o'clock.

73. During this terrible contest, the partisans of Robespierre were collect-

* "Various tongues,
Horrible languages, outcries of woe,
Accents of anger, voices deep and hoarse,
With hands together smote, that swell'd the
sounds,
Made up a tumult that for ever whirled
Round through that air with solid darkness
stain'd,
Like to the sand that in the whirlwind flies."

CARY'S DANTE, *Inferno*, iii. 26.

ing at the hall of the Jacobins and the Hotel de Ville. They expected that he would be victorious in the Convention, and that the armed force would only be called on to support its decrees. Part of the national guard were assembled at the rendezvous, when a messenger arrived from the Convention requiring the mayor to appear at the bar, and give an account of the state of the capital. "Return to your associates," said Henriot, with his drawn sabre in his hand, "and say that we are in deliberation here how to purify their ranks. Tell Robespierre to remain firm and fear nothing. He is supported by the people." Payan hastily drew up an address, in which they denounced to the people the oppressors of the most virtuous of patriots, Robespierre, St Just, the Apostle of Virtue, and Couthon, "whose heart and head alone live; the flame of patriotism has consumed his body."* But alarming news soon arrived. At half-past four they received intelligence of the arrest of Robespierre and his accomplices, which soon circulated with the rapidity of lightning through Paris. Instantly they gave orders to sound the tocsin, close the barriers, convoke the General Council, and assemble the Sections. The Jacobins declared their sittings permanent; an energetic proclamation, calling on the people to rise, was issued from the

Hotel de Ville; and the most rapid means of communication were established between these two great centres of the insurrection. To excite the people to revolt, Henriot, with a drawn sabre in his hand, at the head of his staff, traversed the streets, exclaiming, "To arms, to save the country!" In his course through the Faubourg St Antoine, he met the procession of forty-nine prisoners proceeding as usual to execution: the crowd had stopped the chariots, and loudly demanded that they should be released, which Samson, the long-practised executioner, endeavoured to support; but Henriot had the barbarity to order them to be led on, and they all suffered. On his return, two deputies of the Convention met him in the Rue St Honoré, and prevailed on some horsemen to obey the orders of the Convention, and arrest his person: he was handcuffed, and conducted to the Committee of General Safety. About the same time Payan was seized. The Convention seemed triumphant; its principal enemies were in confinement.

74. But the insurgents regained their advantage between 6 and 7 o'clock, in consequence of the dispersion of the members of the Convention and the energetic measures of the municipality. Robespierre had been sent to the Luxembourg, where he was refused entrance, on the ground that the commune had prohibited them from receiving any prisoner but such as they had committed. He was then taken to the central police-office, where he was at once received in triumph by the officers of the municipality. The younger Robespierre had been sent to Saint Lazare, Couthon to the Bourbe, St Just to the Ecosais, and the other conspirators to the different prisons of Paris. The magistrates sent detachments to deliver them. Robespierre was speedily brought in triumph to the Hotel de Ville, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm, and soon joined by his brother and St Just. Coffinhal set off at the head of two hundred cannoners to deliver Henriot; he arrived in the Place du Carrousel, and having forced the guard of the Convention,

* The following are the terms of this proclamation: "Brothers and friends, the country is in imminent danger: the wicked have mastered the Convention, where they hold in chains the virtuous Robespierre, who passed the decree so consoling to humanity on the existence of God and the immortality of the soul; Couthon, that venerable citizen, who has but a heart and a head alive, as the rest of his body has been consumed by patriotism; St Just, that virtuous apostle, who first checked treason in the army of the Rhine and the north; Lebas, their worthy colleague; the younger Robespierre, so well known for his labours with the army of Italy. And who are their enemies? Collot d'Herbois, an old comedian, convicted under the old régime of having stolen the strong-box of his troop of players; Bourdon de l'Oise, the perpetual calumniator of the municipality of Paris; one Barère, the ready tool of every faction which is uppermost; one Tallien, and Fréron, the intimate friends of the infamous Danton. To arms!—To arms! Let us not lose the fruit of the 10th August and the 2d June. Death to the traitors!"—*Hist. Parl.* xxxiv. 46.

penetrated to the rooms of the Committee of General Safety, and delivered that important leader. The dictatorship was now earnestly pressed upon Robespierre by his friends; but he firmly refused it to the very last. "The people," cried Couthon, "await only a word from you to annihilate their enemies and your own. Prepare at least a proclamation, telling them what to do." "In the name of whom?" replied Robespierre. "In the name of the oppressed Convention," rejoined St Just. "Recollect the line of Sertorius," added Couthon—

"Rome n'est plus dans Rome, elle est toute où je suis."*

"No, no," replied Robespierre; "I will not give the first example of the national representation being enalaved by a citizen. We are nothing save by the people; we must not supplant their rights by our wishes."—"Then," cried Couthon, "nothing remains for us but to die."—"You have said it," answered Robespierre, leaning his head on his hands, his elbows resting on the council table. "Well, then," said St Just, "it is you who murder us." During this dialogue, Robespierre cast his eyes on a paper on the table, where such a proclamation was drawn up. Conquered by the impertunity of his friends, he took up the pen to sign it; but after he had written half his name, he threw the paper and pen from him.

75. The Convention met at 7 o'clock. Intelligence was immediately brought of the fearful successes of the insurgents, their insurrectionary measures, the liberation of the Triumvirs, the assemblage at the Hotel de Ville, the convocation of revolutionary committees, and of the sections. In the midst of the alarm, the members of the two committees, driven from their offices, arrived in consternation with the account of the forcing of the Tuileries, the delivery of Henriot, and the presence of an armed force round the Convention. The agitation was at its height, when Amar entered and announced, that the terrible cannoneers had pointed their guns against the walls of their hall. "Citizens," said the President, cover-

* "Rome is no longer in Rome: it is where I am."

ing his face with his robe, "the hour is arrived to die at our posts; the conspirators have made themselves masters, with an armed force, of the Committee-room of General Safety."—"We are ready to die," exclaimed the members. Animated by sublime resolution, every one spontaneously resumed his seat, and the Assembly unanimously took the oath. At this moment Goupilleau entered, and announced that Henriot had been brought to the neighbourhood in triumph, and was at the head of the armed force at their gates. A universal shudder upon this ran through the Convention. The vociferous crowd in the gallery at the same time disappeared.

76. In this extremity, Tallien and his friends acted with the firmness which in revolutions so often proves successful. "Everything conspires," said they, "to assure the triumph of the Convention and the liberty of France. By his revolt, Robespierre has opened to us the only path which is safe with tyrants. Thank Heaven, to deliver our country, we need not now await the uncertain decision of a tribunal filled with his creatures! He has brought his fate upon himself; let us declare him *hors la loi* with all his accomplices; let us include the rebellious municipality in the decree; let us besiege him in the centre of his power; let us instantly convoke the sections, and allow the public horror to manifest itself by actions. Name a commander of the armed force; there must be no hesitation; in such a strife, he who assumes the offensive commands success." All these decrees were instantly passed. Henriot was declared *hors la loi*, and Barras named to the command of the military force; Fréron, Bourdon de l'Oise, Rovère, Leonard Bourdon, and other determined men, being associated with him in the perilous duty. The Committee of Public Salvation, as the other committee-room was lost, was now fixed on as the centre of operations. The *général* beat, and emissaries were instantly despatched to all the sections, to summon them to the defence of the Convention; while a macer was despatched to summon the municipality to its bar. But such was

the arrogance of that body, in the anticipation of immediate victory, that they returned for answer—"Yes, we shall come to their bar, but at the head of the insurgent people."—"I invite," said Tallien, who had now taken the chair, "our friends to set out with the armed force. Let not the sun set before the heads of the conspirators have fallen."—"The moments are precious," said Billaud Varennes; "when you are on a volcano, you must act. Robespierre has just said, that before two hours had elapsed, he would march on the Convention. Shall we sleep? It is for us to anticipate him, and our enemies will be annihilated." Amidst loud shouts the commanders of the armed force set out on their perilous mission, to summon the national guard.

77. While the government was adopting these energetic measures, Henriot was haranguing the cannoneers in the Place du Carrousel. The fate of France hung on their decision; could he have persuaded them to act, the Convention would have been destroyed before the tardy succours could arrive from the remoter quarters of the capital. Happily they could not be brought to fire on the legislature, and their refusal decided the fortune of the day. Dispirited at this unwonted failure with the troops, and alarmed at the cries which broke from the multitude as soon as the decrees of the Convention were known, he withdrew to the Hotel de Ville, the armed force followed his example, and the Convention, so recently besieged within its walls, speedily became the assailing party. Paris was soon in the most violent state of agitation. The tocsin summoned the citizens to the Hotel de Ville, the *général* called them to the Convention; the deputies of the Legislature, and the commissioners of the municipality, met in the sections, and strove for the mastery of those important bodies. On all sides the people hastened to arms; the streets were filled by multitudes crowding to their different rallying-points; cries of "Vive la Convention!" "Vive la Commune!" broke forth in the different columns, according to the prevailing opinion of their members; while the rolling of cannon and ammunition-wag-

gons, by torchlight, gave a fearful pre-
age of the contest that was approaching.

78. The emissaries of the municipality first arrived at the rendezvous of the sections; but the national guard, distracted and uncertain, hesitated to obey the summons of the magistrates. They could only be brought, in the first instance, to send deputations to the commune, to inquire into the state of affairs. Meanwhile, the news of Robespierre's arrest circulated with rapidity, and a ray of hope shot through the minds of numerous proscribed individuals who were in concealment in the city. With trembling steps they issued from their hiding-places, and, approaching the columns of their fellow-citizens, besought them to assist in dethroning the tyrant. The minds of many were already shaken, those of all in a state of uncertainty, when, at ten o'clock, the commissioners of the Convention arrived with the intelligence of its decrees, of the summons to assist it, of the appointment of a new commander-in-chief, and a rallying-point at the Hall of the Convention. Upon this they no longer hesitated; the battalions of the national guard from all quarters marched towards the Convention, and defiled through the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic applause. At midnight, above three thousand men had arrived. The forces, being deemed sufficient, were ordered to set out. A few battalions and pieces of artillery were left to guard the Convention, and the remainder of the national guard, under the command of Barras, marched at half-past twelve against the insurgents. The night was dark, a feeble moonlight only shone through the gloom; but the forced illumination of the houses supplied a vivid light, which shone on the troops, who in profound silence, and in serried masses, marched from the Tuileries along the quays of the river towards the Hotel de Ville, the headquarters of the insurgents.

79. The armed citizens, who had come to the Tuileries to take part with Henriot and the commune, dismayed by their retreat to the Hotel de Ville, now glided into the ranks of the attacking force, and the columns which march-

ed down the quays towards the Place de Grève. Every one held his breath as they passed; the intense interest of life or death almost choked respiration. But in more distant quarters the agitation was more open; and a confused sound, like the rolling of distant thunder, was heard in all parts of the city. By degrees the tumult became so violent that at length the sound reached the prisons. The unhappy inmates of the gloomy cells put their ears to the bars of the windows, listened to every sound, and yet trembled lest the agitation should be the prelude to a general massacre of the captives. Soon, however, the downcast looks of the jailers, words whispered to the framers of the lists, and the consternation of these wretches, awoke hope in their despairing minds. Shortly after it was discovered, by half-suppressed words heard in the streets, that Robespierre was in danger; the relations of the captives placed themselves under the windows, and informed them by signs of what was passing, and then the exhilaration of the prisoners broke out into the most vehement and tumultuous joy.

80. Meanwhile the adherents of Robespierre, consisting almost entirely of the cannoneers, and of the armed force commanded by Henriot, who were composed of the very lowest of the rabble, had assembled in great force at the Hotel de Ville. The Place de Grève, in which it stands, was filled with artillery, bayonets, and pikes; Robespierre had been received with the utmost enthusiasm, and the delivery of Henriot raised to the highest pitch the confidence of the conspirators. But as the night advanced, and no columns of the national guard arrived, this confidence gave place to the most sinister presentiments. Even in the Faubourg St Antoine, the centre of all former insurrections, the delegates of the municipality failed in rousing the populace. "What the better have we been," said they, "of all the insurrections? What has Robespierre done for us? Where are the riches, the fields, he promised us? When we are dying of famine, does he expect to satisfy us by the daily spectacle of a hundred aristocrats dying on the scaffold?

Does he suppose we are cannibals, to feed on human flesh, and drink human blood? He has done nothing for us, we will do nothing for him." Such was the language of the populace in the most revolutionary quarter of Paris: the fever of innovation had exhausted itself; even the lowest of the people were horror-struck with the rulers they had chosen for themselves.

81. At midnight the rumour began loudly to spread through the ranks of the insurgents, that the municipality had been declared *hors la loi*, that the sections had joined the Convention, and that their forces were advancing against the insurgents. To obviate its impression, Payan read aloud in the Council-room the decree of the Convention, and inserted in it the names of all those of their party whom he observed in the gallery, hoping thereby to attach them from desperation to the cause of Robespierre. But an opposite effect immediately ensued, as they all instantly took to flight, leaving the gallery deserted. Nor did affairs wear a more promising aspect out of doors. There were about two thousand men stationed in the Place de Grève, with a powerful train of artillery. But their resolution was already much shaken by the obvious defection of their fellow-citizens, when the light of the torches showed the heads of the columns of the national guard appearing in all the avenues which led to the square. The moment was terrible: ten pieces of the artillery of the Convention stood in battery, while the cannoneers of the municipality, with their lighted matches in their hands, were posted beside their guns on the opposite side. But the authority of the law prevailed; the decree of the legislature was read by torchlight, and the insurgent troops refused to resist it. Some emissaries of the Convention glided into the ranks of the municipality, and raised the cry, "Vive la Convention!" the insurgents were moved by the harangue of Meda, the commander of the national artillery, and in a short time the Place de Grève was deserted, and the whole cannoneers retired to their homes, or ranged themselves on the side of the Assembly.

82. Henriot descended the stair of the Hotel de Ville; but seeing the square deserted, he vented his execrations on his faithless followers, who had for the most part abandoned the king in the same manner on the 10th August, and hastened back to his comrades. The conspirators, finding themselves unsupported, gave way to despair; the national guard rushed rapidly up the stair, headed by Bourdon de l'Oise, with a pistol in each hand and a naked sabre in his teeth, and entered the room where Robespierre and the leaders of the revolt were assembled. Lebas, hearing the tumult approaching, presented a pistol to Robespierre, entreating him to blow out his brains; but he refused. When they entered, they found Robespierre sitting with his elbow on his knees, and his head resting on his hand; Meda discharged his pistol, which broke his under jaw, and he fell under the table. St Just implored Lebas to put an end to his life. "Coward, follow my example!" said he, and blew out his brains. Couthon was seized under a table, feebly attempting to strike with a knife, which he wanted the courage to plunge in his heart; Coffinhal and the younger Robespierre threw themselves from the windows, and were seized in the inner court of the building. Henriot had been thrown from the window by Coffinhal, before he threw himself out; but, though bruised and mutilated, he contrived to crawl into the entrance of a sewer, from whence he was dragged out by the troops of the Convention.*

83. Robespierre and Couthon, being

* Many authors affirm that Robespierre shot himself. That he had a pistol in his hand is certain; but Lavasseur de la Sarthe and Meda, the gendarmes who arrested him, agree in stating that his jaw was broken by a shot fired by the last of these parties.—See LAVASSEUR, iii. 164; MEDA, 386. Lamartine, in his *Histoire des Girondins*, gives the same account: "Leonard Bourdon with his right hand laid hold of the arm of the gendarme Meda, who had a pistol, and pointing with his left hand at whom he should aim, he turned the mouth of the pistol to Robespierre, and said to the gendarme, 'That is he!' The shot is fired—Robespierre falls with his head forward on the table, staining with his blood the proclamation that he had not finished signing."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, viii. 364, 365.

supposed to be dead, were dragged by the heels to the Quai Pelletier, where it was proposed to throw them into the river; but it being discovered, when light was brought, that they still breathed, they were stretched on a board, and carried to the Convention between one and two o'clock in the morning. The members having refused to admit them, they were conveyed to the Committee of General Safety, where Robespierre lay for nine hours stretched on a table in the Salle d'Audience, with his broken jaw still bleeding, and suffering alike under bodily pain, and the execrations and insults of those around him. During the whole time that this cruel torture lasted, he evinced a stoical apathy. Foam merely issued from his mouth, which the humanity of some around him led them to wipe off; but he grasped with convulsive energy the pistol which he had not had sufficient time, or wanted courage, to discharge. His face retained its habitual bilious tint, but mingled with the ashen hue of death. At six in the morning a surgeon was sent for, who found the left jaw broken: he took out two or three teeth which were crushed by the shot, bandaged the jaw, and placed beside him a glass of water, with which he occasionally washed away the blood which filled his mouth. As he lay extended on the table, numbers reviled and spat upon him; and, to their eternal disgrace, some of his former colleagues in the committees insulted him, while the clerks of the office pricked him with their penknives.† At length he arose and sat down on a chair; he then gazed around him, fixing his eyes chiefly on the clerks in the office, whom he recognised. But he exhibited great fortitude, especially in the dressing of the wound, which occasioned acute pain. Shortly after, he was sent to the Conciergerie, where he was confined in the same cell which had been occupied by Danton, Hébert, and Chaumette. From thence he was brought, with all his associates, to the Revolutionary Tri-

* "Ses collègues des comités vinrent l'insulter, le frapper, lui cracher au visage; des commis de bureau le piquèrent de leurs canifs."—*Derniers Moments de Robespierre; Hist. Parl.* xxxiv. 94.

bunal, and, as soon as the identity of their persons was established, they were condemned. St Just and Dumas were taken direct to the Audience Hall, at the office of the Committee of Public Salvation, and thence to the same prison. The former gazed at the great picture of the Rights of Man placed there, and said, "It is I, nevertheless, who did that." In entering the Conciergerie, St Just met General Hoche, who had been confined there for some weeks by St Just himself. Instead of insulting his fallen enemy, Hoche pressed his hand, and stood aside to let him pass. The really heroic are never on great occasions unworthy of themselves.

84. At four in the morning of the 29th July, all Paris was in motion to witness the death of the tyrant. He was placed on the chariot, between Henriot and Couthon, whose persons were as mutilated as his own, the last in the vehicle, in order that, with the usual barbarity of the period, which he himself had been instrumental in introducing, he should see all his friends perish before him. They were bound by ropes to the benches of the car in which they were seated; and the rolling of the vehicle during the long passage, which was through the most populous quarters of Paris, produced such pain in their wounds that they at times screamed aloud. The gendarmes rode with their sabres presented to the people, who clapped their hands, as they had done when Danton was led to execution. Robespierre's forehead, one eye, and part of the cheek, were alone seen above the bandage which bound up the broken jaw. St Just evinced throughout the most unconquerable fortitude. Robespierre cast his eyes on the crowd, turned them aside, and shrugged his shoulders. The multitude, which for long had ceased to attend the executions, manifested the utmost joy at their fate. They were conducted to the Place de la Révolution; the scaffold was placed on the spot where Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had suffered. The statue of Liberty still surmounted the scene. Never had such a crowd been witnessed on any former occasion: the streets, de-

spite the earliness of the hour, were thronged to excess; every window was filled; even the roofs of the houses, like the manned yards of a ship, were crowded with spectators. The joy was universal; it almost approached to delirium. The blood from Robespierre's jaw burst through the bandage, and overflowed his dress; his face was ghastly pale. He kept his eyes shut, when he saw the general feeling, during the time the procession lasted, but could not close his ears against the imprecations of the multitude. A woman, breaking from the crowd, exclaimed, "Murderer of all my kindred! your agony fills me with joy: descend to hell covered with the curses of every mother in France!" He ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and was laid down near the axe. Twenty of his comrades were executed before him; during the time they were suffering, he lay on the scaffold with his eyes shut, never uttering a word. When lifted up to be tied to the fatal plank, the executioner tore the bandage from his face; the lower jaw fell upon his breast, and he uttered a yell which filled every heart with horror. For some minutes the frightful figure was held up, fixed to the board, to the multitude; he was then placed under the axe, and the last sounds which reached his ears were the exulting shouts, which were prolonged for some minutes after his death.

85. Along with Robespierre were executed Henriot, Couthon, St Just, Dumas, Coffinhal, Simon, and all the leaders of the revolt. Of these St Just alone displayed the firmness which had so often been witnessed among the victims whom they had sent to the scaffold. Couthon wept with terror: the others died uttering blasphemies, which were drowned by the cheers of the people. The spectators shed tears for joy, they embraced each other in transport, they crowded round the scaffold to behold the bloody remains of the tyrants. "Yes, Robespierre, there is a God!" said a poor man, as he approached the lifeless body of one so lately the object of dread. His fall was felt by all present as an immediate manifestation of the Divinity. Seventy-three of

his party were executed next day, comprising all the leaders of the revolt at the municipality; but Barère, Billaud Varennes, and Collet d'Herbois, were in the ranks of the victorious party, and, though the worst of the whole, suffered at that time no punishment for their crimes. The whole theatres of Paris were open, as usual, during these scenes of horror, as they had been during the whole continuance of the Reign of Terror.*

86. Thus terminated the Reign of Terror—"the only series of crimes," says Sir James Mackintosh, "perhaps, in history, which, in spite of the common disposition to exaggerate extraordinary facts, has been beyond measure *underrated* in public opinion."† It is an epoch fraught with greater political instruction than any of equal duration which has existed since the beginning of the world. In no former period had the efforts of the people so completely triumphed, or the higher orders been so thoroughly crushed by the lower. The throne had been overturned, the altar destroyed, the aristocracy levelled with the dust; the nobles were in exile, the clergy in captivity, the gentry in affliction. A merciless sword had waved over the state, destroying alike

the dignity of rank, the splendour of talent, and the graces of beauty. All that excelled the labouring classes in situation, fortune, or acquirement, had been removed; they had triumphed over their oppressors, seized their possessions, and risen into their stations. And what was the consequence? The establishment of a more cruel and revolting tyranny than any which mankind had yet witnessed; the destruction of all the charities and enjoyments of life; the dreadful spectacle of streams of blood flowing through every part of France. With truth did the warmest apologists and ablest advocates of the Revolution now admit that it had produced "*the most indefatigable, searching, multiform, and omnipresent tyranny that ever existed*, which pervaded every class of society, which had ministers and victims in every village of France."‡ The earliest friends, the warmest advocates, the firmest supporters of the people, were swept off indiscriminately with their bitterest enemies; in the unequal struggle, virtue and philanthropy sank under ambition and violence; and society returned to a state of chaos, when all the elements of private or public happiness were scattered to the winds. Such are the results of unchaining the passions of the multitude; such the peril of suddenly admitting the light upon a benighted people.§

— "The will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left them at large to their own dark designs,
That with reiterated crimes they might
Heap on themselves damnation, whilst they
sought
Evil to others, and, enraged, might see
How all their malice served but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy shown
On man by them seduced; but on themselves
Evil
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance
poured."

Paradise Lost, i. 212.

† Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH (Author of the *Vindicia Gallica*), *Works*, iii. 263.

§ The extent to which blood was shed in France during this melancholy period will hardly be credited by future ages. The Republican Prudhomme, whose prepossessions led him to anything rather than exaggeration of the horrors of the popular rule, has given the following appalling account of the victims of the Revolution. Its value will not be duly

* Theatres open on the 9th Thermidor, viz :—

1. Opéra. Armide, avec le ballet de Télémaque.
2. Opéra Comique. La Mélomanie.
3. Théâtre de la République. La Conspiration pour la Liberté.
4. Théâtre Feytaud. Roméo et Juliette.
5. Théâtre d'Egalité, Section Marat. Guillaume Tell.
6. Théâtre de la Montagne. Jardin de l'Egalité.
7. Théâtre des Sans-culottes. Ci-devant Molière.
8. Théâtre Lyrique des Amis de la Patrie. La Revoir.
9. Théâtre du Vaudeville. Fête de l'Egalité.
10. Théâtre de la Cité. Le Combat des Thermopyles.
11. Théâtre du Lycée des Arts. Jardin de l'Egalité.
12. Amphithéâtre d'Astley, Faubourg du Temple. La Fête Civique.

Immediately before this is a list of forty-five persons executed the same day. It is the same throughout the whole of the Reign of Terror.—See *Moniteur*, 27th July 1794 (9 Thermidor).

† MACKINTOSH'S *Works*, iii. 295.

87. The facility with which a faction, composed of a few of the most audacious and reckless of the nation, triumphed over the immense majority of all the

appreciated unless it is recollected that the author who compiled it was an ardent supporter of the Revolution—an intimate friend and political agent of Danton's; and that, in his well-known revolutionary journal, the "Révolutions de Paris," he had justified the massacres in the prisons in September 1792. See No., September 10, 1792.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

From Sept. 21, 1792 to Oct. 25, 1795—

Guillotined,	18,613
Of	
whom { Nobles,	1,278
Women,	760
Nuns,	360
Priests,	1,135
Wives of mechanics,	1,467

Persons who perished in the civil war after the 31st May 1793 at Lyons, 31,200

LYONS.
Deaths from fear and famine during the siege, 184

Perished during the demolitions of houses, &c., 45

Women during pregnancy and in childbirth, 348

Massacred after the reaction of the 9th Thermidor, 145

Died in prison, 32

Suicides, 45

Houses destroyed, 1674.

Total, 799

MARSEILLES.

Fight of Carteaux, on the road to Marseilles, 650

Died in prison, 79

Total, 729

TOULON.

During the siege, 9,000

Massacred or drowned on the retreat of the English, 3,100

Died in prison, 160

Shot, 800

Women and children thrown into the sea, 1,265

Total, 14,325

BEDON.

Destruction and dispersion of the inhabitants of this city, which numbered more than 1600 houses.

THE SOUTH.

Persons massacred throughout the south after the reaction of the 9th Thermidor, 750

Conspiracies, 360

Insurrections, 140

WAR OF LA VENDEE.

The loss of life in the massacres, fusillades, noyades, and the various combats between Frenchmen, is estimated at least at 900,000

Carry forward, 966,916

holders of property in the kingdom, and led them forth like victims to the sacrifice, is not the least extraordinary or memorable fact of that eventful period.

Brought over, 966,916
Of { Women, 15,000
whom { Children, 22,000

This war has caused the disappearance of villages, hamlets, or farms, to the number of more than 20,000

VICTIMS under the proconsulate of CARRIER at Nantes, 32,000

Of whom	Children shot,	500
	drowned,	1,500
	Women shot,	264
	drowned,	500
	Priests shot,	300
	drowned,	460
	Nobles drowned,	1,406
	Artisans drowned,	5,309
	Died in prison by disease,	8,000

NOTE.—Those guillotined at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and Bédoin are included in the 18,613 above mentioned.

Persons who committed suicide by hanging, drowning, or throwing themselves from windows, from fear, 4,796

Women who died in premature childbirth, 3,490

Deaths from famine, 20,000

Persons made insane through the Revolution, 1550,

In all, 1,027,106

In this enumeration are not comprehended the massacres at Versailles, at the Abbaye, the Carmes, or other prisons, on September 2d, the victims of the Glacière of Avignon, those shot at Toulon and Marseilles, or the persons slain in the little town of Bédoin, of which the whole population perished. Those contained in the "Liste des Condamnés," a very curious work, down to the 12th Thermidor (30th July 1794), are 2741.—*Supplément à No. IX. Liste des Condamnés*, p. 15.—The additional 99 contained in the *Moniteur* are those condemned and executed after the fall of Robespierre, and are also in the *Liste des Condamnés*, Nos. X. and XI.

It is in an especial manner remarkable, in this dismal catalogue, how large a proportion of the victims of the Revolution were persons in the middle and lower ranks of life. The priests and nobles guillotined are only 2413, while the persons of plebeian origin exceed 13,000! The nobles and priests put to death at Nantes were only 2160; while the infants drowned and shot are 2000, the women 764, and the artisans 5300! So rapidly in revolutionary convulsions does the career of cruelty reach the lower orders, and so wide-spread is the carnage dealt out to them, compared with that which they have sought to inflict on their superiors.

The active part of the bloody faction at Paris never exceeded a few thousand men; their talents were by no means of the highest order, nor their weight in society considerable; yet they trampled under foot all the influential classes, ruled mighty armies with absolute sway, kept two hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens in captivity, and daily led out several hundred, and at last, perhaps, taking the whole country together, some thousand persons, of the best blood in France, to execution. Such is the effect of the unity of action which atrocious wickedness produces; such the consequence of rousing the cupidity of the lower orders; such the ascendancy which, in periods of anarchy, is acquired by the most savage and lawless of the people. The peaceable and inoffensive citizens lived and wept in silence; terror crushed every attempt at combination; the extremity of grief subdued even the firmest hearts. "Isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur." * In despair at effecting any alleviation of the general sufferings, apathy universally prevailed, the most sacred domestic ties were often forgotten, selfishness became general. The people sought to forget their sorrows in the delirium of present enjoyments; and the theatres were never fuller than during the whole duration of the Reign of Terror. Ignorance of human nature can alone lead us to ascribe this to any peculiarity in the French character; the same effects have been observed in all parts and ages of the world, as invariably attending a state of extreme and long-continued distress.†

88. How, then, did a faction, whose leaders were so extremely contemptible

in point of numbers obtain the power to rule France with such absolute sway? The answer is simple. It was by an expedient of the plainest kind, and by steadily following out one principle, so obvious that few have sought for the cause of such terrible phenomena in its application. This was by promoting, and to a great extent actually giving to the working-classes the influence and the possessions of all the other orders in the state. *Egestas cupida novarum rerum*‡ was the maxim on which they acted: it was toward this point—the cupidity and ambition of those to whom fortune had proved adverse—that all their measures were directed. Their principle was to keep the revolutionary passions of the people constantly awake by the display of fresh objects of desire; to represent all the present misery which the system of innovation had occasioned, as the consequence of the resistance which the holders of property had opposed to its progress; and to dazzle the populace by the prospect of boundless felicity, when the revolutionary equality and spoliation for which they contended was fully established. By this means they effectually secured, over the greater part of France, the co-operation of the multitude; and it was by their physical strength, guided and called forth by the revolutionary clubs and committees universally established, and everywhere composed of the most ardent of the Jacobin faction, that the extraordinary power of the Terrorists was upheld.

89. In the later stages of the Revolution, this universally aroused cupidity of the working-classes was powerfully supported, and the strength of Jacobin vigour increased, by the terrors of pun-

* "And this was the state of men's minds, that extreme wickedness was dared by a few, wished by many, endured by all."—Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 28.

† Appearances precisely similar are recorded by Boccaccio to have been observed in Florence during the dreadful pestilence of 1348—"One citizen avoided another, no one looked after his neighbour; relations kept aloof from each other; tribulation had so stricken the hearts of men and women with terror, that brother abandoned brother, the uncle the nephew, the sister the brother, and frequently the wife the husband; and,

what is worse, and almost incredible, fathers and mothers abandoned their children.

Many, losing sight of all distinction between good and evil, abandoned themselves to pleasure, and followed day and night the dictates of their appetites. This occurred not only among the laity, but even the members of monasteries, breaking from the control of the laws, gave themselves up to carnal pleasures, and became dissolute and wanton."—Boccaccio, *Giornata Prima Introduzione*. The same will appear amidst the horrors of the Moscow retreat.

‡ "Indigence covetous of change."

ishment among the leaders of the populace for the innumerable crimes they had committed. This terror went to such a length as to be often ridiculous; for a few words, from a handful of children or old women, were often sufficient to make the leaders tremble who had defeated the armies of all Europe. This would be inexplicable did we not know that "conscience makes cowards of us all." These terrors and this system succeeded perfectly, as long as the victims of spoliation were the higher orders and considerable holders of property; it was when they were exhausted, and the edge of the guillotine began to descend upon the shopkeepers and the more opulent of the labouring-classes, that the *general* reaction took place which overturned the Reign of Terror. When society is in so corrupt and profligate a form that a faction, qualified by their talents and energy to take the lead in public affairs, can be found who will carry on the government on these principles, and they are not crushed in the outset by a united effort of all the holders of property, it can hardly fail of obtaining temporary success. It is well that the friends of order of every political persuasion—and they are to be found as much among the supporters of rational freedom as the advocates of monarchical power—should be aware of the deadly weapon which is in the possession of their adversaries, and the necessity of uniting to wrest it from their hands the moment that it is unsheathed. And it would be fortunate if the agents of revolution would contemplate, in the Reign of Terror and the fate of Robespierre, the inevitable effects of using it to their country and themselves.

90. In contemplating the progress of the Revolution, nothing appears more extraordinary than the universal and rapid destruction which it brought upon all ranks who aided it, from the throne to the cottage. The king supported it and perished; the nobles supported it and perished; the clergy supported it and perished; the merchants supported it and perished; the public creditors supported it and perished; the shopkeepers supported it and perished; the

artisans supported it and perished; the peasants supported it and perished. The nobles, whose passion for innovation, and misguided declamations in favour of equality, had first led to the convocation of the States-General, who early set the example of submission to the popular will, and voluntarily abdicated their titles, their privileges, and their rights, to place themselves at the head of the movement, were the first to be destroyed. Decimated by the guillotine, exiles from their country, destitute wanderers in foreign lands, they beheld their estates confiscated, their palaces sold, their children proscribed, themselves undone. While by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept, they learned to lament the fatal precipitance with which they had excited the ambition of their inferiors, by yielding so precipitately to the public frenzy in favour of democracy.

91. The clergy, who had proved themselves the earliest and steadiest friends of freedom, whose junction with the Tiers Etat in the hour of peril had first given the latter a superiority over the privileged classes, and compelled the ruinous union of all the orders in one chamber, were utterly destroyed by the party whom they had cherished. Their religion was abolished, their churches were closed, their property was confiscated, themselves were subjected to cruel and tyrannical enactments, compelled to wander in utter destitution in foreign lands, or purchase a miserable pittance by violating their oaths, and earning the contempt of all the faithful among their flocks.—The commercial classes, whose jealousy of the unjust privileges of the noblesse had first fostered the flame of liberty, were consumed in the conflagration which it had raised; the once flourishing colonies of the monarchy were in flames, its manufacturing cities in ruins, its private wealth destroyed, its sails banished from the ocean, its naval establishments in decay. Blasted by a ruinous system of paper currency, and crushed in the grasp of a relentless despotism, manufacturing industry was withered, and commercial capital annihilated.—The public creditors, once so loud in their

praises of the first movements of the Revolution, whose enthusiasm had raised the public funds thirty per cent in one day, when Necker was restored to power, in 1788, on the shoulders of the democracy, were now crushed beneath its wheels; the once opulent capitalists, ruined by the fall of the public securities, deprived of their property by a fictitious paper, paid by their debtors in a nominal currency, had long since sunk to the dust; while the miserable *rentiers*, cheated out of almost all their income by the payment of their annuities in assignats, were wandering about in utter despair, supporting a miserable existence by charity, or terminating it by suicide.

92. The shopkeepers, whose unanimous shouts had so long supported the Constituent Assembly, whose bayonets had first upheld the fortunes of the Revolution, at last tasted its bitter fruits. As its movement advanced, and they became the objects of jealousy to still lower ambition, the fury of plebeian revenge was directed against their ranks; insensibly they melted away under the axe of the guillotine, or were destroyed by the law of the maximum, and lamented with unavailing tears the convulsions which had deprived them at once of the purchasers of their commodities, the security for their property, and the disposal of their industry.—The artisans, who had expected a flood of prosperity from the regeneration of society, whose pikes had so often, at Jacobin command, issued from the Faubourgs to overawe the legislature, were speedily steeped in misery from the consequences of their actions. Impatient of restraint, unable to endure a superior, they were at last subjected to the most galling bondage. Destitute of employment, fed only by the bounty of government, they were fettered in every action of their lives. Debarred the power of purchasing even the necessities of life for themselves, they were forced first to wait half the day as needy suppliants at the offices of the committees who issued their tickets, and then to watch half the night round the bakers' shops, to procure the wretched pittance

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of a pound of black bread a-day for each member of their families.—The peasants expected an immediate deliverance from tithes, taxes, and burdens of every description, as the consequence of their emancipation; and they found themselves ground down by the law of the maximum, forced to sell at nominal prices to the purveyors for the armies, and fettered in every action of their lives by oppressive regulations. They saw their sons perish in the field, or rot in the hospitals, their horses and cattle seized for the forced requisitions, and the produce of their labour torn from them by battalions of armed men, to maintain an indigent and worthless rabble in the great cities of the Republic.

93. Consequences so extraordinary, so unlooked for, to every class of society from the throne to the cottage, are singularly instructive as to the effects of revolutions; but yet, if the matter be considered dispassionately, it is evident that they must in every age attend any considerable convulsion in society. When a tree is felled, it is the leaves and the extremities which first begin to wither, because they are soonest affected by a stoppage in the supplies by which the whole is nourished. It is the same with society. Upon the occurrence of a revolution, the working-classes are the earliest to suffer, because they have no stock to maintain themselves during a period of adversity, and being wholly dependent on the daily wages of labour, are the first victims of the catastrophe which has interrupted it. It is this immediate effect of a revolution, in spreading misery through the labouring poor, which in the general case renders its march irresistible, when not arrested in the outset by a firm combination of all the holders of property. It is it which precipitates society into a series of convulsions, from which it can hardly emerge without the destruction of the existing generation. The shock given to credit, the stoppage to speculation, the contraction to expenditure, is so excessive, that the lower orders are immediately involved in distress; and the same causes which increase their dis-

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content, and augment their disposition to revolt, disable government, by the rapid fall of the revenue, either from administering relief or exerting force. The consequence is, that fresh insurrections take place; more extravagant and levelling doctrines become popular; a lower but more energetic class rises to the head of affairs; desperate measures of finance are adopted, the public expenditure is increased, while the national income is diminished; and, after a succession of vain attempts to avoid the catastrophe, national bankruptcy takes place, and the accumulations of ages are swept off in a general public and private insolvency. "Nemo unquam imperium flagitio quassitum bonis artibus exercuit."

94. The different steps of this disastrous but unavoidable progress are clearly marked in the successive stages of the French Revolution. Within six months after the Revolution broke out, it was discovered that the revenue had fallen, in consequence of the general uncertainty of the future, from £24,000,000 a year to £17,000,000, and that at the very time when the embarrassment of the finances had been the principal cause of the convocation of the States-General. No resource could be found to meet the pressing difficulties of the exchequer, but the confiscation of the property of the church, and subsequently of that of the emigrant nobles. These measures again engendered evils which tended to perpetuate the difficulties from which they sprang. The confiscation of the church property rendered necessary the laws against the refractory priests, and they, in their turn, produced the refusal of so many of the clergy to take the oaths to the Constitution, and thereby lighted the flames of civil war in La Vendée. At the same time, the severe enactments against the emigrant nobles produced a war of life and death with the aristocratic monarchs in Europe. Pressed by civil war within, and by the forces of Europe without, the Convention found themselves compelled to have recourse to the system of assignats, and carried on the enormous expenditure of a hundred and seventy

millions sterling a year, by dispensing with a prodigal hand the confiscated wealth of more than half of France. This prodigious issue of paper necessarily led to its rapid depreciation; all obligations of debt and credit were overturned by the necessity of accepting payment in a nominal currency; the rapid rise in the price of provisions compelled the government to adopt a maximum, and interfere with the arm of force in the management of public subsistence. Thence the forced requisitions, the compulsory sales, the distribution of rations, and all the innumerable tyrannical regulations which fettered industry in every department; and at length, by exciting the passions of the people against each other, brought down even to the humblest class the horrors which they had originally inflicted on their superiors.

95. Such a survey of the consequences of human violence both vindicates the justice of Providence, by demonstrating how rapidly and unavoidably the guilt of every class in society brings upon itself its own punishment, and tends to make us judge charitably of the conduct of men placed in such a terrible crisis of society. Harshly as we may think of the atrocities of the Revolution, let no man be sure that, placed in similar circumstances, he would not have been betrayed into the same excesses. It is the insensible gradation in violence, the experienced necessity of advancing with the tide, which renders such convulsions so perilous to the morals as well as the welfare of nations. The authors of many of the worst measures in the Revolution were restored to private life as innocent and inoffensive as other men; the most atrocious violations of right had been so long foreseen and discussed, that their occurrence produced little or no sensation. "Of all the lessons derived from the history of human passion," says Lavalette, "the most important is the utter impossibility which the best men will always experience of stopping, if they are once led into the path of error. If, a few years before they were perpetrated, the crimes of the Revolution could have been portrayed to those

* "No one ever applied power acquired by wickedness to good purposes."—TACITUS.

who afterwards committed them, even Robespierre himself would have recoiled with horror. Men are seduced, in the first instance, by plausible theories; their heated imaginations represent them as beneficial, and easy of execution; they advance unconsciously from errors to faults, and from faults to crimes, till sensibility is destroyed by the spectacle of guilt, and the most savage atrocities are dignified by the name of state policy." Such always will be the case; it is the pressure of external circumstances which ultimately produces guilt, as much as guilt which at first induces the difficulties of public affairs. The leaders of a revolution are constantly advancing before the fire which they themselves have lighted; the moment they stop, they are consumed in the flames.

96. One circumstance is manifest from the whole history of the Revolution, upon which it well becomes the people of this country to ponder, if they shall find themselves involved in a similar convulsion; that is, that by far the greatest and most atrocious crimes committed in its progress were perpetrated by *jurymen*. The whole victims of the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, 2800 in number, were judicially murdered by the *verdicts of juries*. The same was the case with almost all the other revolutionary tribunals in France. In England, all the atrocities of Jeffries, which had so powerful an effect in bringing about the Revolution of 1688, were effected by the same means. The monarchical cruelties which occasioned the English, the democratic atrocities which disgraced the French Revolution, found equally ready instruments in the passions or pliability of jurymen.* This fact is not a little remarkable. It demonstrates how extremely fallacious is the reliance which is generally placed on the institution of jury-trial, as the bulwark of freedom and the shield of

oppressed innocence. That it has often proved so in former times, when power was wielded by monarchs or aristocratic bodies, and juries were taken from the middle or lower classes, is certain. But what ensues when the lower orders themselves are the oppressors, and the sword of power is wielded by those whom they have placed in the seats of justice! Will they permit the accused aristocrats to be tried by their peers, as was the case with themselves when the nobles were in power? Unquestionably they will not; the first thing they invariably do is, to place the most violent of their own class and faction upon the lists of jurymen. Juries then become what Tocqueville says they are in America, nothing better than the judicial committee of the majority. Actuated by its passions, inflamed by its fears, envenomed by its jealousies, they are then more dangerous to real liberty, and perpetrate injustice on a greater scale, than permanent judges ever could venture to do; for, in their case, numbers remove responsibility without lessening cruelty, and obscurity shelters crime without fostering virtue. In democratic times, the deepest wounds to the cause of freedom will in general be inflicted by the hands of jurymen.

97. Robespierre was to the internal march of the Revolution what Napoleon was to its external passions. Both rose to eminence, and were sustained in power by surrendering themselves to the all-powerful current of public passion, and directing it to the objects which the ambition of the great bulk of men at the time most ardently desired. Both owed the long continuance of their power to the opinion generally and deservedly entertained, that they were sincere in their enthusiasm, disinterested in their intentions, and invincible in their hearts. The dreadful catastrophes to which the rule of both led are to be regarded as the result, not so much of their individual actions, as of the false, and, in their ultimate consequences, terrible principles on which they proceeded. The maxim of Robespierre and St Just, that what constituted a republic was the destruction of everything that opposed it, was precisely

* "All the acts of Jeffries were done with the aid of juries, and without the censure of Parliament. They afford a fatal proof that judicial forms and constitutional establishments may be rendered unavailing by the subversion or prejudice of those who are appointed to carry them into effect."—SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH'S *Works*, ii. 41.

the principle which led Napoleon to his insatiable foreign conquests. Inevitable necessity urged both on when they had launched on the career of crime; and that necessity was, the moral law of nature which dooms outrageous sin to punishment from the consequences of the very acts which itself most ardently desires. The 9th Thermidor was the counterpart of the Moscow retreat. Instead, then, of regarding Robespierre as a mere individual man, and ascribing the horrors of his career to his wicked propensities, it is more consonant to historic justice, as well as the cause of virtue, to represent him as the INCARNATION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE REVOLUTION. And probably no Avatar sent on such a mission could be imbued with fewer vices.

98. Extravagant as the opinions of Robespierre now appear, and dreadful as were the consequences to which they led, there seems no reason to doubt that they were seriously entertained by him, and that, throughout his bloody career, he was actuated in the main by the desire of promoting, in the end, human felicity. Individual ambition, jealousy of rivals, envy of superiors, may have co-operated in prompting his actions; but as his language was uniformly philanthropic, so his private disinterestedness never betrayed the influence of corrupt or mercenary motives. It was the total disregard of the means employed, the fatal error of supposing that the great body of mankind are innocent, and that the prevailing evils of society were all owing to the vices of a few, that was the cause of all the unspeakable misery he brought upon mankind. He was a stern and relentless fanatic of the school of Rousseau. He constantly hoped that, when he had destroyed the whole superior classes of society, general virtue would rise up on the foundation of restored equality; he always expected to see the stream of human iniquity run out:—

"Rusticus expectat dum defuatur amnis; at ille
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."*

* "The rustic waits till the stream flows out;
but it

Flows, and, as it flows, for ever will flow on."

HORACE.

Instead of this, he found, to his unspeakable horror, that the Republican authorities, whom his principles had created, were infinitely more corrupt and oppressive than the aristocratic or monarchical had been. He adventured on the attempt to destroy the unparalleled mass of iniquity which had risen to the direction of affairs under his own system of universal suffrage, and was crushed by its weight. Robespierre's career was thus not the offspring of any individual character; it was the result of the delusion of the age, and affords a *reductio ad absurdum* of its errors. And that delusion was the belief of the natural innocence of man; those errors, that it was lawful to do evil that good might come of it.

99. It is altogether a mistake, therefore, to represent the atrocities of the Revolution as the work merely of the guilty men who were at its head. It is evident, from every page of its annals, that these men rose to eminence only because they were the representatives of its spirit, and resolutely determined to do its work. Equally with Napoleon during his career of foreign conquest, Robespierre always marched with the opinions of five millions of men. It was the force of guilty passion, the thirst for illicit gratification, the passion for general destruction, which raised up his army of satellites, in the first case, as it was the desire of plunder, the thirst for elevation, the passion for glory, in the last. Robespierre had no private fortune, and made none in the Revolution; he died as poor as he lived. What, then, was the secret of his astonishing power? Nothing but the uniform and ardent support of the people, who justly regarded him as thoroughly identified with their supposed interests, and heart and soul actuated by their real passions. The Jacobin Club composed his janissaries, the revolutionary committees his regular forces. But these janissaries and these forces were themselves unarmed; their influence was entirely a moral one: they governed the armed force of the national guard, because they partook of its passions, and were identified with its objects. The whole standing army of France was congre-

gated on the frontier during the Reign of Terror; fifteen hundred thousand national guards were in arms in the interior; when a few battalions of them at Paris spoke out, the tyranny was at end. Three thousand men in the Place de Grève overthrew and made prisoner the tyrant. The crimes of the Revolution, therefore, were not the exclusive deeds of any particular body of men; they were the work of the masses, and the guilt of them must be borne by the immense majority of the French nation. Their real cause is to be found in the overthrow of religion which Voltaire effected, the dreams of equality which Rousseau introduced.

100. There is no character, however, which has not some redeeming points; pure unmixed wickedness is the creation of romance, but never yet appeared in real life.* Even the Jacobins of Paris were not destitute of good qualities; history would deviate equally from its first duty, and its chief usefulness, if it did not bring them prominently forward. With the exception of some atrocious men, such as Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, Carrier, and a few others, who were villains as base as they were inhuman, almost entirely guided by selfish motives, they were, for the most part, possessed of some qualities in which the seeds of a noble character are to be found. In moral courage, energy of mind, and decision of conduct, they yielded to none in ancient or modern times: their heroic resolution to maintain, amidst unexampled perils, the independence of their coun-

try, was worthy of the best days of Roman patriotism. They possessed in the highest degree the quality so finely described by the poet:—

“The unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
With courage never to submit or yield,
And what is else not to be overcome.”

If this strenuous will could be separated from the obvious necessity of repelling the Allies, to avoid punishment for the numberless crimes which they had committed, it would be deserving of the highest admiration: mingled, as it necessarily was in their case, with a large portion of that baser alloy, it is still a redeeming point in their character. Some of them, doubtless, were selfish or rapacious, and used their power for the purposes of individual lust or private emolument. But others, among whom we must number Robespierre and St Just, were entirely free from this degrading contamination, and, in the atrocities they committed, were governed, if not by public principle, at least by private ambition. Even the blood which they shed was often the result, in their estimation, not so much of terror or danger, as of overbearing necessity. They deemed it essential to the success of freedom; and regarded the victims, who perished under the guillotine, as the melancholy sacrifice which required to be laid on its altar.

101. In arriving at this frightful conclusion, they were, doubtless, mainly influenced by the perils of their own situation. They massacred others because they were conscious that death, were they vanquished, justly awaited themselves. But still the weakness of humanity in their, as in many similar cases, deluded them by the magic of words, or the supposed influence of purer motives, and led them to commit the greatest crimes, while constantly professing, and often feeling, the noblest intentions. There is nothing surprising or incredible in this: we have only to recollect, that all France joined in a crusade against the Albigeois, and that its bravest warriors deemed themselves secure from eternal, by consigning thousands of wretches to temporal flames; we have only to go back, in ima-

* At the trial of Burke in Edinburgh, on December 24, 1828, a remarkable instance of this occurred. He was indicted for three cold-blooded murders, perpetrated on unsuspecting victims, whom he lured into his den, to sell their bodies. Subsequently it was ascertained he had murdered sixteen in this way. Yet this monster, who was tried along with a young woman, his associate, with whom he lived, no sooner heard the verdict of the jury, which found him guilty and acquitted her, than he threw his arms around her neck and kissed her, saying, “Thank God! Helen, you are saved.” It occurred to the author at the moment, who conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown—“How many are there among his judges, jury, or accusers, who, in similar circumstances, would have done the same?”

gination, to Godfrey of Bouillon and the Christian warriors putting forty thousand unresisting citizens to death on the storming of Jerusalem, and wading to the Holy Sepulchre ankle-deep in human gore—to be convinced that such delusions are not peculiar to any particular age or country, but that they are the universal offspring of fanaticism, whether in political or religious contests. The writers who represent the Jacobins as mere bloodthirsty wretches, vultures insatiate in their passion for destruction, are well-meaning and amiable, but weak and ignorant men, unacquainted with the real working of delusion or wickedness in the human heart, and calculated to mislead, rather than direct, future ages on the approach of times similar to that in which these obtain the ascendancy. Vice never appears in such colours: it invariably conceals its real deformity. It is by borrowing the language and assuming the garb of virtue, that its greatest triumphs are gained. It is the “deceitfulness of sin” which constitutes its greatest danger; its worst excesses ever attest the truth of Rochefoucault’s maxim, that “hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue.” If other states are ever to be ruled by a Jacobin faction, the advent of their power will not be marked by sanguinary professions, or the hideous display of heartless atrocity. It will be ushered in by the warmest expressions of philanthropy, by boundless hopes of felicity, and professions of the utmost regard for

the great principles of public justice and general happiness.*

102. There is no opinion more frequently stated by the annalists and historians of the Revolution on the popular side in France, than that the march of the Revolution was inevitable; that an invincible fatality attends all such convulsions; and that by no human exertions could its progress have been changed, or its horrors averted.† The able works of Thiers, Mignet, and many others, are mainly directed to this end; and it constitutes, in their estimation, the best apology for the Revolution. Never was an opinion more erroneous. There is nothing in the annals of human affairs which warrants the conclusion, that improvement necessarily leads to revolution; and that in revolution a succession of rulers, each more sanguinary and atrocious than the preceding, must be endured before the order of society is restored. It is not the career of reform, it is the career of *guilt*, which leads to these consequences: this deplorable succession took place in France, not because changes were made, but because boundless crimes in the course of these changes were committed. The partisans of liberal institutions have fallen into a capital error, when, in their anxiety to exculpate the actors in the Revolution, they have laid its horrors on the cause of the Revolution itself: to do so, was to brand the cause of freedom with infamy, when that infamy should have been confined to its wicked supporters. It was the early commission

* The ablest and most interesting apology for the Jacobins is to be found in the *Memoirs of Levasseur de la Sarthe*, himself no inconsiderable actor in their sanguinary deeds. It is highly satisfactory to have such a work do justice to their intentions; and it is a favourable symptom of the love of impartiality in the human heart, that even Robespierre and St Just have had their defenders.

Whatever opinions may be entertained on this point, one thing seems very clear, that Robespierre’s abilities were of the highest order, and that the contrary opinions expressed by so many of his contemporaries were suggested by envy or horror. It is impossible in any other way to account for his long dominion over France, at a period when talent of every sort was hurled forth in wild confusion to the great central arena at Paris. His speeches are a sufficient indication of the

vigour of his mind; they are distinguished in many instances by a nervous eloquence, a fearless energy, a simple and manly cast of thought, very different from most of the frothy declamations at the tribune.

† This doctrine is the one put by Cornelle into the mouth of Thezeus:—

“L’âme est donc tout esclave: une loi souveraine

Vers le bien ou le mal incessamment l’en-
traîne;

Et nous ne recevons ni crainte ni désir

De cette liberté qui n’a rien à choisir.

Attachés sans relâche à cet ordre sublime,

Vertueux sans mérite et vicieux sans crime.

Qu’on massacre les rois, qu’on brise les autels,
C’est la faute des dieux, et non pas des mortels.”

Œdipe, Act III. scene 6.

of crime by the leaders of the movement which precipitated and rendered irretrievable its subsequent scenes; the career of passion in nations is precisely similar to its excesses in individuals, and subject to the same moral laws. If we would seek the key to the frightful aberrations of the Revolution, we have only to turn to the exposition, by the great English divines, of the progress of guilty passions in the individual. The description of the one might pass for a faithful portrait of the other.* There is a necessity to which both are subjected; but it is not a blind fatality, or a necessary connection between change and convulsion. It is the moral law of nature, that vice, whether in nations or private men, when the proffered opportunities of repentance have been neglected, is made to work out its deserved punishment in the efforts which it makes for its own gratification.

"For they shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd

Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
Th' incens'd Deity, while offer'd grace
Invites: for I will clear their senses dark
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
This my long sufferance and day of grace,
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste,
But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but such from mercy I exclude."†

103. The death of Hébert and the Anarchists was that of guilty depravity; that of Robespierre and St Just of san-

guinary fanaticism; that of Danton and his confederates, of stoical infidelity; that of Madame Roland and the Girondists, of reckless ambition and deluded virtue; that of Louis and his family, of religious forgiveness. The moralist will contrast the different effects of virtue and wickedness in the last moments of life; the Christian will mark with thankfulness the superiority, in the supreme hour, to the sublimest efforts of human virtue, which was evinced by the believers in his own faith. It is this superiority which provides a remedy for the injustice which has occasioned it. Posterity invariably declares for the cause of virtue; for it has ceased to have any interest to support that of vice. The march of democracy, though not prevented by the wisdom of man, is speedily stopped by the laws of nature. The people in the end learn from their own suffering, if they will not from the experience of others, that the gift of unbounded political power is fatal to those who receive it; that despotism may originate in the workshop of the artisan as well as in the palace of the sovereign; and that those who, yielding to the wiles of the tempter, eat of the forbidden fruit, must be driven from the joys of Paradise, to wander amid the suffering of a guilty world. Genius, long a stranger to the cause of order, resumes her place by its side; she gives to a suffering, what she refused to a ruling

* Take, for example, the following passage from Archbishop Tillotson: "All vice stands upon a precipice; to engage in any sinful course is to run down the hill. If we once let loose the propensities of our nature, we cannot gather in the reins and govern them as we please; it is much easier not to begin a bad course, than to stop it when begun. 'Tis a good thing for a man to think to set bounds to himself in anything that is bad; to resolve to sin in number, weight, and measure, with great temperance and discretion; that he will commit this sin, and then give over; to entertain but this one temptation, and after that shut the door, and admit no more. Our corrupt hearts, when they are once set in motion, are like the raging sea, to which we can set no bounds, nor say to it, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further. Sin is very cunning and deceitful, and does strangely gain upon men when once they give way to it. It is of a very bewitching nature, and hath strange arts of address and insinuation. The giving way to a small sin does marvellous-

ly prepare and dispose a man for a greater. By giving way to one little vice after another, the strongest resolution may be broken. 'Tis scarce imaginable of what force a single bad action is to produce more: for sin is very teeming and fruitful; and though there be no blessing annexed to it, yet it does strangely increase and multiply. As there is a connexion of one virtue with another, so vices are linked together, and one sin draws many after it. When the devil tempts a man to commit any wickedness, he does, as it were, lay a long train of sins; and if the first temptation take, they give fire to another. Let us then resist the *beginning of sin*! because we have then most power, and sin least."—TILLOTSON, *Serm. x. Works*, i. 91, fol. ed.—This might stand for a graphic picture of the downward progress of the revolutionary passion in nations; philosophy will strive in vain to give so clear an elucidation of the causes which render it, when once thoroughly awakened, so destructive in its career.

† *Paradise Lost*, lib. 135.

power. The indignation of virtue, the satire of talent, is wreaked on the panders to popular gratification; the sycophancy of journals, the baseness of the press, the tyranny of the mob, employ the pencil of the Tacitus who portrays the decline and fall of such convulsions. It is this reaction of Genius against Violence, of Virtue against Vice, which steadies the march of human events, and renders the miseries of one age the source of elevation and instruc-

tion to those which are to succeed it. Whatever may be the temporary ascendancy of violence or anarchy, there can be but one opinion as to the final tendency of the laws of nature. We can discern the rainbow of peace, though not ourselves destined to reach the ark of salvation; and look forward with confidence to the future improvement of the species, from amidst the storm which is to subvert the monarchies of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1794.

1. "THE war," says Jomini, "so rashly provoked by the declamations of the Girondists, was hardly commenced in good earnest, when it became evident that all the established relations and balance of power in Europe were to be dissolved in the struggle. France and England had not yet joined in mortal conflict, and yet it was easy to foresee that the one was destined to become irresistible at land, and the other to acquire the dominion of the seas." It was not the mere energy of the Revolution, nor the closing of all other avenues of employment, which produced the fearful military power of France. These causes, while they alone were in operation, proved totally insufficient to withstand the shock of the disciplined armies of Germany. It was the subsequent despotism of the Committee of Public Salvation which consolidated the otherwise discordant materials of the Revolution, by superinducing the terror of authority on the fervour of freedom. The mere strength of enthusiastic feeling, even when exerted in the noblest of causes—that of national defence—can never produce those steady and persevering efforts which are requisite for durable success. It is power and force which can alone mould the

evanescent passions into a lasting form. Liberty without discipline would have perished in licentiousness; discipline without spirit would have proved inadequate to the struggle. It was the combination of the two which became so fatal to the European monarchies, and, by turning all the energies of France into one regulated channel, converted the Reign of Terror into the School of Conquest.

2. But while these changes were in progress on the Continent of Europe, a very different fate awaited the naval armaments of France. Power at sea, unlike victory at land, cannot spring from mere suffering, or from the energy of destitute warriors turned out with arms in their hands to plunder and oppress mankind. Fleets require nautical skill, commercial wealth, and extensive credit. Centuries of pacific exertion, habits acquired during many successive generations, are essential to greatness on that element. The general meets with resources of all kinds in the countries into which he turns his troops; the admiral finds nothing to support him in the sterile waste of the ocean: and before he can even put to sea and brave the fury of the waves, he must have laid in extensive stores, and con-

structed and equipped his vessels at an enormous expense. Without an accumulation of capital, and the gradual formation of a nursery of seamen, it is in vain to contend with an established naval power. The destruction of the capital and commerce of France during the fury of the Revolution, while it augmented, by the misery it produced, the military, destroyed, by the penury it occasioned, the maritime resources of the Republic. Before the British fleets had issued from their harbours, the flag of France had almost disappeared from the seas; commercial wealth, private enterprise, were extinguished; and the sanguinary government found that victories were not to be acquired at sea, like conquest by land, by merely forcing column after column of conscripts on board their vessels.

3. The consequence was, that from the very first the naval superiority of Great Britain became apparent. France, at the commencement of the war, had eighty-two ships of the line, and seventy-seven frigates; but the officers, chiefly drawn from the aristocratic classes, had in great part emigrated at the commencement of the Revolution; and those of an inferior order who supplied their place, were deficient both in the education and experience requisite for the naval service. On the other hand, Great Britain had one hundred and twenty-nine ships of the line fit for sea, besides twenty-four guardships, and above one hundred frigates, of which ninety of each class were immediately put in commission; while seamen of the best description, to the amount of eighty-five thousand, were drawn from her inexhaustible merchant service. Unable to face their enemies in large fleets, the French navy remained in total inactivity; but their merchants, destitute of any pacific employment for their money, fitted out an immense number of privateers, which, for a considerable time, proved extremely injurious to British commerce.

4. The efforts of government at the same period were vigorously directed to the suppression of sedition in Great Britain. The great extent and obvious

danger of the illegal and revolutionary societies which had been formed in every part of the kingdom, in close alliance with the French Convention, left no room for doubt that vigorous measures were necessary to arrest the contagion. For this purpose, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was proposed in Parliament by government, and excited the most angry discussions both in the legislature and the nation. Mr Fox objected in the strongest manner to the proposed measure, as destructive to the best principles of British liberty. "Was the government about," he exclaimed, "in their rage at the hatred excited by their tyranny, to erect tribunals to punish the indignant public? Was terror, as in France, to be made the order of the day, and not a voice to be allowed to be lifted against government? Was it resolved to demolish the British constitution, one part after another, under pretence of preventing its destruction by French principles? The object of the societies, which they did not scruple to avow, was to obtain universal suffrage. The word Convention was now held up as an object of alarm, as if from it some calamity impended over the country; and yet, what was a convention but an assembly? If the people did anything illegal, they were liable to be imprisoned and punished at the common law. Did it follow that, because improper ideas of government had been taken up by the French, or because liberty had been there abused, similar misfortunes would befall this country? Had that nation been protected by a Habeas Corpus Act—had the government been constrained by standing laws to respect the rights of the community—these tenets would never have found an entrance into that unhappy country. By parity of reason, they were only to be dreaded here if the safeguards of the constitution were removed. Were the freedom of meeting to complain of grievances to be taken away, what would soon become of our boasted constitution? And if it is to be withdrawn till the discontented are rooted out, or the thirst for uncontrolled power assuaged in government, it will never be

restored, and the liberties of Englishmen are finally destroyed."

5. On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Pitt and Lord Loughborough, that the question was, "Whether the dangers threatening the state were not greater than any arising from the suspension proposed, which was only to last for six months, and in the mean time would not affect the rights of any class of society. The truth was, that we were driven to the necessity of imitating French violence, to resist the contagion of French principles. Was lenity to be admitted when the constitution was at stake? Were a Convention upon Jacobin principles once established, who could foresee where it would end? Not to stop the progress of these opinions, were no better than granting a toleration to sedition and anarchy. It is in vain to deny the existence of designs against the government and constitution; and what mode of combating them can be so reasonable as the present suspension, which does not oppose the right of the people to meet together to petition for reform, or a redress of abuses, but only aims at preventing the establishment of a power in the state superior to that of Parliament itself? The papers produced before the Committee demonstrate clearly that this is their object, and that they are leagued with all the societies which have brought desolation upon France; they have chosen a central spot to facilitate the assembly of demagogues from all quarters. Every society has been requested to transmit an account of its numbers, and arms have been procured and liberally distributed: unless these proceedings are speedily checked, the government will soon be set at naught, and a revolution, with all its horrors, overspread the land. Parliamentary reform was tried, settled, and extinguished in 1781 and 1782; it can only now be used as a cover for deeper designs. The phrase 'parliamentary reform' no more legalises seditious meetings, than 'God save the King,' written at the bottom of an insurrectionary proclamation, would make it innocent. Much is said of the low rank of the members of most of these societies, and

their little power to do mischief; but it is easy to treat as imaginary all dangers that are checked in the bud. One of the finest poets has said,—

'Treasons are never own'd but when descried;
Successful crimes alone are justified.'

Moved by these arguments, the House of Commons passed the bill for suspension by a majority of 261 to 42. It was adopted by the Lords without a division.

6. Various prosecutions took place in Scotland, which terminated in the conviction and transportation of the accused; of whom Hardy, Palmer, Muir, and Gerald were the most remarkable. Great was the indignation which this necessary and well-timed severity produced in the democratic party in Great Britain; and their writers, without one exception, for the next half-century, stigmatised the Scotch convictions as an unnecessary and unjustifiable stretch of oppression. But truth is great, and will prevail. The Whig party, in consequence of the revolution in England of 1832, got possession of power, which they held for the next seventeen years, under different administrations, without intermission,—and they then had an opportunity of carrying their principles of government into execution. The result was the Repeal agitation, followed by the rebellion of 1848 in Ireland, and the Chartist conspiracy, which so seriously threatened the monarchy in April 1848, in England. To repress these dangers, the Whig administration were compelled to pass a special statute,* authorising the transportation of offenders in serious cases of sedition, as had of old been the common law of Scotland; and the very same punishment, on conviction under it, was inflicted on Mitchell and Martin in Ireland, which had been stigmatised as so unjust when pronounced on Muir and Palmer in 1793.† In England no less

* The 8 and 9 Vict., c. 78.

† It is often said that these Scottish martyrs, as they were called, were transported for advocating parliamentary reform, which was afterwards adopted by the legislature in 1832; and, under the influence of this opinion, a monument, during the Reform fer-

than four Chartists were, in 1848, sentenced to transportation for life at the Old Bailey for sedition. So true it is that initial severity in political offences is often true humanity, and that the opposite temporising system often induces the reality of oppression, to avoid its imputation.

7. The result was different in England. The attention of the people was deeply excited by the trial of Hardy,

your, was raised to them by the more violent of that party, on the Calton Hill of Edinburgh. This opinion, however, is entirely erroneous. They were not transported for advocating parliamentary reform, but for advocating its support by the illegal and treasonable device of a British convention, which was to supersede Parliament, and corresponding societies, which were to spread its ramifications throughout the realm. Any object, how legitimate soever,—as the reduction of taxes, a change in the laws, or an alteration in domestic or foreign policy,—becomes equally seditious or treasonable if forwarded by such means, which plainly supersede government, and must lead to civil war. That the Scotch judgments were entirely conformable to Scotch law, has been long ago demonstrated.—See Hume's *Criminal Law*, vol. i. p. 557, and Alison's *Criminal Law of Scotland*, i. 585-587. That they were entirely conformable to expedience, and dictated by state necessity, has been proved by the fact, that the English government were driven to the passing of a statute declaring sedition, in aggravated cases, punishable by transportation, and a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—that is, to the adoption *de facto* of Mr Pitt's measures—in 1848, under the guidance of a Whig cabinet, of which Lord Campbell, one of the last and ablest of the opponents of Mr Pitt's repressive measures, was a member.

* The combination against which, on this occasion, the powers of government were exercised, was of the most extensive kind, and embraced the whole of Great Britain in its ramifications. The prisoners were charged with high treason, in having conspired to subvert the King, and levy war against his government. The trial, which occupied three weeks, excited the utmost interest in all parts of the country; during its whole continuance, the avenues to the court and the court itself were filled with anxious spectators. The opening speech of Mr Scott, the Attorney-General (afterwards Lord Eldon), occupied nine hours; the reply of Mr Erskine and Sir Vicary Gibbs was of the same length. The prisoners were indicted for high treason—the only step in the whole proceeding of which the policy was questionable, as it required a strained, or at least strict, interpretation of the law, to bring the prisoners within the provision of the treason law, on the footing of having been guilty of "Constructive Treason;" whereas the evidence of their being

Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, for treason, in London. The documents on which the prosecution was founded, left no doubt that these persons had been deeply implicated in designs for the violent change, if not the total subversion, of the government, by means of a convention of their own formation, not through the constitutional channel of Parliament.* The prosecutions, therefore, were justifiable and necessary; and yet

guilty of the minor crime of sedition was not only ample, but overwhelming. Hardy was the secretary of the association, the professed object of which was parliamentary reform; but the illegality and danger of which consisted in this—that this, a legitimate object if pursued by legitimate means, was proposed to be brought about, not by the lawful means which the constitution recognised, but by intimidation, violence, and, if necessary, insurrection. In the "Rights of Man," by Thomas Paine, a member of the French Convention, which the Association extensively circulated, it was said—"Hereditary succession requires a belief from man to which his reason cannot subscribe; the more ignorant any country is, the better is it fitted for that species of government. A general revolution in the construction of governments is necessary. Usurpation cannot alter the right of things. Sovereignty, as a matter of right, appertains to the nation only, not any individual. The romantic and barbarous classing of men into kings and subjects, though it may suit courtiers, cannot do so to citizens. All hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. When the bagatelles of monarchy, regency, and hereditary succession shall be exposed with all their absurdities, a new ray of light will be thrown over the world, and the revolution will derive new strength by being universally understood. It is now the cause of all nations against all courts." The addresses from republican societies in France to the Society, and found among their papers, and from the Association to them, or to the corresponding societies in Great Britain, contained ample evidence of their practical adoption and preparation of measures to carry into execution these principles. A letter, signed by the chairman and secretary, 11th Oct. 1792, contained these expressions—"Tyrrants and tyranny are no more. How well purchased will be, *though at the expense of much blood*, the glorious and unprecedented advantage of saying 'Mankind is free.'" In answer to one of the vehement addresses of the French Convention, the president's letter, found entered in the books of the Association, bears—"You have addressed us with something more than good wishes, (a supply of arms for the soldiers of freedom), since the condition of *our warriors* has excited your solicitude. The defenders of our liberty will one day be the supporters of your own. The moment cannot be distant when the people of France will offer their congratulations to a

—so readily does good spring out of the conflicting feelings of a really free community—their acquittal, by the independent verdict of a British jury, is to be regarded as an eminently fortunate event at that period. After so signal a triumph of popular principle, the most factious lost the power of alleging that the liberties of Great Britain were on the decline: satisfied with this great victory over their supposed oppressors, the people relapsed into their ancient habits of loyalty; while the vehement demagogues, who had made so narrow an escape from the scaffold, hesitated before resorting again to practices of which the peril to themselves, as well as to the country, was now made manifest. The spirit of innovation, deprived of foreign support, and steadily resisted by the government, rapidly withered in the British soil; the passions of men, turned into another channel, soon fixed on different objects; and the prosecution of the war with France became as

National Convention in England. These, and a vast number of documents containing similar expressions, left no room for doubt that the object of the Association was to erect a *legislature of their own*, which was to supersede the Parliament. Indeed, this was openly avowed by them. On 20th Jan. 1794, a general address was published and circulated by the Society, which bore—"How are we to seek redress? From the laws, as long as any redress can be obtained from them; but we must not expect figs from thistles. We must have redress from our own laws, and not from the laws of our plunderers, enemies, and oppressors." And it was declared "that, upon the introduction of any bill inimical to the liberties of the people, such as suspending the Habeas Corpus Act," the committee should issue summonses forthwith for the convocation of a general convention of the people, for the purpose of taking such measures into their consideration. On 30th Jan. 1794, a secret committee was appointed, to consider what measures might be necessary, according to the measures of the House of Commons; and at a meeting held on 28th Dec. 1793, Mr Redhead Yorke, one of the speakers, said to the Association "that it was impossible to do anything without some blood, and he hoped to see *Mr Pitt's* and *the King's heads upon Temple Bar*;" whereupon all the meeting rose up and shook hands with him.

These, and similar documents and proceedings, left no room as to the objects of the Association; but still there was great legal difficulty in bringing the case of the prisoners within the rule as to overt acts, either showing an intent to compass the king's death, or levy war against him, or depose him from his

great a source of interest to the multitude, as it had ever been to remodel the constitution after the example of the Constituent Assembly.

8. The continuance of the war again gave rise to animated debates in both houses of Parliament. On the part of the Opposition, it was urged by Mr Fox and Mr Sheridan, "That the conduct of government, since the war commenced, had been a total departure from the principles of moderation, on which they had so much prided themselves before it broke out. They then used language which breathed only the strictest neutrality, and this continued even after the king had been dethroned, and many of the worst atrocities of the Revolution had been perpetrated: but now, even though we did not altogether reject negotiation, we put forth declarations evidently calculated to render it impossible, and shake all faith in our national integrity. The Allies had first by Prince Cobourgh issued a proclamation, in which

government. Accordingly, many able lawyers think the acquittal of the prisoners of the high treason charged, how clearly soever they were found guilty of sedition, was a fortunate circumstance, as it at once saved the law and stopped the treason.—*State Trials*, October 26, 1794; and *Twiss's Life of Lord Eddon*, i. 240-261.

George III., whose strong natural sagacity had made him averse to the prosecution of those offences as high treason from the beginning, was rejoiced at the acquittals. Addressing Lord Chancellor Loughborough, who was understood to have taken a leading part in recommending them, he said, "You have got into the wrong box; constructive treason won't do, my lord; constructive treason won't do."—*LORD CAMPBELL'S Lives of the Chancellors*, vi. 267.

The English lawyers were landed in this serious dilemma, from the obvious defect of the law, which recognised no medium between sedition, punishable only by imprisonment, and high treason, to which the highest pains were attached. The true medium was familiar to the Scotch law, which held the more serious cases of sedition—those in which civil war and a forcible change of government were recommended or pointed at—as punishable by transportation—a penalty certainly not too heavy for so dangerous a delinquency.

The infliction of this penalty on the leading delinquents in Scotland, was so long made the subject of invective by the English democratic party, because it was so necessary and effectual—it hit incoherate treason between wind and water; and hence the clamour raised against it, as the roar against all effective remedies of favourite public delusions.

they engaged to retain whatever strongholds they might conquer, merely in pledge for Louis XVII.; and five days afterwards, to their eternal disgrace, they revoked that very proclamation, and openly avowed the intention, since uniformly acted upon, of making a methodical war of conquest on France. Supposing that the British government should be able to clear itself of all share in this infamous transaction, what was to be said of the declaration issued by Lord Hood on the 23d August, on the capture of Toulon, wherein he took possession of the town on the express conditions of maintaining the constitution of 1789, preserving the fleet of Louis XVII., and protecting all Frenchmen who repaired to our standard!—after which came a dark enigmatical declaration from his Majesty, which, stripped of the elegant rubbish with which it was loaded, amounted merely to this, that the restoration of monarchy was the only condition on which we would treat with France. Has anything occurred to alter the probability of success in the war. Have the triumphs of the coalition in Flanders been so very brilliant, the success of Lord Moira's expedition to Granville so decisive, the efforts at Toulon so victorious, as to afford more cheering prospects than were held out at its commencement? Has the internal condition of that country, and the prospects of the Royalist party, improved so much under the system of foreign attack, as to render it advisable to continue the contest for their sakes? Is not the internal state of France so divided, that it is impossible to say that the Royalist party, even in the districts most attached to monarchical principles, could agree on any form of government? And what have we done to support them? Liberated the garrisons of Valenciennes and Mayence, when they were shut up within their walls, and given them the means, by the absurd capitulation which we granted, of acting with decisive effect against their Royalist fellow-citizens in the west of France! All the treaties we have entered into contained a clause, by which the contracting parties bound themselves not to lay down their arms

while any part of the territory of either of them remained in the hands of the enemy. How have they adhered, or are likely to adhere, to this stipulation? How has Prussia adhered? Why, she publicly declared her intention of laying down her arms, at the very time when large parts of her allies' territories were in the occupation of the enemy, because she had discovered that the war was burdensome. The Emperor has refused to agree to this secession, and Prussia has been retained an unwilling and feeble combatant on our side, only by the bribe of enormous subsidies. It is evident what the result will be: our allies will one by one drop off, or become so inefficient as to be perfectly useless, when the contest proves either perilous or burdensome; and we shall be left alone, with the whole weight of a contest on our own shoulders, undertaken for no legitimate object, continued for no conceivable end.

9. "It is in vain to conceal that we have made no advance whatever towards any rational prospect of closing the contest with either honour or advantage. In the first campaign, the Duke of Brunswick was defeated, and Flanders overrun; in the next, the most formidable confederacy ever formed in Europe has been baffled, and a furious civil war in different parts of the Republic extinguished. What have we to oppose to this astonishing exertion of vigour? The capture of a few sugar islands in the West Indies. Of what avail are they, or even the circumscribing the territorial limits of France itself, when such elements of strength exist in its interior? But let us revert to our old policy of attending to our maritime concerns, and disregarding the anarchy and civil wars of the neighbouring states; and then, indeed, the conquests in the East and West Indies would afford an excellent foundation for the only desirable object—a general pacification. All views of aggrandisement on the part of France are evidently unattainable, and must be abandoned by that power; so that the professed object of the war—permanent security to ourselves—may now securely be obtained."

10. On the other hand it was con-

tended by Mr Pitt and Mr Jenkinson,* "That the real object of the war from the outset had been to obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future. Are either of these objects likely to be obtained at this period? At present, there is no security for the continuance of peace, even if it were signed, for a single hour. Every successive faction which has risen to the head of affairs in France, has perished the moment that it attempted to imprint moderation on the external or internal measures of the Revolution. What overthrew the administration of Necker? Moderation! What destroyed the Orleanists, the Girondists, the Brissotins, and all the various parties which have successively risen and fallen in that troubled hemisphere? Moderation! What has given its long lease of power to the anarchical faction of which Robespierre is the head? The total want of moderation: the infernal energy, the unmeasured wickedness, of its measures. What prospect is there of entering into a lasting accommodation with a power, or what the guarantee for the observance of treaties by a faction, whom a single nocturnal tumult may hurl from the seat of government, to make way for some other more outrageous and extravagant than itself? The campaign hitherto has only lasted a few weeks; yet in that time we have taken Landrecies, formerly considered as the key of France; and though we have lost Courtray and Menin, yet the vigour and resolution with which the whole allied army has combated, gives good reason to hope, if not for a successful march to Paris (which, however, is by no means improbable), at least for such an addition to the frontier barrier as may prove at once a curb on France, and an excellent base for offensive operations. It is impossible to say what government we are to propose for France, in the event of the Jacobins being overthrown, because that must depend on the circumstances of the times, and the wishes of its inhabitants; but this much may safely be affirmed, that, with the sanguinary faction which now rules its councils, accommodation is impossible.

* Afterwards Lord Liverpool.

11. "The present is not a contest for distant or contingent objects; it is not a contest for power or glory; as little is it a contest for commercial advantage, or any particular form of government. It is a contest for the security, the tranquillity, and the very existence of Great Britain, connected with that of every established government, and every country in Europe. This was the object of the war from its commencement; and every hour tends more strongly to demonstrate its justice. In the outset, the internal anarchy of France, how distressing or alarming soever, was not deemed a sufficient ground for the hostile interference of this country; but could the same be affirmed, when the King was beheaded, and a revolutionary army, spreading everywhere the most dangerous doctrines, overwhelmed the Low Countries? Is that danger now at an end? The prospect of bringing the war to a conclusion, as well as the security for any engagements which we may form with France, must ultimately depend upon the destruction of those principles now triumphant in that distracted country, which are alike subversive of every regular government and destructive of all good faith. We do not disclaim any interference in the internal affairs of that country; on the contrary, should an opportunity occur where it may be practised with advantage, we will not engage to abstain from it. We only say, that such is not the primary object of the contest; and that, if attempted, it will be, as has been the case in all former wars, considered as an operation of the war.

12. "There is no contradiction between the proclamation of Lord Hood at Toulon, and the declaration of his Majesty of 29th October. Both promise protection to such of the French as choose to declare for a constitutional monarchy; and to both we shall adhere. By entering into a negotiation, we should give confidence and vigour to the French, and entirely dissolve the formidable confederacy formed to lower their ambition. While the present system continues in France, we can have no peace on any terms short of absolute ruin and dishonour. By an express law of their constitution, any

Frenchman who shall enter into a negotiation with this country on any other terms than surrendering our constitution, dethroning our virtuous sovereign, and introducing into this country the horrible anarchy which prevails in their distracted state, is declared a traitor. Are we prepared to make such sacrifices to obtain the blessings of fraternisation with the disciples of Robespierre? Nor let it be supposed that the colonial conquests we have made are of little moment in bringing about in the end a termination to this frightful contest. Is it of no moment, in the first year of the war, to have cut up the resources and destroyed the sinews of the commerce of our enemies? The injury to their revenues thence arising may not be felt during the continuance of the monstrous and gigantic expedients of finance to which they have had recourse; but it is not on that account the less real, or the less likely to be felt, on the restoration of such a regular government as may afford us any chance of an accommodation." On a division, the House, by a majority of two hundred and eight to fifty-one, supported the government.

13. The supplies granted by Parliament for the prosecution of the war, during the year 1794, were proportioned to the increasing magnitude and importance of the strife in which the nation was engaged. For the service of the navy eighty-five thousand men were voted; thirty thousand men were added to the regular native army; and the total number under arms in the British dominions, including fencibles and militia, was raised to one hundred and forty thousand men, besides forty thousand foreign soldiers employed on the Continent. These numbers were described by Mr Pitt as "unparalleled, and such as could hardly be exceeded;" such was the happy ignorance of those times in regard to the exertions of which a nation is capable. To meet these extraordinary efforts, an income of £20,000,000, besides £11,800,000 for the charge of the debt was required; and for this purpose a loan of £11,000,000 was voted by Parliament: so early in the contest was this ruinous system of laying upon

posterity the burdens of the moment adopted.

14. Meanwhile the ascendancy of the English navy soon produced its wonted effects on the colonial possessions of the enemy. Soon after the commencement of hostilities, Tobago was taken by a British squadron; and in the beginning of March 1794, an expedition was fitted out against Martinique, which, after a vigorous resistance, fell on the 23d. Shortly after, the principal forts in St Domingo were wrested from the Republicans by the British forces; while the wretched planters, a prey to the flames lighted by Brissot and the friends of negro emancipation, at the commencement of the Revolution, of which a full account will hereafter be given, were totally ruined. No sooner was this success achieved, than the indefatigable English commanders, Sir John Jarvis and Sir Charles Grey, turned their arms against St Lucia, which was annexed to the British dominions on the 4th April. Guadaloupe was next attacked, and on the 25th that fine island, with all its rich dependencies, was added to the list of the conquered colonies. Thus, in little more than a month, the French were entirely dispossessed of their West India possessions, with hardly any loss to the victorious nation.

15. The once beautiful island of St Domingo meanwhile continued a prey to the frightful disorders arising from precipitate emancipation. "It had gone through," says the Republican historian, "the greatest succession of calamities of which history makes mention." The whites had at first embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the Revolution; and the mulattoes, to whom the Constituent Assembly had extended the gift of freedom, were not less attached to the principles of democracy, and openly aspired to dispossess the planters, by force, of those political privileges which had hitherto been their exclusive property. But, in the midst of these contests, the negroes had revolted against both; and, without distinguishing friend from foe, applied the firebrand indiscriminately to every civilised dwelling. Distracted by such an accumulation of horrors, the Constituent Assembly at

once declared them all free. From the moment that emancipation was announced, the colony became the scene of the most horrible devastations : and the contending parties among the higher orders mutually threw upon each other the blame of having brought a frightful party into their contests, whose ravages were utterly destructive to both. In truth, it was owing to neither, but to the precipitate measures of emancipation, dictated by the ardent and inexperienced philanthropists of the Constituent Assembly, whose measures have consigned that unhappy colony, after thirty years of unexampled suffering, to a state of slavery, under the name of "The Rural Code," infinitely worse than that of the French planters.

16. In the Mediterranean, also, the power of the British navy was speedily felt. The disaster at Toulon having totally paralysed the French navy in that quarter, the British fleet was enabled to carry the land forces, now rendered disposable by the evacuation of Toulon, to whatever quarter they chose. Corsica was the selected point of attack, which, early in 1794, had shown symptoms of revolt against the Republican authorities. Three thousand soldiers and marines were landed, and, after some inconsiderable successes, nearly effected the subjugation of the island by the capture of the fortress of Bastia, which capitulated at the end of May. It is remarkable that NELSON was employed in this service, and, by an extraordinary coincidence, Napoleon had shortly before been engaged in an expedition which set sail from it against Ajaccio : so that the arms of both the British hero and the future French emperor were employed first in any considerable command in the same island, and in expeditions, the one from, the other against, the same petty fortress. The only remaining stronghold of the Republicans, Calvi, was besieged until the 1st August, when it surrendered to the British arms. The crown of Corsica, offered by Paoli, and the aristocratic party, to the King of Great Britain, was accepted ; and efforts were immediately made to confer upon the inhabitants a constitution similar to that of Great Britain—a project about

as practicable as it would have been to have clothed the British plains with the fruits which ripen under the sunny cliffs of Corsica.

17. But a more glorious triumph was awaiting the British arms. The French government had, by great exertions, got twenty-six ships of the line into a state fit for service at Brest, and being extremely anxious to secure the arrival of a large fleet laden with provisions, which was approaching from America, and promised to relieve the famine which was now felt with uncommon severity in all parts of France, sent positive orders to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse to put to sea. On the 20th of May the Republicans set sail ; and on the 28th, Lord Howe, who was well aware of the expected arrival of the convoy, and kept a sharp look-out by means of his inshore squadron, soon hove in sight, with the Channel-fleet, consisting of twenty-six line-of-battle ships. The French were immediately formed in line, in order of battle, and a partial action ensued between the rearguard of their line and the vanguard of the British squadron, in the course of which the Revolutionnaire was so much damaged that she struck to the Audacious, but, not being taken possession of by the victors before nightfall, was towed the following morning into Rochefort. During the next day the manœuvres were renewed on both sides, each party endeavouring to obtain the weather-gage of the other ; and Lord Howe, at the head of his fleet, passed through the French squadron. But the whole ships not having taken the position assigned to them, the action, after a severe commencement, was discontinued, and the British admiral strove with the utmost skill to maintain the wind of the enemy. During the two following days a thick fog concealed the rival fleets from each other, though they were so near that both sides were well aware that a great battle was approaching, and the officers with difficulty restrained the ardour by which their crews were animated.

18. At length, on the 1st June, a day ever memorable in the naval annals of England, the sun broke forth with unusual splendour, and discovered the

French fleet in order of battle, a few miles from the British, awaiting the combat, while an agitated sea promised the advantage of the wind to an immediate attack. Lord Howe instantly bore down, in an oblique direction, upon the enemy's line, designing to repeat the manoeuvre long known, though

seldom as yet practised, in the British navy, so ingeniously traced to scientific principles by Clerk of Eldin, and so successfully carried into execution by Rodney, on the suggestion of Sir Charles Douglas, his captain of the fleet, on the 12th April.* Having the weather-gage of the enemy, he was enabled to break

* An animated and interesting controversy, conducted with remarkable acuteness and zeal on both sides, took place twenty years ago, as to whether Mr Clerk of Eldin, author of the "Naval Tactics," or Sir Charles Douglas, captain of the fleet to Rodney, had the merit of having first discovered the celebrated manoeuvre of breaking the enemy's line, and attacking them to leeward. It was conducted by Professor Playfair and Mr William Clerk, son of the author of the "Naval Tactics," on one side, and the gallant Sir Howard Douglas, son of Sir Charles, on the other. It was admitted on all hands, that Sir Charles—who was beside Rodney when passing to leeward of the French line on the contrary tack—having failed in the attempt to weather their van on 12th April 1782, seeing a gap in the enemy's line, suddenly, on the inspiration of the moment, suggested, in the most energetic manner, the passing through, to the admiral, by whom the advice was instantly followed. Thus it was conceded that he was the person who had the merit of having first carried into execution that brilliant manoeuvre. But the point was, whether Sir Charles Douglas did this on his own original impulse at the moment, as Wellington in the case of the flank attack on the opening in the French line at Salamanca, or whether he did so in consequence of having previously been made acquainted with the suggestions of Mr Clerk of Eldin on the subject.

The main strength of Mr Clerk of Eldin's partisans lay in the fact, which was proved by a great number of concurring witnesses, that Lord Rodney, especially in his later years, frequently said, with the generosity which so often accompanies real elevation of mind, that he had gained the victory of the 12th April, in consequence of having studied and adopted Mr Clerk's suggestions contained in his "Naval Tactics," printed and circulated in the January preceding. It was stated also, by various persons, that Lord Cranstoun, who had been on board the fleet going out, said repeatedly that he had heard Rodney, at his own table during the voyage, discuss Mr Clerk's projects, and express his intention of breaking the line, in pursuance of his suggestions, if he fell in with the enemy. These testimonies, which came from the most respectable persons, embracing, among others, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, and many others, naturally produced a great impression, and amply justified the zeal with which the family and friends of Mr Clerk of Eldin strove to appropriate to him the merit of the original idea on the subject.

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To this it was added, that Sir Charles Douglas had had several conferences with Mr Clerk on the subject of naval tactics, at one of which Lord Chief Commissioner Adam was present, shortly before leaving Britain, which he was said to have done some months after Rodney, who set sail from Portsmouth on 2d January 1782, in which the plan of breaking the line was distinctly explained to that officer by Mr Clerk.

On the other hand, Sir Howard Douglas, on behalf of his father, advanced a great variety of proofs of a still more convincing, because a more authentic, kind. The "Naval Tactics," as it now stands, was published for the first time in 1790; but fifty copies were thrown off and distributed in the first week of January 1782, three months before Rodney's battle was fought, and the case for Mr Clerk's partisans was mainly rested on the hypothesis, said to be established by conclusive evidence, that Rodney had seen, or at least heard of, one of these copies, and adopted its principles. But Sir Howard overturned all these inferences, by proving that the *breaking the line and attacking to leeward*—the peculiar manoeuvre which gained the battle of 12th April—was not mentioned in the edition of the "Naval Tactics" printed in 1782, at all, but appeared for the first time in the edition of 1790, eight years after the battle had been gained. This was admitted by Mr Clerk himself in the 1790 edition.* It is evident, therefore, that whether Rodney or Sir Charles Douglas knew of the 1782 edition or not, when the battle of 12th April in that year was fought, it is not from it they could have taken the idea of the brilliant manoeuvre which won the victory. In truth, various accounts from eyewitnesses concurred in stating, that, so far from the breaking of the line and engaging to leeward having been previously thought or determined on by Rodney, it was taken up at the moment by Sir Charles Douglas, in consequence of having observed an accidental gap in the French line in the middle of the battle, and was in truth forced by him, after a considerable altercation and much resist-

* "These observations (on the attack to the leeward) were intended to be inserted in the first edition of this essay, printed January 1, 1782, as being applicable to the two similar encounters of Lord Rodney, on 16th and 19th May 1780, and as well as those of the 27th July, where the adverse fleets had passed each other on contrary tacks. But it was afterwards thought proper to omit them, as it was conceived it might be prejudicial to the other parts of the work to advance anything doubtful; no example of cutting an enemy's line in an attack from the leeward, before that time, having been given."—"Naval Tactics," p. 119; note, edition 1790.

their line near the centre, and double with a preponderating force on the one-half of their squadron. The signal he displayed was No. 39, the purport of which was, "that, having the weather-gage of the enemy, the admiral means to pass between the ships of their line and engage them to leeward, leaving, however, a discretion to each captain to engage on the windward or leeward." The French fleet was drawn up in close line, stretching nearly east and west; and a heavy fire commenced upon the British ships, as soon as they came within range. They did not come perpendicularly upon their adversaries as at Trafalgar, but made sail abreast, in

such a manner as that each ship should, as soon as possible, cut the line, and get alongside of its destined antagonist, and engage it to leeward, so that, if worsted, the enemy could not get away.

19. Had the admiral's orders been literally obeyed, or capable of complete execution, the most decisive naval victory recorded in history would in all probability have attended the British arms. But the importance of specific obedience, in the vital point of engaging the enemy to leeward, was not then generally understood; and the enemy's line was so regular and compact that in most places it was thought to be, and in some was, impervious. The con-

ance on his part, on Rodney.* Sir Howard has shown, too, from the log of the vessel in which he sailed, that Lord Cranston could not have heard the conversations said to have been reported by him at the admiral's table on the voyage out, as he only arrived in time to dine with him the day before the battle. In regard to the assertion, that Sir Charles Douglassailed some months after Rodney, and that in the interval Mr Clerk had met him, and explained the breaking of the line, it appeared from the log of the *Formidable*, that Rodney and Sir Charles left London together on the 2d December 1781, and on the 2d January 1782 sailed together for the West Indies. Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, when applied to on the subject, declared he had no recollection of any such meeting or conversation. Mr Clerk also himself, in none of the successive editions which he published of his work during his life, ever once asserted he had met with Sir Charles Douglas, or explained his system to him previous to Rodney's victory, although his son said he had done so after his death—

* Several most respectable persons on board Rodney's ship (the *Formidable*) at the time Sir Charles Douglass suggested the breaking of the line to the admiral, concur in this statement. Take, for example, the following from Captain Sir Charles Dashwood, then aide-de-camp to Rodney on board the *Formidable*—"After attentively observing the enemy's line, and remaining some time in deep meditation, Sir Charles said, addressing the admiral, 'Sir George, I give you joy of the victory.' 'Pooh,' said Rodney, 'the day is not half won yet.' 'Break the line, Sir George,' said Douglas; 'the day is your own, and I will insure the victory.' 'No,' said the admiral, 'I will not break my line.' After another request and another refusal, Sir Charles desired the helm to be put a-port, upon which Sir George ordered it to starboard. Sir Charles again ordered it a-port, upon which Rodney sternly observed, 'Remember I am commander-in-chief, starboard, sir.' In two minutes they again met on the deck, and Sir Charles said, 'Only break the line, Sir George, and the day is your own.' The admiral then said, in a quick and hurried way, 'Well, well, do as you like.' 'Port the helm!' upon this, cried Sir Charles. Firing commenced on the larboard side; in two minutes the *Formidable* passed between two French ships, each nearly touching us, followed by the *Namur* and the other ships astern; and from that minute victory was decided in our favour." Sir Joseph Yorke's and P. Thacker's evidence is precisely to the same effect.—See Sir Howard Douglas's Appendix, p. 1-10.

an omission which was not likely to have happened, if he had been conscious of having been the original author of the manœuvre which had gained that brilliant victory. Perhaps these conflicting statements may furnish the true key to the fact, in regard to this much agitated controversy, which is, that Rodney, conscious that the manœuvre which won the day had been in a manner forced upon him by his flag-captain, was afterwards, in his old age, more solicitous than he would have been in his earlier years, to take the merit of the movement, and claim forethought and consideration on his part for a step which was in truth the happy inspiration of genius at the moment, in another, to whom the glory of the success really belongs.

The breaking of the line and the engaging the enemy's fleet to leeward, since so often and successfully practised against the French at sea, though not generally done before, was not, previous to Rodney's memorable battle, unknown in the British service. A century before, it had been practised in a battle with the Dutch. "Sir George, with nine of his headmost ships, charged through the Dutch fleet and got the weather-gage."—LEDYARD, *Naval History*, b. iii. p. 542. This is the account of the battle, 16th August 1652. In truth, this manœuvre has been adopted by military genius on the inspiration of the moment, from the earliest times, both at land and sea. It was the leading principle of the fierce engagements between the brass-headed galleys of antiquity, and won their greatest naval victories; it was applied with decisive success by Wellington, when he interposed in the gap between Thomières's division and the remainder of the army at Salamanca; and by Napoleon, when he hurled Soult forward to seize the deserted hill of Pratzen, in the centre of the Allied line at Austerlitz.

See, for this interesting controversy, *Edinburgh Review*, April 1830, vol. ii. p. 1; PLAYFAIR'S *Works*, iii. 461; and SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS'S *Naval Evolutions*, London, 1832, where the subject is most ably treated, and all the contemporary statements from eyewitnesses on Rodney's victories are to be found.

sequence was, that five only of the ships after the *Queen Charlotte*, viz., the *Defence*, *Marlborough*, *Royal George*, *Queen*, and *Brunswick*, succeeded in passing through. The *Cæsar*, in particular, which was the leading vessel when the signal for close action was flying from the admiral's mast-head, backed her main topsails, and engaged on the windward of the enemy; and the *Gibraltar* also omitted to obey the order, by crossing the French admiral and engaging his second ahead—a disheartening circumstance, though arising, as it afterwards appeared, from want of capacity rather than timidity on the part of its captain.* Howe, however, was not discouraged, but held steadily on, walking on the front of his poop along with Sir Roger Curtis, Sir Andrew Douglas, and other officers, while the crew were falling fast around him, and the spars and rigging rattled down on all sides, under the terrible and constantly increasing fire of the enemy. With perfect composure, the British admiral ordered not a shot to be fired, but the pilot to lay him alongside of the *Montagne* of 120 guns, the greatest vessel in the French line, and probably the largest then in the world. So awful was the prospect that awaited the French vessel from the majestic advance of the British admiral, that Jean Bon Saint André, the commissioner of the Convention on board, overcome with terror, took refuge below. After many entreaties, Howe allowed a straggling fire to be returned, but from the main and quarter deck only; and reserving his whole broadside, poured it with awful force into the stern of the *Montagne*, as he slowly passed through the line between that huge three-decker and the *Jacobin* of eighty guns. So close did the ships pass on this occasion, that the tricolor flag, as it waved at the *Montagne's* flag-staff, brushed the main and mizen shrouds of the *Queen Charlotte*; and so terrible was the effect of the broadside, that three hundred men

* The rudder of the *Cæsar* had been early in the action disabled by a chance shot, which was the main cause of that vessel not breaking the line; though the captain was afterwards, at his own request, brought to a court-martial, and dismissed the service.

were killed or wounded by that discharge.

20. Fearful of encountering a similar broadside on the other side, the captain of the *Jacobin* stretched across under the *Montagne's* lee, and thus threw herself a little behind that vessel right in the *Queen Charlotte's* way, in the very position which Howe had designed for himself to engage the enemy's three-decker. The British admiral, therefore, was obliged to alter his course a little, and pass afloat between the two vessels, and, having thus got between them, opened a tremendous fire on both. The *Jacobin* soon made sail, to get out of the destructive range, and, being to the leeward of the British admiral, he effected his escape; but the *Montagne* could not do the same, being to the windward, and she would unquestionably have been taken, as she was hardly firing at all after the first awful broadside, when the foretop-mast of the *Queen Charlotte* came down with a tremendous crash. During the confusion occasioned by this catastrophe, the *Montagne*, taking advantage of the momentary inability of her antagonist to move, contrived to sheer off, leaving the British admiral now engaged with the two ships second and third astern of her. The *Vengeur* of seventy-four guns was warmly engaged at this time with the *Brunswick*, under Harvey; but another French ship, the *Achille*, came up on the other side, and a terrible combat began on the part of the British vessel, thus engaged on both hands. It was sustained, however, with admirable courage. Captain Harvey was severely wounded in the hottest part of the engagement, but, before being carried down, he said—"Persevere, my brave lads, in your duty: continue the action with spirit for the honour of our king and country, and remember my last words, 'The colours of the *Brunswick* shall never be struck.'" Such heroism was not long of meeting with its reward: the *Ramillies* soon after came up, and opened her fire upon the *Vengeur*; the load was taken off the *Brunswick*; by a fortunate shot the rudder of the French vessel was shot away, and a large opening beat in her stern, into which the

water rushed with great violence. The *Vengeur* was now found to be sinking; the *Achille* made off, followed by the *Ramillies*, to which she soon struck; and the *Vengeur* shortly after went down with three hundred and fifty of her crew, four hundred and fifty having been humanely taken off by the boats of the *Alfred* and *Culloden*.*

21. The French now began to move off in all quarters, and the British ships, with their prizes, closed round their admiral. The damage sustained by the victors was inconsiderable, except in four ships, which were disabled for further service; fifteen sail of the line were ready to renew the battle; they had still the weather-gage of the enemy. Ten of the French line had struck, though six only of them had been secured; and five of their ships were dismasted, and were slowly going off under their sprit-sails. Had Nelson been at the head of the fleet, there can be little doubt the disabled ships would all have been taken, and perhaps a victory as decisive as *Trafalgar* totally destroyed the *Brest* fleet. But the British admirals, at that period, were in a manner ignorant of their own prowess; the securing of the prizes taken was deemed the great object; and thus the pursuit was discontinued, and the enemy, contrary to all expectation, got their dismasted ships off, and before dark were

entirely out of sight. Six ships of the line, however, besides the *Vengeur*, which sank, remained in the possession of the British admiral, and were brought into Plymouth; while the remains of the French squadron, diminished by eight of their number, and with a loss of eight thousand men, took refuge in the roads of *Berthaume*, and ultimately regained the harbour of *Brest*, shattered, dismasted, riddled with shot: how different from the splendid fleet which had so recently departed amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants!† The loss of the British was two hundred and ninety killed, and eight hundred and fifty-eight wounded; in all, eleven hundred and forty-eight, being less than that sustained in the six French ships alone which were made prizes.‡

22. The Republicans were in some degree consoled for this disaster by the safe arrival of the great American convoy, chiefly laden with flour, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, and valued at £5,000,000 sterling—a supply of incalculable importance to the wants of a population whom the Reign of Terror and civil dissension had brought to the verge of famine. They entered the harbour of *Brest* a few days after the engagement, having escaped, as if by a miracle, the vigilance of the British cruisers. Their safety was, in a great degree, owing to the sagacity of the admiral, who traversed the scene of destruction a day or two after the battle, and, judging from the magnitude and number of the wrecks which were floating about, that a terrible battle must have taken place, concluded that the victorious party would not be in a condition for pursuit, and resolved to hold on his course for the French harbour.

* It was stated in the French Convention, and has been repeated in all the French histories, that when the *Vengeur* sank, her crew were shouting "Vive la République!" Knowing that the gallantry of the French was equal to such an effort, the author with pleasure transcribed this statement in his former editions; but he has now ascertained that it was unfounded, not only from the account of Captain Brenton (i. 181), but from the information given him by a gallant naval officer, Admiral Griffiths, who was in the *Brunswick* on the occasion, and saw the *Vengeur* go down. There were cries heard, but they were piteous cries for relief, which the British boats afforded to the utmost of their power. Among the survivors of the *Vengeur's* crew were Captain Renandin and his son, a brave boy of twelve years of age. They were taken up by different boats, and mutually mourned each other as dead: till they accidentally met at Portsmouth in the street, and rushed into each other's arms with a rapture indescribable. They were both soon after exchanged: a braver and more humane father and son never breathed.—JAMES, i. 165.

† The prisoners taken in the prizes were 2300; the killed and wounded in them 1270, besides 320 who went down in the *Vengeur*.—BARROW'S *Life of Howe*, 236.

‡ The following were the respective guns and weight of metal in this memorable battle:—

	British.	French.
Number of guns, . . .	1,087	1,107
Weight of metal, . . .	22,976	28,126
Number of men, . . .	17,241	19,989
Tons,	46,963	52,010

—JAMES'S *Naval History*, i. 142.

23. Lord Howe gained so decisive a success from the adoption of the same principle which gave victory to Frederick at Leuthen, to Napoleon at Austerlitz, and to Wellington at Salamanca,—viz. to direct an overwhelming force against one-half of the enemy's force, and make the attack obliquely, keeping the weather-gage of the enemy, to render it impossible for the ships to leeward to work up to the assistance of those engaged. By this means he reduced one-half of the enemy's fleet to be the passive spectator of the destruction of the other. His mode of attack, which brought his whole squadron at once into action with the enemy, seems clearly preferable to that adopted by Nelson at Trafalgar, in sailing down in perpendicular lines; for that exposed the leading ships to imminent danger before the succeeding ones came up. Had he succeeded in penetrating the enemy's line at all points, or his captains implicitly obeyed his directions in that particular, and engaged the whole to leeward, he would have brought twenty ships of the line to Spithead. To a skilful and intrepid squadron, who do not fear to engage at the cannon-mouth with their enemy, such a manœuvre offers even greater chances of success at sea than at land, because the complete absence of obstacles on the level expanse of water enables the attacking squadron to calculate with more certainty upon reaching their object; and the advantage of the wind, if once obtained, renders it proportionally difficult for one part of the enemy's line to be brought up to the relief of the other. The introduction of steam-vessels of war, either as light ships, or as forming the line of battle itself, promises to assimilate still more closely actions at sea to those at land, and, by always putting it in the power of the superior force to bring its opponents to close action, and intercept their retreat, promises yet greater and more uniform results to the daring tactics of Howe and Nelson.

24. Never was a victory more seasonable than Lord Howe's to the British government. The war, preceded as it had been by violent party divi-

sions in Great Britain, had been regarded with lukewarm feelings by a large portion of the people; and the friends of freedom dared not wish for the success of the British arms, lest it should extinguish the dawn of liberty in the world. But the Reign of Terror had shocked the best feelings of all the respectable portion of this party; the execution of Louis had caused the film to drop from the eyes of the most blinded; and the victory of 1st June captivated the affections of the patriotic multitude. The ancient but half extinguished loyalty of the British people awakened at the sound of their victorious cannon; and the hereditary rivalry of the two nations revived at so signal a triumph over the Republican arms. From this period may be dated the commencement of that firm union among the inhabitants of the country, and that ardent enthusiasm in the contest, which soon extinguished the seeds of former dissension, and ultimately carried the British empire triumphant through the severest struggles which had engaged the nation since the Conquest.

25. Vast were the preparations for war made by the Committee of Public Salvation in France. Her territory resembled an immense camp. The decrees of the 23d August and 5th September had precipitated the whole youth of the Republic to the frontiers, and twelve hundred thousand men in arms were prepared to obey the sovereign mandates of the Convention. After deducting from this immense force the garrisons, the troops destined to the service of the interior, and the sick, upwards of seven hundred thousand were ready to act on the offensive—a force much greater than all the European monarchies, taken together, could bring forward to meet them. These enormous armies, though in part but little experienced, were greatly improved in discipline since the conclusion of the preceding campaign. The months of winter had been sedulously employed in instructing them in the rudiments of the military art; the glorious successes at the close of the year had revived the spirit of conquest

among the soldiers, and the whole were directed by a central government, possessing, in the highest degree, the advantage of unity of action and consummate military talent. Wielding at command so immense a military force, the Committee of Public Salvation were prodigal of the blood of their soldiers. To advance incessantly to the attack, to bring up column after column, till the enemy were wearied out or overpowered, to regard as nothing any losses which led to the advance of the Republican standards, were the maxims on which they conducted the war. No other power could venture upon such an expenditure of life, because none had such inexhaustible resources at their disposal. Money and men abounded in every quarter; the camps were overflowing with conscripts, the fortresses with artillery, the treasury with assignats. The preceding campaign had cost above £100,000,000 sterling, but the resources of government were undiminished. Three-fourths of the whole property of France was at its disposal; and on this vast fund a paper currency was issued, possessing a forced circulation, and amply sufficient for the most prodigal expenditure. The value of assignats in circulation, in the course of the year 1794, was not less than £236,000,000 sterling, and there was no appearance of its diminution. The rapid depreciation of this paper, arising from the enormous profusion with which it was issued, was nothing to a power which enforced its mandates by the guillotine; the government creditor was compelled to receive it at par; and it signified nothing to them though he lost his whole fortune in the next exchange with any citizen of the Republic.

26. What rendered this military force still more formidable was the ability with which it was conducted, and the talent which was evidently rising up among its ranks. The genius of Carnot had, from the very commencement, selected the officers of greatest capacity from among the multitude who presented themselves; and their rapid transference from one situation to another gave ample opportunities for discovering who

were the men on whom reliance could really be placed. The whole ability of France, in consequence of the extinction of civil employment, was centred in the army, and indefatigable exertions were everywhere made to communicate to headquarters the names of the young men who had distinguished themselves in any grade. The central government, guided by that able statesman, had discovered the real secret of military operations, and, by accumulating an overwhelming force upon one part of the enemy's line, soon acquired a decided superiority over the Austrians, who adhered with blind obstinacy to the system of extending their forces. In the prosecution of this mode of action, the French had peculiar advantages from the unity of their government, the central situation of their forces, the interior line on which they acted, the fortified towns which guarded their frontier, and the unbounded means of repairing losses which they possessed. On the other hand, the Allies, acting on an exterior circle, paralysed by divisions among their sovereigns, and at a distance from their resources, were unable either to combine for any vigorous offensive operations, or render each other any assistance when pressed by the enemy. Incredible efforts were made at the same time to organise and equip this prodigious body of soldiers. "A revolution," said Barère, "must rapidly supply all our wants. It is to the human mind what the sun of Africa is to vegetation. Monarchies require peace, but a republic can exist only in warlike energy. Slaves have need of repose, but freemen of the fermentation of freedom; regular governments of rest, but the French Republic of revolutionary activity." The *École Militaire* at Paris was speedily re-established, and the youth of the better classes marched on foot from all parts of France, to be there instructed in the rudiments of the military art; one horse out of twenty-five was everywhere levied from those persons possessing them, and the proprietor received only nine hundred francs in paper, hardly equivalent, from its depreciation, to a louis in gold. By these

means, albeit ruinous to individuals, the cavalry and artillery were furnished with horses, and a considerable body of educated young men was rapidly provided for the army. The manufactories of arms at Paris and in the provinces were kept in incessant activity; artificial means were universally adopted for the production of saltpetre, and gunpowder in immense quantities was daily forwarded to the armies.

27. Indefatigable were the exertions made by Mr Pitt to provide a force on the part of the Allies capable of combating this gigantic foe; and never were the efforts of his master-spirit more required to heal the divisions and extinguish the jealousies which had arisen in the coalition. Poland was the apple of discord which had called forth these separate interests and awakened these jealousies; and in the plans of aggrandisement which all the great Continental states were pursuing in regard to that unhappy country, is to be found the true secret of their neglect of the great task of combating the French Revolution, and of its rapid and early success. Prussia, intent on territorial acquisition on the shores of the Vistula, and desirous above everything of securing Dantzic, the key to that stream, and the great emporium of the grain commerce in the north of Europe, had already assembled forty thousand men under the king in person, for the siege of Warsaw; and the cabinet of Berlin, unable to bear at the same time the expense of a costly war on the eastern and western frontiers of the monarchy, had in consequence greatly diminished their forces on the Rhine, and openly announced their intention of reducing them to the contingent which they were bound to furnish as a member of the Empire, which was only twenty thousand men. Orders had even been despatched to Marshal Moellendorf, who commanded their army on the Rhine, to retreat by divisions towards the Elbe; while, at the same time, with preposterous inconsistency, Frederick William addressed a letter to the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in which he bewailed in piteous terms the public danger, and urged the immediate con-

vocation of the Anterior circles, to deliberate on the most effectual means of withstanding the revolutionary torrent with which they were menaced.*

28. The cabinet of Vienna was greatly alarmed at this official declaration of the intention of the Prussian government to withdraw from the coalition; and their chagrin was not diminished by the clear perception which they had, that this untimely and discreditable defection was mainly prompted by a desire to secure a share in the partition of Poland, of which they saw little prospect of themselves being allowed to participate. They used the most pressing instances, therefore, to induce the cabinet of Berlin to change their resolution, offered to take a large portion of the Prussian troops into their own pay, provided the other states of Germany would take upon themselves the charges of the remainder, and even urged the formation of a *levée en masse* in all the circles of the Empire, immediately threatened with invasion, in order to combat the redoubtable forces which France was pouring forth from all ranks of her population. Austria, however, though so desirous to stimulate others to these last and convulsive efforts, made no attempt to rouse their emulation by setting the example of similar exertions herself. Not a regiment was added to the Imperial armies; and the Prussian

* "As it is impossible for me," said the king in that letter, "any longer to continue at my own charges a war so remote from the frontiers of my dominions, and attended with so heavy an expense, I have candidly explained my situation to the principal allied powers, and engaged in negotiations with them, which are still in dependence. I am, in consequence, under the necessity of applying to the Empire, to provide for the cost of my army, if its longer continuance on the theatre of war is deemed essential to the common defence. I implore your Excellency, therefore, that, in your quality of Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, you will forthwith convoke the Anterior circles. An immediate provision for my troops, at the expense of these circles, is the only means which remains of saving the Empire in the terrible crisis which is approaching; and, unless that step is forthwith taken, they can no longer be employed in the common cause, and I must order them, with regret, to bend their steps towards their own frontier, leaving the Empire to its own resources."

cabinet, little solicitous to behold the whole population of the Empire combating under the banners of the Cæsars, strenuously resisted the proposal as useless, dangerous, and utterly inconsistent with the principles of the contest in which they were engaged.

29. It soon appeared how ruinous to the common cause this unexpected secession of Prussia would be. The Republican forces in Flanders were nearly a hundred and sixty thousand strong; and Mack, who was intrusted with the chief direction of the campaign by the Allied powers, finding that the whole forces which the Allies could assemble in that quarter would not exceed a hundred and fifty thousand, had strongly urged the necessity of obtaining the co-operation of fifty thousand Prussians, in order to cover the Meuse, in conjunction with the Austrian divisions in the neighbourhood of Luxembourg. The Prussians under Moellendorf were cantoned on the two banks of the Seltz, between Oppenheim and Mayence; but when he received the letter from Prince Cobourg requesting his co-operation, he replied in cold and ambiguous terms, "That he was not acquainted with the share which his government may have taken in the formation of the proposed plan of operations; that the views on which it was founded appeared unexceptionable, but that, in the existing state of affairs, it was attended with inconveniences, and that he could not consent to the march to Treves, lest he should expose Mayence." These declarations of the intentions of Prussia excited the greater sensation in Europe, that, ever since the war began, it had been supposed that the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna were united in the closest bonds of alliance, and the Convention of Pilsnitz was universally regarded as the true basis of the anti-revolutionary coalition. The confederacy appeared to be on the verge of dissolution. Stimulated by the pressing dangers of his situation, the Elector of Mayence, who of all the Germanic powers was exposed to the first attack of the Revolutionists, was indefatigable in his efforts to prevent the withdrawal of the Prussian troops, and, by his ex-

ertions, a proposition was favourably received by the Diet of the Empire for taking them into the pay of the lesser powers. Marshal Moellendorf soon after received orders to suspend his retreat.

30. This change in the Prussian plans arose from the vast exertions which Mr Pitt at this period made to hold together the bands of the confederacy. Alone of all the statesmen of his day, the British minister perceived the full extent of the danger which menaced Europe, from the spreading of the revolutionary torrent over the adjoining states, and the immense peril of this speedily coming to pass, from the divisions which were breaking out among the allied powers, caused by the distraction of interests. No sooner, therefore, was he informed of the intended defection of Prussia, than he exerted all his influence to bring back the cabinet of Berlin to more rational sentiments, and liberally advanced the treasures of Britain to retain the Prussian troops in a contest so vital to none as to Prussia herself. By his exertions a treaty was signed at the Hague between Prussia, Holland, and Great Britain, by which it was stipulated that Prussia should retain an army of sixty-two thousand veterans in the field; while the two latter should furnish a subsidy of £50,000 a-month, besides £400,000 for putting the army into a fit condition to undertake a campaign, and £1, 12s. a-month to each man, as an equivalent for the expenses of his maintenance while engaged in active service. By a separate article it was provided, "that all conquests made by this army shall be made in the names of the two maritime powers, and shall remain at their disposal during the course of the war, and at the peace shall be made such use of as they shall deem proper."

31. However meritorious were the exertions of Mr Pitt, in thus again bringing Prussia into the field, after its government had formally announced the intention of withdrawing from the confederacy, it was in part foreseen, what the event soon demonstrated, that the succours stipulated from that

power would prove of the most inefficient description, and that nothing was to be expected from the troops of a leading state engaged as hirelings, contrary to the national feelings and the secret inclinations of the government, in what they deemed a foreign cause.* The discontent of the troops was loudly proclaimed, when it transpired that they were to be transferred to the pay of Great Britain; and they openly murmured at the disgrace of having the soldiers of the great Frederick sold like mercenaries to a foreign power. The troops came to the field in terms of the convention, but their gallant officers were fettered by secret instructions, which rendered them of little real service; and the Prussian army had neither earned credit to itself, nor accomplished benefit for the common cause, by its conduct in the field, before the cabinet of Berlin formally withdrew from the alliance.

32. General Mack, whose subsequent and unexampled misfortunes should not exclude the recollection of the abilities, in a particular department, which he really possessed, was intrusted by the Austrian and British governments with the preparation of the plan of the campaign; and he proposed one which bore the marks of decided talent, and which, if vigorously carried into effect by a sufficient force, promised the most brilliant results. This was to complete the opening through the French barrier by the capture of Landrecies; and, having done so, march with the whole allied army in Flanders, 160,000 strong, straight by Laon on Paris; while the Prussian forces, by a forward move-

ment on the side of Namur, supported the operation. "With 150,000 men," said he, "I would push forward a strong advanced guard to Paris; with 200,000 I would engage to remain there." He proposed that West Flanders should be inundated by troops at the same time, so that the main army, in the course of its perilous advance, should have no disquietude for its flank and rear. This plan was ably conceived, and was evidently the one which should have been adopted in the preceding campaign; but it was not adopted, in consequence of the strong remonstrances of the inhabitants of West Flanders against a measure which promised to render their province the theatre of war, and the jealousy of the Prussian government, which precluded any effectual co-operation from being obtained on that side of the line. This left the whole weight of the contest to fall on the Austrians and British, whose forces were not of sufficient numerical strength for the struggle.† Unaware of the immense military resources and ascending spirit of their adversaries, the Allies resolved to capture Landrecies, and from that base march directly to Paris. Preparatory to this movement, their whole army was, on the 16th April, reviewed by the Emperor of Austria on the plains of Cateau; they amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men, and were particularly distinguished by the superb appearance of the cavalry, constituting a force apparently capable of conquering the world.

33. Instead of profiting by this im-

† The armies were disposed as follows:—

* It was asked in the House of Peers, with a too prophetic spirit, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, "Could the King of Prussia, ought the King of Prussia, to divest himself of his natural duties? Could it be expected that he would fulfil engagements so trivial in comparison? Was not Poland likely to furnish him employment for his troops, and that, too, at his own door? There never were two powers hated one another more cordially than Prussia and Austria, and were English guineas likely to allay the discord? Was it not probable that Frederick William would take our subsidies, but find pretences for evading the performance of any thing in return worthy of the name?"—*Parl. Hist.* xxxi. 456, 458.

French.		
Army of the North,	. . .	220,000
Moselle and Rhine,	. . .	280,000
Alps,	. . .	60,000
Eastern Pyrenees,	. . .	80,000
Western ditto,	. . .	80,000
South,	. . .	60,000
		<hr/> 780,000
Allies.		
Flanders,	. . .	140,000
Duke of York,	. . .	40,000
Austrians on the Rhine,	. . .	60,000
Prussians on ditto,	. . .	65,000
Luxembourg,	. . .	20,000
Emigrants,	. . .	12,000
		<hr/> 337,000

mense assemblage of strength to fall upon the still scattered, and, in part, undisciplined forces of their enemies, the troops were on the following day divided into eight columns, to oppose the French forces, which were still divided in that manner. The siege of Landrecies was shortly after formed, while a large portion of the allied army was stationed as a covering force. After ten days of open trenches, and a most severe bombardment, which almost totally destroyed the town, this important fortress capitulated, and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, was made prisoners of war. During the progress of this attack, the French generals, stimulated by the orders of the Committee of Public Salvation, made reiterated efforts to raise the siege. Their endeavours were much aided by the absurd adherence of the Allies to the old plan of dividing their forces; they trembled at the thoughts of leaving a single road open, as if the fate of the war depended upon closing every avenue into Flanders, when they were contemplating a march to Paris. The plan of the Republicans consisted in a series of attacks on the posts and corps forming the long cordon of the Allies, followed by a serious advance of the two wings, the one towards Philipville, the other towards Dunkirk. On the 26th April, the movement in advance took place along the whole line. The centre, which advanced against the Duke of York near Cambray, experienced the most bloody reverse. When the Republicans arrived at the redoubts of Troisville, defended by the Duke of York, they were vigorously received by the British guards in front, supported by PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG, afterwards so well known as generalissimo of the allied forces, commanding a regiment of Austrian cuirassiers; while General Otto assailed them in flank at the head of the British cavalry, led by the 15th hussars, which drove headlong through their whole line by a most brilliant charge, and completed their rout. Not in the whole Peninsular war was a more splendid display of the power of cavalry made than on this occasion; if it had been followed up with vigour,

the French army would have been totally defeated. As it was, the whole centre was driven back in confusion to Cambray, with the loss of thirty-five pieces of cannon, and above four thousand men. While this disaster was experienced on the left-centre of the French army, their right-centre was not more successful. That portion of them at first gained some advantage over the corps of the Austrians, who there composed the covering force; but the latter, having been reinforced, and supported by a numerous artillery, resumed the offensive, and repulsed the assailants with great loss.

34. But these advantages, how considerable soever, were counterbalanced by a severe check experienced by General Clairfait, whose corps formed the extreme right of the allied line. On that side the Republicans had assembled fifty thousand men under Souham and Moreau, which on the 25th April advanced against the Austrian forces. Assailed by superior numbers, Clairfait was driven back to Tournay, with the loss of thirty pieces of cannon, and twelve hundred prisoners. His retreat seemed to render wholly desperate the situation of a brigade of three thousand Hanoverians, now shut up in Menin, and soon furiously bombarded. But their brave commander, supported by the resolution of a large body of French emigrants who were attached to his corps, resolved to cut his way through the besiegers, and through the heroic valour of his followers, successfully accomplished his object. Prince Cobourg, upon the intelligence of this misfortune, detached the Duke of York to Tournay to support Clairfait, and remained with the rest of his forces in the neighbourhood of Landrecies, to put that place in a state of defence.

35. Convinced, by the failure of their attacks on the centre of the Allies, that their forces were insufficient in that quarter, the Committee of Public Salvation, relying on the inactivity and lukewarmness of the Prussians on the extreme right of their vast line of operations, took the energetic resolution of ordering Jourdan to reinforce the army of the Moselle with fifteen thousand

men drawn from the Rhine, and, after leaving a corps of observation at Luxembourg, to march with forty-five thousand men upon the Ardenné forest, and unite himself to the army on the Sambre. This bold conception of strengthening, to an overwhelming degree, what appeared the decisive point of the long line of operations, and throwing ninety thousand men on its extreme left on the Sambre, had a most important effect on the future fate of the campaign; and formed a striking contrast to the measures of the Allies, who deemed themselves insecure even when meditating offensive operations, unless the whole avenues of the country they occupied were equally guarded by detached corps. The defection of Prussia, which daily became more evident, prevented them from obtaining any co-operation on their own left flank to counteract this change in the enemy's line of attack; while even in their own part of the line the movements were vacillating, and totally unworthy of the splendid force at their disposal. On the 10th May, Clairfait, without any co-operation from the other parts of the line, crossed the Lys, and attacked the Republican troops around the town of Cambray. An obstinate engagement ensued, with various success, which was continued on the succeeding day, without any decisive advantage having been gained by either party. Four thousand men were lost on each side, and the opposing forces remained much where they had been at their commencement—a striking proof of the murderous and indecisive nature of this warfare of posts, which, without any adequate success, occasioned an incessant consumption of human life.

36. But the period was now approaching when the genius of Carnot was to infuse a new element into this indecisive warfare. On the 10th May, the French army on the Sambre crossed that river, with the design of executing his plan of operations; but the Allies having collected their forces to cover the important city of Mons, and taken post at a fortified position at Grandrengs, a furious battle ensued, which terminated in the Republicans being

defeated and driven across the same river, with the loss of ten pieces of cannon, and four thousand men. But the French having remained masters of the bridges over the river, and being urged by St Just and Lebas, who threatened their generals with the guillotine if they were not victorious, again crossed on the 20th, and returned to the charge. But they kept so bad a look-out that, on the 24th, they were surprised and completely routed by the Austrians, under Prince Kaunitz. The whole army was flying in confusion to the bridges, when Kläber, destined to future celebrity, arrived in time with fresh troops to arrest the victorious enemy, and preserve the army from total destruction. As it was, however, they were a second time driven over the Sambre, with the loss of four thousand men, and twenty-five pieces of artillery.

37. While blood was flowing in such torrents on the banks of the Sambre, events of still greater importance occurred in West Flanders. The Allies had there collected ninety thousand men, including one hundred and thirty-three squadrons, under the immediate command of the Emperor; and the situation of the left wing of the French suggested the design of cutting it off from the main body of the army, and forcing it back upon the sea, where it could have no alternative but to surrender. For this purpose, their troops were divided into six columns, which were moved by concentric lines on the French corps posted at Turcoing. Had they acted with more concert, and moved on a better line, the attack would have been crowned with the most splendid success. But the old system of dividing their forces made it terminate in nothing but disaster. The different columns, some of which were separated from each other by no less than twenty leagues, did not arrive simultaneously at the point of attack; and although each singly acted vigorously when brought into action, there was not the unity in their operations requisite to success. Some inconsiderable advantages were gained near Turcoing on the 17th; but the Republicans, having now concentrated their troops

in a central position, were enabled to fall with an overwhelming force on the insulated columns of their adversaries.

38. At three in the morning of the 18th, General Souham, with forty-five thousand, attacked the detached corps of General Otto and the Duke of York, while another corps of fifteen thousand advanced against them from the side of Lisle. The first, that of General Otto, was defeated with great loss; the latter, though it at first defended itself with vigour, finding its communication cut off with the remainder of the army, and surrounded by a greatly superior force, disbanded and took to flight—a circumstance which ultimately proved fortunate, as, had they maintained their ground, they certainly would have been made prisoners. So sudden was the rout, that the Duke of York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse—a circumstance which, much to his credit, he had the candour to admit in his official despatch. Such was the defect of the combinations of Prince Cobourg, that, at the time that his central columns were thus overwhelmed by an enormous mass of sixty thousand men, the two columns on his left, amounting to not less than thirty thousand, under the Archduke Charles and Kinsky, remained in a state of absolute inaction. At the same time Clairfait, with seventeen thousand on the right, who came up too late to take any active part in the engagement, was obliged to retire, after capturing seven pieces of cannon—a poor compensation for the total rout of the centre, and the moral disadvantages of a defeat. In this action, where the Allies lost three thousand men, and sixty pieces of cannon, the superiority of the French generalship was very apparent. Inferior, upon the whole, to the mass of their opponents, they had greatly the advantage in numbers at the point of attack. It must be admitted, however, that, after having pierced the centre, they should have reaped something more from their victory than the bare possession of the field of battle.

39. On the 22d May, Pichegru, who now assumed the command, renewed the attack, with a force now raised by

successive additions to nearly one hundred thousand men, with the intention of forcing the passage of the Scheldt, besieging Tournay, and capturing a convoy which was ascending that river. They at first succeeded in driving in the outposts; but a reinforcement of British troops, commanded by General Fox, and seven Austrian battalions, having arrived to support the Hanoverians in that quarter, a desperate and bloody conflict ensued, in which the firmness of the British at length prevailed over the impetuosity of their adversaries, and the village of Pont-à-chin, which was the point of contest between them, finally remained in their hands. The battle continued from five in the morning till nine at night, when it terminated by a general charge of the Allies, which drove the enemy from the field.* In this action, which was one of the most obstinately contested of the campaign, the French lost above six thousand men; but such was the fatigue of the victors, after an engagement of such severity and duration, that they were unable to follow up their success. Twenty thousand men had fallen on the two sides in these murderous battles, but no decisive advantage, and hardly a foot of ground, had been gained by either party. Finding that he could make no impression in this quarter, Pichegru resolved to carry the theatre of war into West Flanders, where the country, intersected by hedges, was less favourable to the allied cavalry, and he, in consequence, laid siege to Ypres. About the same time, the Emperor conducted ten thousand men in person to reinforce the army on the Sambre; and the right wing of the Allies, thus weakened, remained in a defensive position near Tournay, which was fortified with the utmost care.

40. The indecisive results of these bloody actions, which clearly demon-

* The Emperor Francis was on horseback for twelve hours during this bloody day, incessantly traversing the ranks, and animating the soldiers to continue their exertions.—“Courage, my friends!” said he, when they appeared about to sink: “yet a few more exertions, and the victory is our own.”—HARD. ii. 538.

strated the great strength of the Republicans, and the desperate strife which awaited the Allies, in any attempt to conquer a country abounding in such defenders, produced an important change in the Austrian councils. Thugut, who was essentially patriotic in his ideas, and reluctantly embarked in any contest which did not evidently conduce to the advantage of the hereditary states, had long nourished a secret aversion to the war in Flanders. He could not disguise from himself that these provinces, how opulent and important soever in themselves, contributed little to the real strength of the monarchy; that their situation, far removed from Austria, and close to France, rendered it highly probable that they would, at some no very distant period, become the prey of that enterprising power; and that the charge of defending them, at so great a distance from the strength of the hereditary states, entailed an enormous and ruinous expense upon the Imperial finances. Impressed with these ideas, he had for some time been revolving in his mind the project of abandoning these distant provinces to their fate, and looking out for a compensation to Austria in Italy or Bavaria, where its new acquisition might lie adjacent to the hereditary states. This long remained a fixed principle in the Imperial councils; and in these vague ideas is to be found the remote cause of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and appropriation of Venice.

41. Two days after the battle of Turcoing, a council of state was secretly held at the Imperial headquarters, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued for the future progress of the war. The opportunity appeared favourable to that able statesman to bring forward his long-cherished project. The inactivity and lukewarmness of the Prussians, notwithstanding the British subsidy, too plainly demonstrated that no reliance could be placed on their co-operation; the recent desperate actions in West Flanders sufficiently proved that no serious impression was to be made in that quarter; while the reluctance of the Flemish

states to contribute anything to the common cause, and the evident partiality of a large party amongst them for the French alliance, rendered it a matter of great doubt whether it was expedient on behalf of such distant, fickle, and disaffected subjects to maintain any longer a contest, which, if unsuccessful, might engulf half the forces of the monarchy. These considerations were forcibly impressed upon the mind of the young Emperor, who, born and bred in Tuscany, entertained no partiality for his distant Flemish possessions. Mack supported them with all the weight of his opinion, and strongly "urged that it was better to retire altogether across the Rhine, while yet the strength of the army was unbroken, than run the risk of its being buried in the fields of Belgium. If Flanders was of such value to the cause of European independence, it lay upon England, Prussia, and Holland, in the centre of whose dominions it lay, to provide measures for its defence: but the real interests of Austria lay nearer home, and her battalions required to be seen in dense array on the Maritime Alps, or on the shores of the Vistula, where vast and fertile provinces were about to fall a prey to her ambitious neighbours. Should affairs in that quarter assume a favourable aspect, and the revolutionary fervour of the Republic exhaust itself, it would apparently be no difficult matter to recover the Belgic provinces, as Prince Cobourg had done in the preceding campaign; or, if this should unhappily prove impossible, it was much more likely that a successful defensive war could be maintained with the resources of the Empire concentrated round its heart, than when they were so largely accumulated in a distant possession; or if peace became desirable, it could at any time be readily purchased by the cession of provinces so valuable to France, and the acquisition of an equivalent nearer the Austrian dominions."

42. The subject was debated with the deliberation which its importance deserved; and it was at length determined by the majority of the council, that the maintenance of so burdensome and

hazardous a war for such disaffected and distant possessions, was at variance with the vital interests of the state. It was resolved, accordingly, that the Imperial troops should, as soon as decency would permit, be withdrawn from Flanders; that this resolution should in the mean time be kept a profound secret, and, to cover the honour of the Imperial arms, a general battle should be hazarded, and on its issue should depend the course thereafter to be adopted; but that, in the meantime, the Emperor should forthwith depart for Vienna, to take cognisance of the affairs of Poland, which called for instant attention. In conformity with this resolution, he set out shortly after for that capital, leaving Cobourg in command of the army.

43. Meanwhile the commissioners of the Convention, little anticipating the favourable turn which their affairs were about to take from the divisions of the Allies, nothing daunted by the reverses the army of the Sambre had experienced, were continually stimulating its generals to fresh exertions. In vain they represented that the soldiers, worn out with fatigue, without shoes, without clothing, stood much in need of repose. "To-morrow," said St Just, "the Republic must have a victory: choose between a battle and a siege." Constrained by authorities who enforced their arguments by the guillotine, the Republican generals prepared for a third expedition across the Sambre. Towards the end of May, Kléber made the attempt with troops still exhausted by fatigue, and almost starving. The consequences were such as might have been expected; the grenadiers were repulsed by the grape-shot of the enemy, and General Duhesme was routed with little difficulty. On the 29th, however, the indomitable Republicans returned to the charge, and, after an obstinate engagement, succeeded in forcing back the Imperialists, and immediately began the investment of Charleroi. But the arrival of the Emperor with ten thousand troops having raised the allied force in that quarter to thirty-five thousand men, it was resolved to make an effort to raise

the siege before Jourdan arrived with the army of the Moselle, which was hourly expected. The attack was made on the 3d June, and attended with complete success, the French having been driven across the Sambre, with the loss of two thousand men. But this check was of little importance: on the day following Jourdan arrived from the Moselle with forty thousand fresh troops.

44. This great reinforcement, thrown into the scale when the contending parties were so nearly balanced, was decisive of the fate of the campaign, and proves the sagacity with which Carnot acted in accumulating an overwhelming force on this point. In a few days the Republicans recrossed the river with sixty thousand men, resumed the siege of Charleroi, and soon destroyed a strong redoubt which constituted the principal defence of the besieged. The imminent danger to which the city was reduced by the attack of this great force, induced the Allies to make the utmost efforts to raise the siege. But this required no less skill than intrepidity; for their army did not exceed thirty-five thousand men, while the French were nearly double that number. On this occasion, the system of attack by detached columns was for once successful. The Republicans were pierced by a simultaneous effort of two of the allied columns, defeated and driven over the Sambre, with the loss of three thousand men. This success, highly honourable as it was to the Austrian arms, proved in the end prejudicial to their cause, as it induced Prince Cobourg to suppose that his left wing was now sufficiently secure, and to detach all his disposable troops to the succour of Clairfaut and Ipres on the right, whereas it was against the other flank that the principal forces of the Republicans were now directed. In effect, on the 18th June, the French army recrossed the Sambre for the fifth, and commenced the bombardment of Charleroi for the third time. The great force with which this attack was made, amounting to seventy thousand men, rendered it evident that Prince Cobourg had mistaken

the point which required support, and that it was on the Sambre, and under the walls of Charleroi, that the decisive battle for the protection of Flanders was to be fought. Accordingly, the major part of the allied forces were at length moved in that direction; the Duke of York, with the British and Hanoverians, being left alone on the Scheldt, at a short distance from Clairfait, who had recently experienced the most overwhelming reverses. This separation of the forces of the two nations contributed not a little to augment the misunderstanding which already prevailed between them, and was the forerunner of numberless disasters to all.

45. No sooner was the departure of the Emperor with reinforcements to the army on the Sambre known to Pichegru, than he resolved to take advantage of the weakness of his adversaries, by prosecuting seriously the long-menaced siege of Ipres. Clairfait, not feeling himself in sufficient strength to interrupt his operations, remained long firm in his intrenched camp at Thielt. At length, however, the positive orders of his superiors compelled that able officer, even with the insufficient forces at his disposal, to make an attempt to raise the siege. It was arranged that this attack should be aided by a movement of the centre of the allied army to his support. But the design, having been betrayed to the enemy at Lisle, was prevented from being carried into effect by a demonstration from the French centre by Pichegru. The consequence was, that the Austrian general was compelled to attack alone; and, though his corps fought with their wonted valour, he was again worsted, and compelled to resume his position in his intrenchments, without having disturbed the operations of the siege. This was the fifth time that this brave officer had fought unsupported, while thirty thousand Austrians lay inactive at Tournay, and six thousand British, under Lord Moira, were reposing from the fatigues of their sea voyage at Ostend. The consequence was, that Ipres capitulated a few days after, and its garrison, consisting of six thousand men,

was made prisoners of war. Cobourg made a tardy movement for its relief; but, hearing of its fall, returned on the 19th to Tournay.

46. The Austrians having now, in pursuance of their plan of withdrawing from Flanders, finally detached themselves from the British, moved all their forces towards their left wing, with a view to succour Charleroi, which was severely pressed by Jourdan. On the 22d, Prince Cobourg joined his left wing, but, though the united forces were seventy-five thousand strong, he delayed till the 26th to attack the French army. Jourdan, who was fully aware of the importance of acquiring this fortress, took advantage of the respite which this delay afforded him to prosecute the siege with the utmost activity. This he did with such success that, the batteries of the besieged having been silenced, the place capitulated on the evening of the 25th. Hardly had the garrison left the gates, when the discharge of artillery announced the tardy movement of the Austrians for its relief. The battle took place on the following day, on the plains of FLEURUS, already signalised by a victory of Marshal Luxembourg in 1690, and was attended by most important consequences.

47. The French army, which was eighty-nine thousand strong, was posted in a semicircle round the town of Charleroi, now become, instead of a source of weakness, a *point d'appui* to the Republicans. Their position nearly resembled that of Napoleon at Leipzig; but the superiority of force on that occasion secured a very different result to the Allies from that which now awaited their arms. The Imperialists, adhering to their system of attacking the enemy at all points, divided their forces into five columns, intending to assail at the same moment all parts of the Republican position—a mode of attack at all times hazardous, but especially so when an inferior is engaged with a superior force. The battle commenced on the 26th, at daybreak, and continued with great vigour throughout the whole day. The first column, under the command of the Prince of Orange, attacked the left

of the French under General Montaigu, and drove them back to the village of Fontaine l'Évêque; but the Republicans, being there reinforced by fresh troops, succeeded in maintaining their ground, and repulsed repeated charges of the Imperial cavalry. During a successful charge, however, the French horse were themselves assailed by the Austrian cuirassiers, and driven back in confusion upon the infantry, who gradually lost ground, and at length were compelled to fall back to the heights in front of Charleroi. The moment was critical, for the Austrians, following up their success, were on the point of carrying the village of Marchiennes-au-Pont, which would have intercepted the whole communications of the Republican army; but Jourdan, alarmed at the advance of the enemy in this quarter, moved up Kléber to support his left. That intrepid general hastily erected several batteries to meet the enemy's fire, and moved forward BERNADOTTE,* the future king of Sweden, at the head of several battalions, to the support of Montaigu. The Allies, under Latour and the Prince of Orange, being unsupported by the remainder of the army, and finding themselves vigorously assailed both in front and flank, fell back from their advanced position, and before four in the afternoon all the ground gained in that quarter had been abandoned.

48. While these events were going forward on the left, the centre, where the village of Fleurus was occupied by sixteen thousand troops, and strongly strengthened by intrenchments, was the scene of an obstinate conflict. The attack in front of the Allies was successfully repulsed, after passing the village, by the fire of artillery on the heights in the rear: but General Beaulieu, with the left wing of the Allies, having attacked and carried the post of Lambusart on the French right, the Republicans on the left were compelled to give way, and the important post of Fleurus, with its great redoubt, stood prominent in the midst of the allied forces, exposed to attack both in front

and flank. The consequence of this was, that the great redoubt was on the point of being taken, and the French divisions in the centre were already in full retreat, when Jourdan hastened to the scene of danger with six battalions, who were formed in close columns, and checked the advance of the enemy. The French cavalry, under Dubois, made a furious charge upon the Imperial infantry, overthrew them, and captured fifty pieces of cannon; but, being disordered by their rapid advance, they were immediately after attacked by the Austrian cuirassiers, who not only retook the whole artillery, but routed the victors, and drove them back in confusion upon their own lines.

49. Meanwhile the allied left, under Beaulieu, made the most brilliant progress. After various attacks, the village of Lambusart was carried, and the enemy's forces, for the most part, driven across the Sambre; but the vigorous fire of the French artillery prevented the Allies from debouching from the village, or obtaining complete success in that quarter. As it was, however, the situation of the Republicans was disadvantageous in every quarter. The right, under Moreau, was driven back, and in great part had recrossed the river; the left, under Montaigu, had abandoned the field of battle, and retreated to Marchiennes-au-Pont; while the forces in the centre had been in part compelled to recede, and the great redoubt was in danger of being carried. Four divisions only, those of Lefebvre, Championnet, Kléber, and Daurier, were in a condition to make head against the enemy. At this critical moment, when decisive success was within his grasp, Cobourg, hearing of the fall of Charleroi, and fettered by the secret instructions he had received, to risk as little as possible before retiring from Flanders, ordered a retreat at all points. Without detracting from the merit of Jourdan, it may safely be affirmed that, if the Prince of Orange, instead of drawing back his wing when he found it too far advanced, had united with the centre to attack Fleurus and the main body of the French army, while Beaulieu pressed them on the other side, the success

* See a biography of BERNADOTTE, chap. lxx. § 26.

would have been rendered complete, and a glorious victory achieved.

50. But nothing is so perilous as to evince any symptoms of vacillation after a general engagement. The battle of Fleurus, paralysed as success had been to the Austrians, was, in fact, a drawn engagement; the loss on both sides was nearly equal, being between four thousand and five thousand men to each side; the French had given way on both wings, the centre with difficulty maintained its ground; and the Imperialists only retreated because the fall of Charleroi had removed the object for which they fought; and the secret instructions of their general precluded him from adopting any course, how brilliant and inviting soever, which promised to be attended with any hazard to the army. Nevertheless, it was attended with the most disastrous consequences. The loss of Flanders immediately followed a contest which an enterprising general would have converted into the most decisive triumph. Cobourg retired to Nivelles, and soon after took post at *Mont St Jean* and *Waterloo*, at the entrance of the forest of Soignies, little dreaming of the glorious event which, under a firmer commander, and with the forces of a very differently united alliance, was there destined to counterbalance all the evils of which his prescribed retreat formed the commencement. Two days afterwards, the French issued from their intrenchments round Charleroi, and at Mount Paliul defeated the allied rearguard, which fell back to Braine le Comte. Mons was shortly after evacuated, and the Allies, abandoning the whole fortresses which they had conquered to their own resources, drew together in front of Brussels. Several actions took place in the beginning of July, between the rearguard of the Allies and the French columns at *Mont St Jean*, *Braine l'Alleud*, and *Sambre*; but at length, finding himself unable to maintain his position without concentrating his forces, Prince Cobourg abandoned Brussels, and fell back behind the Dyle.

51. It was not without the most strenuous exertions of the British gov-

ernment to prevent them, that these ruinous divisions broke out among the allied powers in Flanders. Immediately after the treaty of 19th April was signed, Lord Malmesbury, the British ambassador, set out from the Hague for Maestricht, where conferences were opened with the Prussian minister, Haugwitz, and the Dutch plenipotentiaries. Their object was to induce the Prussian forces to leave the banks of the Rhine, and hasten to the scene of decisive operations in Flanders. These demands were so reasonable, and so strictly in unison with the letter as well as spirit of the recent treaty, that the Prussian minister could not avoid agreeing to them, and engaged to procure orders from the cabinet of Berlin to that effect. But Moellendorf, acting in obedience to secret orders from his court, declined to obey the requisition of the plenipotentiaries, and engaged in a fruitless and feigned expedition towards Kayserslautern and Sarre Louis, at the very time that he was well aware that his antagonist, Jourdan, with forty thousand men, was hastening by forced marches to the decisive point on the banks of the Sambre. When the danger became more threatening, and the Emperor himself had repaired to the neighbourhood of Charleroi, to make head against the accumulating masses of the Republicans, the same requisitions were renewed, in a still more pressing strain, by the British and Dutch ministers.* But it was all in vain. The Prussian general betook himself to one subterfuge after another, alleging that, by menacing Sarre Louis and Landau, he succoured the common cause more effectually than if he brought his whole forces to the walls of Charleroi; and at length, when driven from that pretext, he peremptorily refused to leave the banks of the Rhine. The ministers of the maritime powers upon this broke

* "It is not for nothing," said Lord Cornwallis and Kinckel, the Dutch minister, "that we pay you our subsidies, nor in order that the subsidised power should employ the paid forces for its own purposes. If the Prussian troops do not act for the common cause, they depart from the chief object of the treaty."—HARD. iii. 65.

out into bitter complaints at the breach of faith on the part of the Prussian government, and reproached the marshal with a fact which they had recently discovered, that, instead of sixty-two thousand men, stipulated by the treaty, and paid for by the Allies, only thirty-two thousand received daily rations at the army. The bad faith of the Prussians was now apparent; they were reproached with it. Moellendorf denied the charge; recriminations issued on both sides: at length they separated, mutually exasperated; and Lord Cornwallis declared he would suspend the payment of the British subsidy.

52. After the departure of Cobourg from Tournay, the Allies strove in vain to make head against the superior forces of the Republicans in Maritime Flanders. Tournay was evacuated; and while Pichegru himself marched upon Ghent to force back Clairfait, he detached Moreau with a considerable force to invest the places bordering on the ocean. Nieuport capitulated, Fort Ecluse, the key of the Scheldt, was blockaded, and the island of Cadsand overrun by the Republicans, who crossed the arm of the sea which separates it from the mainland by swimming. Clairfait, although reinforced by six thousand British, who had rapidly marched from Ostend, under Lord Moira, found himself unable to make head against Pichegru. The old German tactics of carrying on war by a series of positions, which only occasionally succeeded against the inconsiderable forces of Prussia, when guided by the genius of Frederick, totally failed when opposed to the vehement ardour and inexhaustible numbers of the Revolutionary armies. After in vain attempting, in conjunction with Cobourg, to cover Brussels, he was compelled to fall back behind the Dyle; while the Duke of York also retired in the same direction, and encamped between Malines and Louvain. The retreat of the allied forces enabled the victorious armies of Pichegru and Jourdan to unite their forces at Brussels, where they met on the 10th July. And thus, by a series of energetic movements and glorious contests, were two armies, which a short

time before had left the extremities of the vast line extending from Philipville to Dunkirk, enabled to unite their victorious forces for the occupation of the capital of Flanders.

53. The Austrian cabinet at that period entertained serious thoughts of peace. The opinion was very general on the Continent, that the fearful energy and bloody proscriptions of Robespierre had considerably calmed the effervescence of the Revolution, and that his stern and relentless hand was alone adequate to restrain its excesses, and restore anything like a regular government at Paris. These ideas received a strong confirmation from the speech which he delivered on occasion of the fête of the Supreme Being: it was known that he had moderated many of the energetic plans of foreign invasion projected by Carnot, and that his brother had used his influence to preserve Piedmont and the north of Italy from an incursion, at a time when the Allies were little in a condition to have resisted it. The Imperial government was really desirous of an accommodation, in order to concentrate their armies and attention upon Poland, which was hourly approaching the crisis of its fate; and a large force had already entered Galicia, where they professed their intention of coming as deliverers, and were received with open arms by the people of that province. Unable to bear, any more than Prussia, the weight of a double contest on the Rhine and the Vistula, and deeming the latter more material to the interests of the monarchy than the former, they had definitively determined at Vienna on the abandonment of the Belgian provinces, and were now only desirous of extricating themselves from a contest in which, as it appeared to them, neither honour nor profit was to be gained. A secret understanding, in consequence, took place between Cobourg and the French generals, the conditions of which were, that the Austrians should not be disquieted in their retreat to the Rhine, and the Republicans permitted, without molestation, to reduce the four great fortresses which had been wrested from France in the preceding and

present campaign. The fall of Robespierre prevented these overtures from coming to any further issue; but they early attracted the attention of the vigilant minister who directed the affairs of Great Britain, and he urged his ambassador to make the strongest remonstrances against a step so prejudicial to the interests of Europe. But the Austrians were resolute in their determination to abandon Flanders, alleging as a reason the inconstancy and disaffection of its inhabitants. "To behold a people so infatuated," said Count MERTERNICH, afterwards so celebrated as the great diplomatic leader, to Lord Cornwallis, "as, notwithstanding the most pressing exhortations to take up arms in defence of their religion, their independence, and property, to refuse to move, and voluntarily place their necks under the yoke, singing *Ca Ira*, is a phenomenon reserved for these days of desolation."

54. The British forces, now entirely detached from their allies, were posted behind the canal of Malines, and they amounted to above thirty thousand British and Hanoverians, and fifteen thousand Dutch. Their object was, by remaining on the defensive, to cover Antwerp and Holland; while the Austrians retired by Tirlemont upon Liege. In this way, while the Republicans remained with their centre at Brussels, and their wings extending from Wilworde to Namur, their adversaries retired by *diverging* lines towards the north and the south, and every successive day's march carried them farther from each other—a state of affairs of all others the most calamitous, in presence of an enterprising enemy, occupying a central position between them. The British were intent only on covering Antwerp and Holland; the Imperialists on drawing nearer to their resources at Cologne and Coblenz. Neither recollected that, by separating their forces, they gave the enemy the means of crushing either separately at pleasure, and that the secret conventions with the Austrians exposed the British to the whole weight of attack. Their separation, too, left him in possession of a salient position, which would soon

render both the provinces of the Lower Rhine and the United Provinces untenable.

55. Contrary to the expectations of all who were not initiated into the mysteries of the diplomacy, and in opposition to what might have been expected from the previous energy of their measures, the Committee of Public Salvation arrested their army in the career of victory, and paralysed a hundred and fifty thousand men, in possession of an internal line of communication, at the moment when their enemies were disunited, and incapable of rendering each other any assistance. This was the result of the secret understanding with Prince Cobourg, which has just been mentioned. On the 15th July, the canal of Malines was forced, after an inconsiderable resistance by the Dutch troops, and the Duke of York retired to Antwerp, which was soon after evacuated, and his whole forces concentrated towards Breda, for the defence of Holland. On the other wing, Jourdan, more in appearance than reality, pursued his advantages against Cobourg; and, after several inconsiderable engagements with the rearguard, Liege and Tongres were evacuated, and the Austrians retired behind the Meuse. But, with these exceptions, nothing was attempted by the Republicans for several weeks, while the government waited the reduction of Valenciennes and the other places captured by the Allies on the frontier at the commencement of the war.

56. To hasten their reduction, a bloody decree was passed by the Convention, ordaining their commanders to give no quarter to any garrison which should not surrender within twenty-four hours after the first summons. The humanity of the Republican generals made them refuse to carry this atrocious order into execution, and it was soon after rendered nugatory by the fall of Robespierre on the 27th July (9th Thermidor.) The governor of Condé, when summoned to surrender in virtue of this disgraceful injunction to the French generals, replied, "That one nation had no right to decree the dishonour of another nation, and that he should pro-

long his defence so as to deserve the esteem of the French themselves." The Committee of Public Salvation, under Carnot's direction, feeling the iniquity of the measure, took advantage of fictitious delays to allow the garrisons to capitulate on the usual terms. General Scherer collected a body of troops from the interior and the neighbouring garrisons, and formed the siege successively of Landrecies, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, all of which fell, after a trifling resistance, before the end of August. At the same time the decree already mentioned was passed by the Convention, prohibiting their armies from giving quarter to the British or Hanoverians who might fall into their hands. "Republican soldiers!" said Barère, in the report on which that decree was founded, "you must, when victory shall put into your power either English or Hanoverians, strike without mercy; not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. *Let the English slaves perish, but let Europe be free.*" To this decree the Duke of York replied by an order of the day, worthy of the nation whose forces he led, and the cause with which he was intrusted, ordering all French captives to be treated with the same humanity as before.* This generous conduct had the desired effect; the humane efforts of the British commanders were seconded by the corresponding feelings of the French officers, and the prisoners on both sides were treated

with the same humanity as before the issuing of the bloody decree.

57. While the fortune of war, after a desperate struggle, was thus decisively inclining to the Republican side on the northern, events of minor importance, but still upon the whole favourable to the French arms, occurred on the eastern and southern frontiers. The dubious conduct, or rather evident defection of Prussia, paralysed all the operations on the Rhine. Sixty thousand Prussians and Saxons were assembled round Mayence, and along the Nahe; and the departure of Jourdan, with forty thousand, to reinforce the army on the Sambre, offered the fairest opportunity of resuming offensive operations with a preponderating force on the Moselle. Only two divisions, at a distance from each other, remained between Thionville and Kayserslautern; and though the Republican government made the greatest exertions to reinforce them, the utmost that could be done was to raise the one to twenty and the other to ten thousand men. Nor was the superiority less decisive on the Upper Rhine, where fifty thousand Imperialists formed the cordon from Bâle to Mayence, and seventy thousand more were prepared for active operations; while the force in the field, under General Michaud, to oppose them, was only thirty-six thousand, supported by fifty thousand still retained in garrison by the cautious policy of the French government.

* He stated in that noble document, "The National Convention has just passed a decree that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses upon receiving this information. He desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in the soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. In all the wars which, from the earliest times, have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies; while the Hanoverians, the allies of the former, have shared for above a cen-

tury in this mutual esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place, the instant that opposition ceased, and the same cloak has been frequently seen covering those who were wounded, friends and enemies, while indiscriminately conveyed to the hospitals of the conquerors. The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their character as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to their government: and therefore his Royal Highness trusts that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of abhorrence to the National Convention alone, persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier."—*Proclamation*, May 30, 1794; *Ann. Reg.* 1794; *State Papers*, p. 169.

ority of force, the Allies in this quarter did nothing. Instead of assembling, as they might easily have done, eighty thousand men, to attack the centre of the French lines on the Rhine, and relieve the pressure which operated so severely on the Sambre, they contented themselves with detaching a small force to dislodge the Republican post at Morlautern. A slight advantage was gained at Kayerslautern over the Republican division intrusted with the defence of the gorges; and General Michaud, unable to make head against such superior forces, retired to the intrenchments of the Queich, while the army of the Moselle resumed the position it had occupied at the close of the preceding campaign. Shortly after, Michaud received powerful reinforcements, and made vigorous preparations for resuming the offensive; while the British ambassador vainly endeavoured to stimulate the King of Prussia to execute the part assigned him in the treaty of the Hague. The whole attention of Prussia was fixed on Poland, and the movements of General Kosciusko. So intent was the cabinet of Berlin on the partition of that country, that nothing could induce them to give any directions for the prosecution of the war on the Rhine, till after the fall of Charleroi, the battle of Fleurus, and the reinforcement of the Republican armies on the Rhine, had rendered it impossible to resume the offensive with any prospect of advantage.

59. In the south, the reduction of Lyons and Toulon, by rendering disposable the forces employed in the siege of these cities, gave an early and decisive superiority to the Republican arms. The levies ordered in September 1793, had brought such an accession of strength to their forces, that in the middle of April the army of the Alps amounted to seventy-five thousand combatants. Piedmont, menaced with invasion by this formidable force, had only at its command a body of forty thousand men, spread over a chain of posts along the summit of the Alps, from Savona to Mont Blanc, and an auxiliary Austrian force, ten thousand strong, in the interior. The great su-

periority of the French forces would have enabled them to have instantly commenced the invasion of Italy; but, pressed in other quarters, the Committee of Public Salvation, under the directions of Robespierre, contented themselves with enjoining their commanders to drive the enemy over the Alps, and get possession of all the passes, deferring to a future year the long-wished-for irruption into the Italian provinces. The first operations of the Republicans were not successful. General Sarret, with a detachment of two thousand men, was repulsed at the Little St Bernard, while the column destined for the attack of the Mont Cenis was also unsuccessful. Far from being discouraged by these trifling reverses, General Dumas returned to the charge with more considerable forces, and on the 23d April, after a vigorous resistance, made himself master of the first pass, which was followed on the 14th May by the capture of the second. The loss of Mont Cenis cost the Sardinians six hundred prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon. By these successes, the whole ridge of the higher Alps, separating Piedmont from Savoy, fell into the possession of the Republican generals; and the keys of Italy were placed in the hands of the French government.

60. Nor were the operations of the Republicans less successful on the frontiers of Nice. The counsels of the leaders were there directed by General Buonaparte, whose extraordinary military abilities had already given him an ascendancy far beyond his rank. His design was to turn Saorgio by its left, and cut off the retreat of its garrison, by the great road from over the Col de Tende. The attacking force was divided into three columns. The first, twenty thousand strong, commanded by Massena, broke up on the 1st April, with twenty pieces of cannon, to pass between Saorgio and the sea; the second, composed of ten thousand men, under the immediate directions of Dumorbion, remained in front of the enemy; while the third, of equal force, was destined to gain the upper extremity of the valleys of the Vesubia, and communicate with the army of Savoy by

Isola. In the course of his march, Massena traversed the neutral territory of Genoa, and, after a bold march as far as Carosio, found himself considerably in advance of the main body of the enemy, posted in intrenched camps on the western side of the mountains. Guided by the intrepid Colonel Rusca, an ardent hunter, well acquainted with these Alpine ridges, he boldly pursued his successes, and, by a skilful combination of all his force, succeeded in storming the redoubts of the Col Ardena. In vain the Piedmontese received the assailants with a shower of stones and balls; nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the Republicans; and Massena, pursuing his successes, reached Tanardo, and the heights which command the pass of the Briga. Rusca, familiar with the country, vehemently urged his commander to direct some battalions to descend to the convent of St Dalmazia, seize the great road, destroy the bridges, and cut off the retreat of the great body of the enemy posted at the camp at Rausa. But Massena had other objects in view. He had occupied, with considerable force, the cliffs which overhang in rear the fortress of Saorgio—an advantage which rendered that fortress no longer tenable. He preferred, in consequence, the certain advantage, now within his power, of rendering unavoidable, without risk, the evacuation of that important stronghold, which commands the pass by the Col de Tende from France into Italy, to the perilous attempt of compelling a force nearly equal to his own to surrender. Meanwhile the attack of the centre, under Dumorbion, had been attended with equal success; and the Sardinian forces, pressed in front and menaced in rear, evacuated the famous camp of Rausa, and fell back towards the Col de Tende. Dumorbion's leading columns approached the fort of Saorgio, at the same time that Massena's forces appeared on the heights immediately overhanging it behind; and this celebrated post, almost impregnable in front, but destitute of any defence against the forces of the Republicans, now perched on the rocks in its rear, surrendered at the first summons.

61. Meanwhile the French left successfully ascended the Vesubia, and, after a vehement resistance, the winding rocky road between Figaretto and Lantosca was stormed, and the Allies driven back to the Col de Fenestrelles; while General Serrurier cleared the valley of the Tinea, and established a communication by Isola with the army of Savoy. To reap the fruit of so many successes, Dumorbion ordered Garnier to seize the Col de Fenestrelles, while his own centre drove the enemy from the Col de Tende. Both operations were successful. The Col de Fenestrelles fell, after hardly any resistance; and although the Col de Tende was more bravely contested, the unexpected appearance of a division of French on their left spread a panic among the Piedmontese troops, which speedily led to the evacuation of the position. Thus the Republicans, before the end of May, were masters of all the passes through the Maritime Alps; and while, from the summit of Mont Cenis, they threatened a descent upon the valley of Susa and the capital, from the Col de Tende they could advance straight to the siege of the important fortress of Coni. Buonaparte, whose prophetic eye already anticipated the triumphs of 1796, in vain urged the government to unite the victorious armies in the valley of the Stura, and push on immediately with their combined strength to the conquest of Italy. The reverse at Kayserlautern induced them to withdraw ten thousand men from the army of the Alps to support the troops on the Rhine; and Dumorbion, satisfied with the laurels he had won, and with energies enfeebled by years, could not be induced to risk ulterior operations. After so brilliant a *début*, the Republican forces failed even in reducing the little fort of Exiles, on the eastern descent of Mont Cenis; and for the three summer months, the victorious troops reposed from their fatigues on the heights which they had won above the clouds.

62. On the frontiers of Spain the war assumed still more decisive features. The reduction of Toulon enabled the central government to detach General Dugommier, with half the forces em-

ployed in its siege, to reinforce the army on the eastern Pyrenees; and it was resolved to act offensively at both extremities of that range of mountains. During the winter months, incessant exertions were made to recruit the armies, which the immense levies of the Republic enabled the southern departments to do to such a degree, that at the opening of the campaign, notwithstanding their late reverses, they were greatly superior in number to their opponents. On the other hand, the Spanish government, destitute of energy, and exhausted by the exertions they had already made, were unable to maintain their forces at the former complement. Before the end of the year 1793, they were reduced to the necessity of issuing above £12,000,000 sterling of paper money, secured on the produce of the tobacco-tax; but all their efforts to recruit their armies from the natives of the country having proved ineffectual, they were compelled to take the foreigners employed at the siege of Toulon into their service, and augment the number of their mercenary troops. Everything on the Republican side indicated the energy and resolution of a rising, everything, on the Spanish, the decrepitude and vacillation of a declining state. Between such powers, victory could not long remain doubtful.

63. Dugommier, on his arrival at the end of December, found the army of the eastern Pyrenees raised by his junction to thirty-five thousand men, encamped under the cannon of Perpignan; but a large proportion of the troops were in hospital, and the remainder in a state of insubordination and dejection, which seemed to promise the most disastrous results. By entirely reorganising the regiments, appointing new officers in the staff, and communicating to all the vigour of his own character, he succeeded in a few months not only in restoring the efficiency of the army, but leading it to the most glorious successes. The Spanish army, recently so triumphant, had proportionally declined; above ten thousand men were in hospital, the expected reinforcements had not arrived, and the force in the field did not exceed twenty-five thousand

effective troops. Before the end of February, the French force was augmented to sixty-five thousand men, of whom thirty-five thousand were in a condition immediately to commence operations. On the 27th March, the Republicans broke up and drew near to the Spanish position. A redoubt on the Spanish left was taken a few days after the campaign opened, and General Dagobert was carried off by the malignant fever which had already made such ravages in both armies. The Marquis Amarillas upon that drew back all his forces into the intrenched camp at Boulon. He was shortly after succeeded in the command by La Union, who immediately transferred the headquarters to Ceret, a good position for an attacking, but defective for a defending army. They were there assailed on the 30th April by the whole French force. One of the redoubts in the centre of the Spanish position having been stormed, the whole army fell back in confusion, which was increased to a total rout on the following day, by the Republican troops having made themselves masters of the road to Bellegarde, the principal line of their communication over the mountains into their own country. Finding themselves cut off from this route, the Spaniards were seized with one of those panics which afterwards became so common to their troops in the Peninsular war: the whole army fled in confusion over the hills, and could be rallied only under the cannon of Figueras, leaving one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred prisoners, eight hundred mules, and all their baggage and ammunition, to the victors, whose loss did not amount to one thousand men.

64. Dugommier immediately took advantage of his successes to undertake the siege of the fortresses of which the Spaniards had possessed themselves on the French territory. Collioure and Bellegarde were besieged at the same time; and although the inconsiderate ardour of the Republicans exposed them to a severe check at Port Vendre, the siege of Fort St Elmo was pressed with so much vigour, that the garrison, abandoned to its own resources, was com-

pelled to evacuate the place, and retire to Collioure. Marshal Navarro, the Spanish commander, at the head of a garrison of seven thousand men, made a gallant defence; and the rocky nature of the ground exposed the besiegers to almost insurmountable difficulties. But the perseverance of the French engineers having transported artillery to places deemed inaccessible, the commander, after having made a vain attempt to escape by sea, which the tempestuous state of the weather rendered impracticable, laid down his arms with his whole garrison.

65. At the other extremity of the Pyrenees, the French army, weakened by the detachment of considerable forces to Roussillon to repair the disasters of the preceding campaign, remained in the early part of the year on the defensive. The Republicans in that quarter did not amount to forty thousand men, of whom one-half were national guards, totally unfit to take the field. An attack by the Spaniards on the French intrenchments early in February having been repulsed, nothing was undertaken of importance in that quarter till the beginning of June, when the government, encouraged by the great advantages gained in Roussillon, resolved to invade the Peninsula at once at both extremities of the Pyrenees, while the improved organisation of the new levies around Bayonne afforded every prospect of success. The invasion on the west took place by the valley of Bastan, the destined theatre of more memorable achievements between the armies of Britain and France. The Republicans were divided into three columns, which successively forced the Col de Maya and the valley of Roncesvalles. Some weeks afterwards, an attempt was made by the Spanish commander to regain the position which he had lost; but he was repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men, and soon after resigned the command of an army, the disorder and demoralisation of which were daily increasing. The Count Colomera, who succeeded to the command, was not more successful. He in vain endeavoured, by proclamations, to rouse the mountaineers of the Pyrenees to arms

in their defence; the period had not arrived when the chord of religion was to vibrate through every Spanish heart, and rouse the nation to glorious efforts in the cause of their own and European freedom.

66. Towards the end of July, the French drove the Spaniards out of the whole of the valley of Bastan, forced the heights of San Marcial, captured the intrenched camp and fortified posts on the Bidassoa, defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, and pushed on to Fontarabia, which surrendered on the first summons. Following up the career of success, they advanced to San Sebastian; and that important fortress, though garrisoned by seventeen hundred regular troops, capitulated without firing a shot. Colomera took post at Tolosa, to cover the roads leading to Pampeluna and Madrid; but at the first appearance of the enemy the whole infantry took to flight, and left the enemy's attack to be sustained by the cavalry alone, who, by a gallant charge, succeeded in arresting the advance of the pursuers. By these successes, the French were firmly posted in the Spanish territory, and their wants amply supplied from the great magazines and stores, both of ammunition and provisions, which fell into their hands in the fortified places on the frontier. The British historian, who recounts the facility with which these victories were achieved by the inexperienced troops of France, cannot help feeling a conscious pride at the recollection of the very different actions of which that country was afterwards the theatre, and at marking, in the scenes of Spanish disgrace, the destined theatre of British glory.

67. While these events were occurring in Biscay, successes still more decisive were gained on the eastern frontier. Twenty thousand of the Republicans were employed in the blockade of Bellegarde; and the Catalonians, always ready to take up arms when their hearths were threatened, turned out in great numbers to reinforce the army of La Union. After three months of incessant efforts, the Spanish commander deemed his troops sufficiently reinstated

to resume the offensive, and attempt the relief of Bellegarde, which was now reduced to the last extremity. The principal attack was made against the right wing of Dugommier, and, if it had been assailed with sufficient force, the success of the Spaniards could hardly have been doubtful. But the columns of attack having been imprudently divided, the convoy destined to revictual the fortress never reached its destination; and General AUGEREAU,* afterwards Duke of Castiglione and Marshal of France, who commanded the right wing, though driven back to the camp of La Madeleine, succeeded in baffling the objects of the enemy. The consequence was, that the Spaniards, after having at first gained some advantages, were compelled to retreat, and Bellegarde, seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated a few days afterwards. The Spanish general excused himself for the bad success of his arms, by alleging the insubordination and misconduct of the troops. "Without," said he, in his report to government, "consideration, without obeying their chiefs or their officers, who did their utmost to retain them, the soldiers took to flight, after having for the most part thrown away their arms." A battalion was ordered to be decimated for its cowardice, and La Union, despairing of success, solicited his dismissal.

68. Discouraged by such repeated reverses, the Spanish government made proposals of peace; but the terms were deemed so inadmissible by the Committee of Public Salvation, that they ordered Dugommier to give their answer from the cannon's mouth. In the meanwhile the Spanish commander had leisure to strengthen his position. Two hundred and fifty guns, in two lines, arranged along a succession of heights, nearly seven leagues in extent, presented a front of the most formidable kind; while a smaller intrenched camp in the rear, around Figueras, afforded a secure asylum in case of disaster. But the result proved how rare it is that a position of that description, how strong soever in appearance, is capable

of arresting an enterprising and able assailant. The artillery, perched upon eminences, produced but an inconsiderable effect, with its plunging shot, on the masses in the valleys beneath; while the distance and difficulty of communication between the different parts of the line rendered a disaster in any quarter extremely probable, from the superior forces which the enemy could bring to bear upon one point. Should such a catastrophe occur, it appeared hardly repairable.

69. On the night of the 16th November, the French attacking army, thirty thousand strong, was put in motion. It was divided into three columns. The right, under the command of Augereau, after an arduous march of eighteen hours over rocks and precipices, drove the Spaniards, under General Courten, from the neighbourhood of the camp of La Madeleine, and made themselves masters of the whole intrenchments in that quarter; but the left, under General Lauret, was repulsed by the heavy fire from the batteries to which he was opposed; and when Dugommier was preparing to support him, he was killed by a shell from the central redoubts of the enemy. This unlooked-for disaster for a time paralysed the movements of the Republican army, till Pérignon, having been invested with the command, moved a considerable force to the relief of Lauret, and with some difficulty extricated him from his perilous situation. But Augereau had meanwhile vigorously followed up his successes. After giving his troops breath, he moved them to the centre, and forced the great redoubt, though bravely defended by twelve hundred men; the result of which was, that the Spaniards abandoned five other redoubts, and almost all their artillery, and fell back to their intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Figueras.

70. Pérignon instantly prepared to follow up his successes. Wisely judging that the left was the weak point of the enemy's position, he reinforced Augereau in the night with two fresh brigades, and on the morning of the 20th moved all his forces to the attack.

* See a biography of AUGEREAU, *infra*, chap. xx. § 61.

General Bon, intrusted with the conduct of the vanguard of the right wing, defiled over tracts hardly practicable for single passengers, and crossed the river Muga repeatedly, with the water up to the soldiers' waists. Arrived in the presence of the redoubts, he ascended the mount Escaulas, under a tremendous fire from the Spanish redoubts, and carried, at the point of the bayonet, the central intrenchment. La Union, hastening with the reserve to the redoubt of La Rosère, was killed on the spot; and that fort, regarded as impregnable, having been stormed, its whole defenders were put to the sword. These disasters discouraged the Spaniards along the whole line. Several other redoubts having been carried by the bayonet, the defenders evacuated the remainder, and applied the torch to their mines. In a few minutes, twenty bastions, constructed with immense labour, were blown into the air; and the troops charged with their defence, flying in confusion to Figueras, overthrew a column of fresh troops advancing to their support, and rushed in confusion into the gates of the fortress. Such was the dismay of the Spaniards, that when the Republican outposts, a few days afterwards, approached Figueras, the garrison, consisting of above nine thousand men, amply provided with provisions and stores of every sort, laid down their arms; and one of the strongest places in Spain, amidst the general acclamation of the inhabitants, was delivered up to the invaders. This unexpected conquest having made the French masters of the rich and fertile plain of the Ampurdan, and of an ample supply of stores and artillery of every description, preparations were soon afterwards made for the siege of Roses. The garrison consisted of nearly five thousand men, and the place, in itself strong, as the glorious siege of 1809 demonstrated, was capable of being reinforced to any extent by sea. Nevertheless, such was the vigour of the Republicans, and the dejection of the Spaniards, that the assailants pushed the siege during the severest months of winter, without any molestation. The fort of Trinity was

reduced on the 7th January; and the garrison, threatened with an immediate assault by a practicable breach, retired by sea in the beginning of February, leaving the fortress to the enemy.

71. Nor was the fortune of war more favourable to the Spanish forces at the other extremity of the line. After the fall of San Sebastian, Colomera endeavoured without effect to rouse the population of the Pyrenean valleys; and the Republicans attempted to erect Biscay into a Republic, to be independent of the Spanish crown. The usual fruits of democratic insurrection speedily appeared. The guillotine was erected at San Sebastian, and, in defiance of a solemn capitulation, the blood of the priests and the nobles was shed by the French commissioners, with as much inveteracy as if Guipuzcoa had been La Vendée. Meanwhile disease, the result of the misery they had produced, made deeper ravages than the Spanish sword in the ranks of the invaders; in a short time above thirty thousand men perished in the hospitals. At length, the Republican columns having been recruited by the never-failing levies in the interior, a general attack, late in autumn, was commenced on the Spanish positions. In the valley of Roncesvalles, their best division, after a vigorous resistance, was routed with the loss of forty pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred prisoners, and a severe tempest of wind and rain alone prevented its total destruction. This success enabled the invaders to seize and burn the foundries of Orbaizita and D'Enguy, which had so long served for the supply of the Spanish marine; after which they retired to the neighbourhood of San Sebastian and Fontarabia, still occupying in force the valley of Bastan.

72. These repeated disasters, and the evident disaffection of a considerable portion of their subjects, who were infected by the rage for democratic institutions, at length disposed the Spanish government to an accommodation. Nor were the Committee of Public Salvation inclined to insist on rigorous conditions, as the liberation of two experienced and victorious armies promised to be of the utmost

importance to the Republican armies, in the conquests which they meditated to the south of the Alps. With these dispositions on both sides, the work of negotiation was not difficult. Although the conclusion of the treaty was deferred to the succeeding year, yet it was understood on both sides that negotiations were in progress, and no operations of importance were undertaken after this period. The severe winter of 1794-5, which gave the Republican troops the mastery of Holland, likewise closed their operations on the snows of the Pyrenees.

73. The approach of winter, however, afforded no respite to the armies on the northern frontier. After a delay of two months, occasioned by the secret negotiations which the fall of Robespierre had broken off, the Republican armies recommenced those active operations which their immense superiority of physical forces speedily rendered decisive. The Army of the North had 70,000 effective men under its banners; that of the Sambre and Meuse, nominally 145,000 strong, presented an efficient force of 116,000 men; while the Duke of York, to cover the United Provinces, had hardly 50,000; and General Clairfait, who had replaced Prince Cobourg, could only muster 100,000 to maintain the footing of the Imperialists in the Flemish provinces. The French armies were so situated, that they could mutually communicate with and support each other: the Austrians and British were far asunder, incapable of rendering mutual aid, and alienated by long-continued common disaster. But, considered morally, the inequality between the contending armies was still greater. On the one side was the triumph of victory, the vigour of democratic ambition, the ardour of patriotic enthusiasm, the confidence of increasing numbers, conscious ability, and a novel system of warfare; on the other, the dejection of defeat, the recrimination of commanders, the jealousies of nations, declining numbers, and an obstinate adherence to antiquated tactics.

74. All anxiety about their rear having been removed by the reduction of

Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Landrecies, the Republicans in the end of August resumed the offensive. The fort of Ecleuse having surrendered to General Moreau, the Army of the North, reinforced by his division, commenced the invasion of Holland, while the States-General obstinately persisted in maintaining half their troops, amounting to twenty thousand men, in garrison in the interior, thirty leagues from the theatre of war, thereby leaving the protection of the frontier to the comparatively inconsiderable force of the British commander. With little more than half the invader's troops, the Duke of York was charged with the defence of a frontier twenty leagues in extent. He first took up a defensive position behind the Aa; but his advanced posts having been defeated by the French with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners, he was compelled to retire to the right bank of the Meuse, leaving the important places of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Bois-le-Duc, to their own resources.

75. Meanwhile the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, made preparations for a general attack on the scattered forces of Clairfait. On the 18th, the Republicans, divided into six columns, broke up, and a number of partial actions took place along the whole line; but the post of Ayvaile having been forced by the French, the Austrians fell back with the loss of fifteen hundred men and thirty-six pieces of cannon; and, after several ineffectual attempts to make a stand, finally evacuated their positions on the Meuse, and retired towards Rolduc and Aix-la-Chapelle. Jourdan immediately followed them; and while Kléber, with fifteen thousand men, formed the blockade of Maastricht, the commander himself, with a hundred thousand, pressed the discomfited forces of Clairfait, now hardly in a condition to keep the field, from the confusion and precipitance of their retreat. In vain the Imperialists took up a strong defensive position behind the Roer: On the 2d of October, the Republican columns were in motion at break of day, to assail their position; and, for the first time since the Revolu-

tion, the splendid spectacle was exhibited of ninety thousand men moving to the attack with the precision and regularity of a field-day. The Germans occupied a series of heights behind the river, from whence their numerous artillery kept up a destructive plunging fire upon the advancing columns of the French; but nothing could arrest the enthusiasm of the Republicans. The French grenadiers, with Bernadotte at their head, plunged into the stream, and drove the Austrians from the opposite heights; while General Scherer, on the other wing, also forced the passage of the river, and made himself master of Düren. These disasters induced Clairfait, who still bravely maintained himself in the centre, to order a general retreat, which was effected before nightfall, with the loss of three thousand men, while that of the French did not amount to half the number.

76. This battle a second time decided the fate of Flanders, and threw back the Imperial army beyond the Rhine. The Austrians in haste crossed that river at Muhlheim, and Jourdan entered Cologne the day following, and soon afterwards extended his troops to Bonn. Soon after the siege of Maestricht was seriously undertaken, and such was the activity of the Committee of Public Salvation, that a splendid siege-equipage, of two hundred pieces, descended the Meuse, and speedily spread desolation through the city. A large cavern, discovered in the rock on which the fort of St Petre was situated, gave rise to a subterraneous warfare, in which the French soldiers, ever ready to adapt themselves to circumstances, speedily distinguished themselves, and acquired a superiority over their opponents. At length, on November 4, the garrison, despairing of being relieved, capitulated, upon condition of not serving against the French till regularly exchanged; and this noble fortress, with three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the Republicans. After this event, and the capture of the castle of Rheinfels by the army of the Moselle, which shortly after took place, there remained to the Imperialists nothing of

all their vast possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, but Luxembourg and Mayence.

77. Nor were the operations of the left wing, destined for the invasion of Holland, less successful. After the retreat of the Duke of York, Pichegru, whose forces amounted to seventy thousand efficient troops, formed the siege of Bois-le-Duc, the situation of which, being at the confluence of threestreams, was of importance as a base to future operations. The States-General had neglected to provide for the defence of this important fortress; and the Duke of York had not a man he could detach for its succour. Its garrison was too weak either to man the works or undergo the fatigue of a siege; the fort of Crevecoeur surrendered almost at the first shot, and in a fortnight after the place capitulated, after a resistance disgraceful to the Dutch arms. After its capture, the British general distributed his troops along the line of the Waal, in hopes of being able to maintain a communication with the fortress of Grave, now threatened with a siege; but Pichegru, continuing his career of success, crossed the Meuse, and attacked the advanced posts of the Allies with so much vigour that they were compelled to fall back, with considerable loss, across the Waal. Disconcerted by this check, the Duke of York stationed part of his troops in an intrenched camp, under the cannon of Nimeguen, and the remainder in a line around Thiel, and between the Waal and the Leck, communicating with the Dutch corps at Gorcum, in the hope of being permitted to remain there undisturbed during the winter. Meanwhile Pichegru invested Grave and Venloo; the latter of which, though defended by a sufficient garrison of eighteen hundred men, and amply provided with artillery and ammunition, surrendered before the works were injured, from the mere annoyance of the enemy's musketry.

78. The successive intelligence of the defection of the Prussians, and the open abandonment of the Low Countries by the Austrian troops, which exposed Holland and Hanover to the immediate

invasion of the Republican forces, afforded the Opposition in the British parliament a favourable opportunity for renewing their attacks on the Government; and they triumphantly observed, that, after twenty-seven months of bloodshed and combat, the Allies were reduced to the same situation in which they were when Dumourier projected the invasion of Holland. But nothing could shake the firmness of Mr Pitt. "It matters little," said he, "whether the disasters which have arisen are to be ascribed to the weakness of the generals, the intrigues of camps, or the jealousies of the cabinets; the fact is, that they exist, and that we must anew commence the salvation of Europe." In pursuance of this heroic resolution, Sir Arthur Paget was despatched to Berlin, to endeavour to obtain some light on the ambiguous and suspicious conduct of Prussia; and Lord Spencer to Vienna, to endeavour to divert the Imperial cabinet from their alarming intention of abandoning the Low Countries. As soon as the latter nobleman arrived at Vienna, he obtained a private audience of the Emperor, and laid before him the proposals of the British government, which were no less than the offer of an annual subsidy of three millions sterling, provided the Imperialists would renew the war in Flanders, and give the command of the army to the Archduke Charles, with Clairfait, Beaulieu, and Mack for his council. At the same time they stated such facts respecting the measures of Cobourg, who was deeply imbued with the temporising policy the cabinet of Vienna had now adopted, as led to his recall from the army, of which Clairfait assumed the command.

79. The cabinet of Vienna, however, secretly inclining to peace, delayed giving any definite answer to the proposals of Mr Pitt, and meanwhile entertained covert overtures from the French government; while Clairfait received orders to remain altogether on the right bank of the Rhine, and Alvinzi was merely detached, with twenty-five thousand men, to co-operate with the Duke of York in the defence of Holland. This retreat renewed the alarm of Prussia

for her possessions on the Rhine, which was much increased by the cessation about the same period of the subsidies from the British government, who most justly declined to continue their monthly payments to a power which was doing nothing in aid of the common cause. Frederick William upon this withdrew twenty thousand of his best troops from the army of the Rhine, to join the forces which the Empress Catherine was moving towards Warsaw under the far-famed Suwarroff. It was now evident that the coalition was rapidly approaching its dissolution. The King of Prussia openly received overtures of peace from the French government; while the Duke of Würtemberg, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Mayence, and the other lesser potentates, secretly made advances to the same effect, and insisted so strongly on the danger of their situation, that the Emperor, notwithstanding all the firmness of Thugut, was obliged to acquiesce in their pacific measures. The 5th of December was the day fixed for the discussion of the important question of peace or war in the Diet of the Germanic Empire; and such was the consternation generally diffused by the divisions of the Allies and the successes of the French, that fifty-seven voices then declared for peace, and thirty-six demanded the King of Prussia for a mediator. This important resolution at once determined the conduct of Prussia. She now threw off the mask, and established conferences at Bale preparatory to a peace; while Britain made unheard-of efforts to retain Austria in the confederacy, and at length, by the offer of a subsidy of £6,000,000, prevailed on that power to maintain her armies on the defensive on the banks of the Rhine, and resume, in the ensuing campaign, a vigorous offensive in Italy.

80. The successes which have been detailed, great as they were, turned out to be but the prelude, on the part of the French, to a winter campaign attended with still more decisive results. Towards the end of October, Pichegru undertook the siege of Nimeguen: the Duke of York approached with thirty thousand men, and by a vigorous sally

upon the besiegers, who had the temerity to open their trenches, though the place was only invested on the left bank of the Waal, gained a brilliant but ephemeral success, attended by no important consequences. Shortly after, the French established some batteries, destined to command the bridge which connected the town with the intrenched camp in its rear, and soon sank some of the pontoons composing it. This so much disconcerted the allied commanders that they hastily evacuated the place, with the bulk of the troops under their orders, in the night, leaving its defence to an inadequate garrison of three thousand men. These soldiers, feeling themselves unable to man the works, discouraged by the flight of their fellow-soldiers, overawed by the redoubled fire of the besiegers, and despairing of maintaining the place, immediately attempted to follow their example. Terror seized their ranks; they precipitated themselves upon the bridge, which was burned before the rear-guard had passed over. One regiment was obliged to capitulate, and part of another, embarked on a flying bridge, was stranded on the left bank, and next day made prisoners by the French. Thus this splendid fortress, which rendered them masters of the passage of the Waal, fell into the hands of the Republicans. The Dutch loudly reproached the British with the abandonment of this important point, but apparently without reason; for how was it to be expected that the Duke of York, with thirty thousand men, was to maintain himself in presence of seventy thousand French, with the Rhine in his rear, when three times that force of Austrians had deemed themselves insecure till they had that river, a hundred miles farther up, thrown between them and the enemy? Be that as it may, the evacuation of Nimeguen completed the misunderstanding between the allied powers, and by spreading the belief in Holland that their cause was hopeless, and that their allies were about to abandon them, eminently contributed to the easy conquest of the United Provinces which so soon after followed. Grave was immediately be-

sieged; and Breda, one of the last of the Dutch barrier towns, invested.

81. The French army, worn out with seven months of incessant marching and bivouacs, now stood excessively in need of repose. The clothing of the soldiers was in rags, their shoes were worn out, and the equipments of the artillery, but for the supplies obtained in the captured places, would long ago have been exhausted. But all the representations of the generals upon these points were overruled. The Committee of Public Salvation, inflamed by the spirit of conquest, and guided by the enterprise of Carnot, resolved upon exacting from them fresh sacrifices. Accustomed to find every difficulty yield to the devotion of the Republican soldiers, or be overcome by the prodigious amount of the Republican levies, they resolved, after a month's rest to the troops, to prosecute their successes in the midst of a rigorous winter, and to render the severity of the season the means of overcoming the natural defences of the Dutch provinces. The first object was to cross the Waal, and, after driving the allied forces over all the mouths of the Rhine, penetrate into Holland by the Isle of Bommel. For this purpose, boats had for some time past been collected at Fort Crevecoeur, and pontoons and other materials for a bridge at Bois-le-Duc; and, the preparations having been completed, the passage was commenced at daybreak on the 12th November. But the firm countenance of the Allies defeated all their attempts; and after several ineffectual efforts, Moreau, whose sagacity clearly perceived the danger of persisting in the design, withdrew his troops, and the army was put into winter-quarters, on the left bank of the Meuse and the Rhine.

82. Early in December, the Duke of York, supposing the campaign finished, set out for England, leaving to General Walmoden the perilous task of protecting, with an inferior and defeated army, a divided country against a numerous and enterprising enemy. But a severe frost, which soon after set in, and rendered that winter long memorable in physical annals, made the Re-

publicans conceive the design of invading Holland during the season when the frost had rendered the numerous canals and rivers which intersected the country passable for troops and artillery. The prospect of that danger excited the utmost alarm in the mind of General Walmoden, who saw the Meuse frozen in his front, while the Rhine and the Waal, the waters of which are prevented from congealing by the tide which flows up them, were charged with floating ice in his rear, and thus were alike impassable for boats or land forces. In these circumstances he was justly afraid that the same severe weather which exposed his line to the attacks of the enemy in his front, would render the passage of the arms of the sea in his rear impracticable in the event of retreat. Influenced by these apprehensions, he passed his heavy cavalry to the other side of the Waal, evacuated his magazines and hospitals upon De-wenter, and ordered the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, cantoned with the most advanced corps in the Island of Bommel, to abandon it on the first intelligence of the passage of the Meuse by the enemy.

83. Situated around the mouths of the Rhine, HOLLAND exhibits the most striking contrast to the stupendous range of snowy mountains in which that noble river takes its rise. It is remarkable that the two most celebrated republics of Europe, and the only ones which have long survived the changes of time, are placed at the opposite extremities of the same stream; and that freedom in the one has found the same shelter in the mountains from which it springs, as in the other, amidst the marshes in which it is lost before emptying itself into the sea. The Meuse and the Scheldt on the south, and the Vecht and Issel on the north, flow through a part of its surface; but the principal rivers which traverse the Dutch territory, the New Issel, the Waal, as well as the Rhine properly so called, and a multitude of lesser branches, are but mouths of that mighty stream. Like the Danube, the Nile, the Ganges, the Mississippi, and all other great rivers, the Rhine has, in the

course of ages, brought down an immense mass of sand, gravel, and other alluvial matter, which, accumulating on the level shores near its entrance into the sea, have at length formed the plains of Holland, through which its now broken and lazy current with difficulty finds a passage, in many different branches, to the German Ocean.

84. A territory formed in this manner, by the confluence at their entrance into the sea of many different streams, is of course exceedingly flat, and in many places broken both by large internal lakes, and by considerable external arms of the sea and mouths of rivers. So frequent, indeed, are these aqueous interruptions of the Dutch territory, that in many places it is composed rather of a cluster of islands, than a continuous tract of dry land; and the inhabitants, from the constant necessity of traversing the water, in passing from one part of the country to another, and the large proportion of their subsistence and their wealth which they derive from its fisheries or its commerce, are almost entirely nautical in their habits. So general is the custom of looking to naval communication as the great means of intercourse, that when lakes or firths are wanting, the industry of the people has supplied artificial means of obtaining it; and a multitude of canals, cut in every direction, at once afford cheap and commodious channels for commerce, and furnish water for innumerable artificial cuts, by which the riches of irrigation are diffused over their extensive meadows. These broad expanses were originally sandy and sterile; but the pasturage of centuries has covered them with a thick coating of mingled animal and vegetable remains; and in no part of the world are more luxuriant crops of grass now obtained, or more skill evinced in the management of the dairy. The stormy waves of the German Ocean are only kept out from these low and grassy meads by dykes, constructed in former times at an incredible expense, and maintained in these by incessant vigilance and attention. There the barrier, raised by human hands,

"Spreads its long arm amidst the watery roar,
Scoops out an empire, and usurps the shore;

While the pent Ocean, rising o'er the pile,
Sees an amphibious world beneath him smile:
The slow canal, the yellow-blossom'd vale,
The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail,
The crowded mart, the cultivated plain,
A new creation rescued from his reign."

The slightest relaxation in the care of these dykes is speedily followed with fatal effects. An accidental fissure in the protecting sea-front, a rat's hole, or the displacing by a storm of a few feet of earth, if not immediately remedied, is sufficient to open an inlet to the external waters. Quickly they pour down to the lower level of the meadows; the entrance is rapidly widened by the force of the torrent; in a few hours a great breach is made in the rampart, the ocean rushes in in a torrent some hundred fathoms broad; the whole level surface is ere long covered by the waves, the houses are submerged, and the tops of the trees and spires of the villages appear like scattered islets amidst the waste of waters.

85. Dreadful catastrophes in former times have shown the reality and awful character of these dangers. Four centuries ago, the sea of Haarlem, which covers a space five leagues long by two and a half broad, was formed by the sea breaking through the dykes which restrained it. On the night of the 19th November 1421, during a violent storm, the sea-dyke of North Brabant gave way; the ocean rushed in, and before morning seventy villages had been submerged, a hundred thousand persons drowned, and twelve square leagues of fertile land converted into a watery waste, in which the remains of steeples and buildings may still be discerned in calm weather beneath the waves. The Dollart Sea, situated between the province of Groningen in North Holland and the territory of Hanover, which is eight leagues long and three broad, was formed by an inroad of the sea in 1277, which swallowed up thirty-three villages; and the great Zuyder Zee itself, thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, which covers a space as extensive as Yorkshire, was formed in 1225 by an irruption of the German Ocean, which broke through the line of sand-hills and dykes, the direction of which may still be clearly traced on

the map, by the long line of islands which mark the original frontier of North Holland.

"The floating vessel swam
Uplifted and secure, with beaked prow,
Rode tilting o'er the waves; all dwellings else
Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their
pomp
Deep under water roll'd: sea cover'd sea,
Sea without shore: and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters
whelp'd
And stabled." *

86. A country in this manner originally wrested, and still preserved by incessant efforts, from the waves, necessarily has had a peculiar character and specific manners impressed upon it by the all-powerful signet of nature. Strenuous efforts have won for man the land which he inhabits; ceaseless vigilance alone preserves it: and these lasting causes have communicated to the inhabitants habits and customs peculiarly their own. Constant exertion, persevering industry, vigilant circumspection, have become habitual from necessity, and still form the great characteristics of the country.† Their national character perhaps approaches more nearly to that of England than of any other people in Europe; but yet it is in some particulars widely different. It wants the fire and energy, the lofty spirit, and great aspirations, which have been communicated to the British race by their Danish and Norman conquerors; but it possesses the perseverance and industry, the honesty and good faith, the love of freedom and spirit of order, which, even more than their courage and capacity, are destined to give the Anglo-Saxon race the dominion of half the globe. The love of freedom has there existed, in general, in conjunction with its indispensable allies, order and religion. A methodical system pervades every branch of their social economy; community of interest retains the sailors and workmen in

* *Paradise Lost*, xi. 745.

† "Mores quos ante gerebant
Nunc quoque habent; parcumque genus pa-
tensque laborum,
Questisque tenax, et qui quæsitæ reserrent.
Hinc ad bellum pares armis, animisque se-
quentur."

Ovid, *Metam.*

willing obedience to their superiors. Order and frugality constitute the leading features of the higher class of their merchants. Religion is established in decent competence; pauperism relieved with discriminating humanity.

87. Nor have these admirable qualities been without their reward, both in former and recent times. Holland for centuries has exhibited a spectacle of social felicity and general virtue which might well put richer and greater nations to the blush, for the superior natural advantages which they have misapplied, and the boundless physical resources they have neglected. During the terrible contest which terminated in the establishment of the religious freedom of the sixteenth century, the United Provinces stood forth pre-eminent. The indomitable spirit of the house of Orange defeated successively the tyranny of Spain and the ambition of France; the sieges of Haarlem and Leyden, the repulse of Louis XIV. from the gates of Amsterdam, will remain to the end of the world enduring monuments of the almost supernatural constancy which the heroism of religious duty can inspire even in a pacific community. When England, deserting her natural post in the van of freedom, leagued with France to crush the religious liberties of Europe, that noble commonwealth strenuously and often successfully resisted. Its fleets burned the English ships in their harbours; its admirals swept the Channel in their pride; and the maritime struggle, the severest that England ever knew, was determined at length, less by the defeat of the followers of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, than by the voluntary return of British policy to the alliance, which duty equally with interest prescribed, with their sturdy antagonists on the waves. When the French Revolution broke out, and Holland, partly by external violence, partly through internal delusion, was subjugated by the all-conquering Republic, the moral tempest uprooted none of the bulwarks of order in that steady community. Jacobin cupidity in vain urged the insurgent multitude to deeds of spoliation;

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the government was changed, but no acts of ferocity were committed. The nation suffered and endured during the despotism of Napoleon, but abstained alike from imitating its rapacity or its oppression. And when at length the colossus of imperial power was overthrown, ancient habits were resumed, ancient influences re-established, without one deed of revenge being committed, or one tear, save in joy, being shed. The partisans, equally with the princes of the house of Orange, restored the former government with the glorious declaration " 'Orange Boven!' old times are returning: what we have suffered is forgotten and forgiven."

88. Achievements so wonderful, a history so glorious, could have been brought about, in a country enjoying so limited and sterile a territory, only by the energies of commercial enterprise and the resources of maritime wealth. It is the merchants and sailors of Holland who have, in every age, constituted alike in peace and war the strength and sinews of the state. Their industry and perseverance have discovered mines of wealth in every quarter of the globe. On the coast of Scotland they opened a fishery which yielded them two millions sterling annually, two centuries before that source of wealth was touched on by the Scotch people; in the West Indies their sagacity led to the discovery, and their industry to the cultivation, of the richest sugar colonies in existence; in the East they have acquired, and still retain, in Java, the noblest island in the Indian Archipelago. For centuries they engrossed nearly the whole carrying trade of the world; the vast colonial empire of Great Britain, and the disasters of the revolutionary war, alone wrested it in part from them during the late conflicts. The merchants of Amsterdam numbered all the sovereigns of Europe among their debtors. All the luxuries of the earth were wafted to their shores by the sails of their commerce; and the commercial influence of a state so small as to be scarcely distinguishable in a general map of the globe, was felt from one end of the world to the other. They

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have no vines; but they have more wine in their cellars than is to be found in the magazines of Bordeaux: they have no woods; but there is more timber in their dockyards than in the forests at the source of the Rhine and the Moselle: they have few arable fields; but they have more corn in their granaries than the inhabitants of Poland consume. There is more marble in their warehouses than ever was cut in the quarries of the Archipelago, more diamonds in their jewel-boxes than in the hands of the goldsmiths of Portugal or Brazil, and a greater quantity of rosewood, mahogany, and precious timber, than in all the rest of Europe, though their territory produces only willows and linden trees. More marvellous still, in the midst of this opulence, produced by commerce, there is hardly a beggar to be seen, nor a house in which there is a brick out, or a pane broken.

89. The old United Provinces, now forming the kingdom of Holland, enjoyed a very limited territory; they contained only 8326 square geographical miles, amounting to 2,814,000 hectares. This small and swampy territory is inhabited by 2,443,000 inhabitants, being in many places, particularly the province of Holland properly so called, the most densely peopled country in Europe.* Such, however, has been the vigour and enterprise of the Dutch, that this inconsiderable territory and population have acquired colonies in Africa, America, and the Indian Archipelago, inhabited by 9,426,000 souls, and extending over a superficies of 234,000 square miles; so that the kingdom of Holland now embraces, in all parts of the world, 12,000,000 of souls, and 244,000 square geographical miles of territory, or above two and a half times the whole area of Great Britain and Ireland, which contains

* This is the superficies and population of the old United Provinces; the modern kingdom of Holland has received, by the Treaty of Separation with Belgium in November 16, 1831, a considerable district of Limbourg and Luxembourg, inhabited by 331,000 souls; making the total population of the kingdom of Holland, in Europe, at this time, 2,775,000 souls; and its area in Europe, 3,252,000 hectares, or 9780 square geographical miles.—MALTE BRUN, vii. 46; and BALBI, 637.

91,000. Its income, according to the budget of 1836, was 85,000,000 francs (£3,400,000), its expenditure is now 105,000,000 francs, (£4,200,000), and its national debt, as fixed by the treaty of 1831, 559,000,000 francs, (£22,000,000)—so disastrous has been the burden of the costly naval and military establishment which the iniquitous partition of the kingdom of the Netherlands, by the revolutionary ambition of Great Britain and France in 1830, has occasioned.† Yet, in spite of this grievous load, such is the general confidence of all nations in the resources and good faith of the Dutch government, founded on centuries of probity and regularity of payment, that their funds are amongst the highest in Europe, and, although yielding hardly five per cent dividend, are sought after as a secure investment all over the world.

90. It is in the extraordinary industry and activity of the urban population of Holland, that the secret of these prodigious resources, existing in a country enjoying such very limited natural advantages, is to be found. The great towns of Holland are numerous,‡ indus-

† The total debt of the kingdom of the Netherlands was 1,196,625,000 fr., (£48,000,000); but of this immense sum 689,366,000 was, by the treaty of partition of 15th November 1831, fixed on Belgium, leaving 559,259,000 francs, or £22,400,000, to the charge of Holland.—MALTE BRUN, vii. 45, and *Treaty, 15th November 1831*; MARTEN'S *Nouvelle Serie*, ii. 398.

‡ The population of the principal towns in Holland is as follows:—

	Inhabitants.
Amsterdam,	220,000
The Hague,	49,000
Zwoll,	31,000
Rotterdam,	66,000
Utrecht,	86,000
Leyden,	29,000
Haarlem,	21,000
Dordrecht,	17,500
Leeuwarden,	17,000
Bois-le-Duc,	13,000
Breda,	11,000
Zaandam,	10,000
Bergen-op-Zoom,	6,000
Groningen,	24,000
Middleburg,	17,000
Delft,	14,000
Nimeguen,	13,000
Hoorn,	10,000
Deventer,	10,000
Flushing,	5,000

—MALTE BRUN, vii. 39.

trious, and wealthy, beyond those on a similar extent of territory in any other country of continental Europe. Considerable as they are in point of numerical amount of inhabitants, they are yet more remarkable from the vast commercial intercourse of which they have long been the emporium, and the many eminent men in literature and philosophy who have flourished within their walls. The numerous editions, dear to the student, which have issued from their printing-presses, and the glorious deeds in arms of which their ramparts have been the theatre, have given them a celebrity beyond what the magnitude of their population could otherwise have produced. The necessity of fortifications to protect their level and inconsiderable territory from the grasping ambition of France has caused all their cities to be surrounded with walls, nearly the whole of which, at least on the frontier towards the Scheldt, have been celebrated in military annals for obstinate and heroic sieges. Like the cities of Greece in ancient, or of the Italian republics in modern times, they have become immortal alike in arts and in arms. Every step in Holland and Flanders is historical; the shades of William and De Witt, of Marlborough, of Eugene, arise at every step; glorious recollections recur to the mind with every name.

91. Except in defending towns, when both the soldiers and citizens often evinced the most obstinate valour, the military force of the United Provinces, which seldom exceeded forty thousand regular forces, and which was generally only twenty-four, never acquired any great celebrity. It was the sea which was the theatre at once of their ambition, of their prowess, and of their glory. With the exception of the English, the Dutch sailors have always been the best in Europe; and if victory in the end inclined, in the desperate war with the United Provinces, to the British flag, it was less from any superiority in the seamen, than from the greater physical resources which a larger territory and wider colonial dominions brought to the arms of this country. No period, even in the bright annals of the

English navy, has yet equalled the extraordinary and patriotic efforts made by the Dutch when assailed by the combined fleets of Louis XIV. and Charles II.; for England never had to withstand so overwhelming a superiority of force. Fleets of forty and fifty ships of the line were then repeatedly fitted out by the Republic, which combated, always with glory, often with success, the yet more numerous combined squadrons of France and England, led by the valiant Duke of York. When the war broke out in 1793, the United Provinces had still forty-nine ships of the line, and seventy frigates and smaller vessels; though a large proportion of the former bore only sixty-four and fifty-six guns. But such were the calamities in which they became involved from the Revolutionary war, that at this time, notwithstanding the acquisition of a third of the Scheldt fleet by the treaty of 1814, the King of Holland possesses only five ships of the line, and nineteen frigates.

92. The government and social institutions of Holland, under the old commonwealth, were very peculiar, and different from those of any other republic which ever existed. The people had all a share in the administration of public affairs; but they had so, not as individuals, but in their separate incorporations, guildries, or trades; and in these the distribution of power was so arranged that influence was nearly entirely centred in the burgomasters and heads of the different bodies. But these heads of incorporations or magistrates of towns did not constitute a hereditary exclusive aristocracy, as in Venice or Genoa; they were composed of persons who had risen by their wealth and frugality to eminence in their several crafts, or acquired the lead in them by their probity and good conduct. Thus, though the working classes had scarcely any share in the actual appointment of government, yet no sullen line of demarcation debarred them from it. The career of industry was accessible to all; but none could obtain influence except such as had acquired property. The institutions of Holland in this manner combined that opening of the path of

public eminence to the whole people, which Napoleon described as the great want which led to the French Revolution, with that arrangement of the citizens in their separate classes, and according to their realised estates, which the Romans accomplished by their centuries, and Mr Burke described as the true principle of a conservative democracy.* It is in these institutions that the real cause of the stability and good faith of their government, and the tranquil, industrious character of their people, is to be found.

93. The preceding account of this interesting commonwealth will not, by the reflecting mind, be deemed misplaced even in a work of general history. It is not merely by magnitude of territory, or numbers of inhabitants, that the importance of a country is to be measured. The wisdom of institutions, the heroism of actions, the patriotism of the people, constitute the only real passport to immortality. Judging by this standard, the United Provinces will take a place second only to France and Britain in European history. Amidst the multiplied scenes of carnage, the sickening deeds of iniquity which have ever characterised democratic ascendancy in the world, it is refreshing to find one instance in which a commonwealth has existed independent for centuries, unchanged alike in its character and its institutions; in which order has co-existed with freedom, social happiness with national independence, heavy public burdens with unshaken national faith. It encourages the pleasing hope, that means may yet be found of reconciling the contending interests of society; of elevating labour

without destroying property, of affording protection without encouraging license, and opening industry without inducing equality.

94. But most of all, the British historian feels himself called upon to render such an act of justice to the United Provinces. Twice in English history—during periods which he would willingly blot from its annals—England, in violation alike of its plighted faith and its obvious interests, has united with France for the oppression of Holland: once in the seventeenth century, when bought by French gold; once in the nineteenth, when deluded by French democracy. The British historian cannot restore to the house of Orange the kingdom of the Netherlands, guaranteed by his government in the treaty of Vienna; nor the citadel of Antwerp, reft from its dominions by the arms of his country. But he can, with sorrow, confess a breach of national honour equalling the partition of Poland in its injustice, and an error in policy exceeding Joseph's destruction of the barrier towns in its inexpediency. And if these lines should meet the eye of a citizen of that ancient and memorable republic, it may afford him some consolation to discover, that there are men in England who can characterise with equal severity injustice committed under their own flag, as beneath the banners of their enemies; and see, in the impartial administration of Providence, the same justice dealt out to his own as to foreign usurpation. He must be blind, indeed, who does not discern, in the fierce demand for the Repeal of the Union, which so soon after threatened dismemberment to the British empire, the natural consequence and just punishment of that iniquitous interference to support a Romish rebellion, and effect the partition of an ancient ally, which, bringing the arms of England, for the first time recorded in history, into a league with Roman Catholic fanaticism and French propagandism, has succeeded in converting the barrier of Europe against France into the outwork of France against Europe, and restoring Antwerp, the fulcrum of Napoleon against Britain, to a revolutionary,

* "There is no ground for holding a *multitude, told by head, to be the People*. Such a multitude can have no sort of title to alter the seat of power in any country; in which it ever ought to be the obedient and not the ruling power. What power may belong to the whole mass, in which mass the natural aristocracy, or what by convention is appointed to represent and strengthen it, *acts in its proper place*, with its proper weight, and without being subjected to violence, is a deeper question. In that case, and with that concurrence, no such rash or desperate changes as we have witnessed in France could ever be effected."—*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*—Burke's Works, vi. 323.

dynasty, and the sway of the tricolor flag.*

95. At the end of December, the Meuse being entirely frozen over, and the cold as low as 17° below zero of Reaumur, corresponding to 6° below zero of Fahrenheit, the French army commenced its winter campaign by an attack on two columns of the Dutch advanced posts. The result was what might have been expected from an irruption into a cordon of troops by concentrated forces. The Dutch troops, after a slight resistance, fled in confusion, some to Utrecht and others to Gorcum, leaving sixty pieces of cannon, and sixteen hundred prisoners, in the hands of the invaders. In the general confusion, the Republicans even made themselves masters of some forts on the Waal, and crossed that river; but the stream being not yet passable for heavy artillery, Pichegru withdrew, in the first instance, his troops to the left bank. But meanwhile the right of the Dutch position was assailed by the French, one brigade driven into Williamstadt, another made prisoners, and the investment of Breda completed. On the following day Grave capitulated, after an honourable resistance of two months, and a bombardment of three weeks, from famine; a noble example, the more worthy of admiration from its having occurred in the middle of the general consternation, and after numerous instances of shameful dereliction of duty on the part of the Dutch troops.

96. So many disasters produced their usual effect in sowing dissension among the allied generals. Walmoden was desirous of concentrating his forces on the Waal between Nimeguen and St André,

to make head against the French, who were preparing to cross that river; but the Prince of Orange insisted on the allied forces approaching Gorcum, in order to cover the direct road to Amsterdam, where the Republican agents had been long preparing a revolutionary movement, and an explosion was daily expected. Thus thwarted in the only rational mode of carrying on the campaign, and despairing of making head against the greatly superior forces of the enemy, Walmoden resolved to abandon the United Provinces to their fate, and, with a view to secure his retreat to Hanover, concentrated the British forces behind the Linge, and covered them on the left by the Austrian contingents. Orders were at the same time given to abandon the line of the Waal, as soon as the enemy should present themselves in force for the passage of that river. But an unexpected panic having occurred in the division intrusted with the park of artillery near Tiel, it became evident that this position, in the dejected state of the army, was not tenable; and the troops, with the exception of a small vanguard, were withdrawn behind the Rhine.

97. Despairing of their situation after the departure of the British army, the States-General made proposals of peace to the French government, offering, as an inducement, to recognise the Republic, and pay down two hundred millions of francs. The overtures were in the highest degree desirable, as the success of the invasion depended entirely on the continuance of the frost, and an accommodation with Holland would disengage fifty thousand men for operations on the Rhine; but the Committee of Public Salvation, carried away by their extraordinary success, and desirous, at all hazards, of establishing a revolutionary government in Holland, haughtily rejected them, and ordered Pichegru instantly to invade that devoted country. The continuance of the frost, which had now set in with more severity than had been known for a hundred years, gave an unlooked-for success to this ambitious determination. On the 8th January the French army crossed the Waal, then almost com-

* O'Connell, in his speeches in Ireland in 1842 and 1843, to forward the cause of the Repeal of the Union, frequently alluded to the separation of Belgium from Holland, as at once a proof of what a nation determined to recover its rights could do, and an example which should and might be followed in the British empire. It is not surprising that he did so, and that the reference produced the greatest effect on his audience; for it was an instance of a successful and forcible repeal of a union of two kingdoms, the one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic, brought about by the combined efforts of Romish fanaticism and revolutionary fervour,—the very passions by which Ireland has so long been desolated.

pletely frozen, at various points, which was facilitated by the capture of Tiel by General Moreau. A successful battle alone could now save the Dutch republic; but the dejected state of the army, suffering under the extremity of cold and hardship, with the thermometer at 17° below zero of Reaumur, rendered this a hopeless alternative. Walmoden, therefore, abandoned Holland altogether, and, retiring to the line of the Issel from Arnheim to Zutphen, left the United Provinces to their fate.

98. The situation of the Stadtholder was now in the highest degree embarrassing. Abandoned by the army of General Walmoden, unable with his single forces to make head against the torrent of the Republican forces; distracted by the divisions in all the great towns in his rear, and daily expecting a revolution at Amsterdam, the Prince of Orange resolved to abandon the republic altogether, and embark for England. With this view he presented himself before the States-General, and, after declaring that he had done his utmost to save the country, but without success, avowed his resolution of retiring from the command, and recommended to them to make a separate peace with the enemy. On the following day he embarked at Scheveningen, and the States immediately issued an order to their soldiers to cease all resistance to the invaders, and despatched ambassadors to the headquarters of Pichegru to propose terms of peace. Meanwhile the French generals, anxious to avoid the appearance of subjugating the Dutch, were pausing in their career of success, in expectation of revolutionary movements manifesting themselves in the principal towns. General Daendels wrote to the leaders of the insurrection—"The representatives of France are desirous that the Dutch people should enfranchise themselves; they will not subdue them as conquerors; they are only waiting till the inhabitants of Haarlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam, rise in a body, and unite themselves to their brethren who have taken the lead at Bois-le-Duc." The receipt of this offer raised to the utmost height the public effervescence at Amsterdam.

The popular party of 1787 assembled in great numbers, and besieged the burgo-masters in the town-hall; the advanced guard of the French army was already at the gates; terror seized the bravest hearts; the magistrates resigned their authority; the democratic leaders were installed in their stead: the tricolor flag was hoisted on the Hotel de Ville; and the Republican troops, amidst the shouts of the multitude, entered the city.

99. The conquest of this rich and powerful capital, which had defied the whole power of Louis XIV., and imposed such severe conditions on France at the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, was of immense importance to the French government. Utrecht, Leyden, Haarlem, and all the other towns of the republic, underwent a similar revolution. Everywhere the lower classes of the people received the French soldiers as deliverers: the power of the Convention soon extended from the Pyrenees to the northern extremity of Friesland. The immense naval resources, the vast wealth which ages of independence had accumulated in the United Provinces, lay at the mercy of the Convention. This great revolution, to the honour of the democratic party be it recorded, was accomplished without bloodshed, or any of the savage cruelty which had stained the first efforts of a free spirit in France—a signal example of the influence of free institutions in softening the asperity of civil dissension, calculated to alleviate many of the gloomy anticipations which the annals of the French Revolution might otherwise produce.

100. These successes were soon followed by others, if possible still more marvellous. On the same day on which General Daendels had entered Amsterdam, the left wing of the army, after passing the lake of Biesbosch on the ice, made themselves masters of the great arsenal of Dordrecht, containing six hundred pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, and immense stores of ammunition. The same division immediately after passed through Rotterdam, and took possession of the Hague, where the States-General were assem-

bled. To complete the wonders of the campaign, a body of cavalry and flying artillery crossed the Zuyder Zee on the ice, and summoned the fleet, lying frozen up at the Texel. The commanders, confounded at the hardihood of the enterprise, surrendered their ships to this novel species of assailants. At the same time the province of Zealand capitulated to the French troops; and the right wing of the army, continuing its successes, compelled the British to abandon the line of the Issel; Friesland and Groningen were successively evacuated, and the whole United Provinces overrun by the Republican arms. The British government, finding the services of the Hanoverians useless on the Continent, dismissed them to their native country; and the British, embarked on board their ships, speedily carried the terror of their arms to the remotest colonies of the Indian seas.

101. The discipline of the French soldiers, during this campaign, contributed as much as their valour to these astonishing successes. Peaceable citizens, converted into soldiers by the decree of September 1793, were rapidly inured to the restraints and the subordination of discipline: after eight months of marches and combats, they undertook, without murmuring, a winter campaign; destitute of almost everything, from the extreme depression of the paper money,* in which they received their pay, they crossed numerous streams amid the severest weather, and penetrated, after a month's bivouacking, to Amsterdam, without having committed the slightest disorder. The inhabitants of that wealthy capital, justly apprehensive of pillage from the entrance of so necessitous a body, were astonished to see ten regiments of soldiers, half naked, defile through the streets to the sound of military music, pile their arms in the midst of ice and snow, and calmly wait, as in their own metropolis, the quarters and barracks

assigned for their lodging. It was such conduct as this which spread so widely the general illusion in favour of republican institutions. But the Dutch were not long in being awakened to sad realities from their deceitful dream. Forty of their ships of war had been withdrawn with the Prince of Orange, and were lodged in the British ports; the remaining fifty were immediately taken possession of by the Republicans for the service of the French. The credit of the famous Bank of Amsterdam was violently shaken, and owed its withstanding the shock to the intervention of government; commerce was entirely destroyed by the British blockade; forced requisitions, to an immense amount, of clothing, stores, and provisions, gave the people a foretaste of the sweets of military dominion; while a compulsory regulation, which compelled the shopkeepers to accept of the depreciated French assignats at the rate of nine sous for a franc, restored the army to abundance, by throwing the loss arising from the depreciation, to their infinite horror, upon the inhabitants of the enfranchised capital.

To complete the picture of this memorable campaign, it is only necessary to recount the concluding operations on the Upper Rhine and the Alps.

102. The check at Kayserslautern having induced the French government to reinforce their troops on the German frontier, ten thousand men were withdrawn from Savoy, and fifteen thousand from La Vendée, to augment the armies on the Rhine. By the middle of June the armies on that river amounted to 114,000 men, of whom fifty thousand were on the lower part of the stream, forty thousand on the upper, and twenty-four thousand in the Vosges mountains. The Committee of Public Salvation incessantly impressed upon General Michaud, who commanded them, the necessity of taking the initiative, by renewing his attacks without intermission, and of acting in large masses; but that general, not sufficiently aware of the new species of warfare which the Republicans had commenced, adhered to the old system of a parallel attack along the whole line.

* The soldiers being still paid in assignats, the pay of an officer, from their depreciation, was only equal in real value to three francs, or half-a-crown, a-month. In 1796, one-third was paid in specie, which raised the income of a captain to seventy francs, or three pounds sterling, a-month.—JOMINI, vi. 214.

This action took place on the 2d July, and led to no decisive result. The enemy were touched at all points, but vigorously pushed at none; and one thousand men were lost to the Republicans without any advantage. Upon receiving intelligence of this check, Carnot renewed his orders to Michaud to concentrate his forces, and act by columns on particular points. A fortnight after, the attack was renewed, and, by a concentrated effort against the centre of the allied position, their whole army was compelled to retire. The Republicans advanced in pursuit as far as Frankenthal, and resumed the line of the Rehbach, abandoned at the commencement of the campaign. In this affair the Allies lost three thousand men, and the spirit of victory was transferred to the other side.

103. Both parties remained in a state of inactivity after this contest, until the beginning of August, when the army of the Moselle, being reinforced by fifteen thousand choice troops from La Vendée, and raised to forty thousand men, made a forward movement, and occupied Treves. But while this was going forward, the Prussian army, instructed by their recent disaster, and observing the dispersed position of the French army in the valley of the Rhine, made a sudden attack with twenty-five thousand men upon the division of General Meynier at Kayerslautern, totally defeated them, and drove them back with the loss of four thousand men. Had this success been vigorously supported, it might have led to the most important results, and totally changed the fate of the campaign; but not being followed up by the bulk of the allied force, which still preserved its extended position, it produced only a temporary consternation in the French armies. In effect, such was the inactivity of the allied generals, and their obstinate adherence to the system of positions, that they allowed the army of the Moselle, not forty thousand strong, to remain undisturbed in Treves for two months, though flanked on one side by sixty-five thousand Prussians and Austrians, who occupied the Palatinate, and on the other by eighty thousand

Imperialists, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Luxembourg. At length, in the beginning of October, the Committee of Public Salvation directed the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine to unite and expel the Allies from the Palatinate. This junction having been effected, and the retreat of Clairfait beyond the Rhine having exposed their right flank to be turned, the Prussians fell back to Mayence, and crossed to the right bank by its bridge of boats. That important fortress was soon after invested; Rheinfels, contrary to the most express orders, was evacuated, and the old Marshal Bender shut up in the great fortress of Luxembourg with ten thousand men. The rigours of the season, and the contagious diseases incident to the great accumulation of young soldiers, soon filled the hospitals; and the Republican armies were more severely weakened by the mortality of their winter rest, than they would have been by the losses of the most harassing summer campaign.

104. In Savoy, the great detachments made in June to reinforce the army of the Rhine, reduced the French armies to the defensive; and they confined their efforts to maintaining their position till the falling of the snows on the summits of the Alps, from the neighbourhood of Gex to the valley of the Stura. The plan of Buonaparte for the invasion of Piedmont by the valley of the Stura was not adopted by the Committee of Public Salvation, and the breathing-time thus afforded them enabled the court of Turin to recover from their consternation. Not disconcerted by this, Buonaparte presented a second plan to the government, the object of which was to move forward the army of Italy to Demonte, and, after reducing that place, he proposed to advance to the valley of Coni, while sixteen thousand men, from the army of the Alps, covered their operations. The result of this would have been, that fifty thousand men would have taken up their winter-quarters on the southern side of the Alps. The fall of Robespierre prevented the execution of this plan, and postponed for two years the glories of the Italian campaign. Con-

fined by the orders of the new government to defensive measures, the army of the Alps yet gained a brilliant advantage, by defeating a corps of ten thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, who had advanced, in concert with the British fleet, against Savona, in order to cut off the communication between the Republicans and the state of Genoa, from which their principal resources were derived. After this success both parties retired into their winter-quarters, and the snows of that rigorous season there, as elsewhere, gave repose to the contending armies.

105. The contest in the west of France, which a little humanity on the part of the government would have completely terminated after the victories of Savenay and Mans, was rekindled during this year by the atrocious severities exercised towards the vanquished. The state of La Vendée at this period is thus painted by an eyewitness attached to the Republican armies: "I did not see a single male being at the towns of Saint Amand, Chantonay, or Herbiers. A few women alone had escaped the Republican sword. Country-seats, once so numerous in that country, farm-houses, cottages—in fine, habitations of every sort, had been reduced to ashes. The herds and flocks were wandering in terror around their usual places of shelter, now smoking in ruins, and lowing in vain for the hands which were wont to feed them. At night, the flickering and dismal blaze of conflagration afforded light over the whole country. The bleating of the disturbed flocks, and the bellowings of the terrified cattle, were drowned in the hoarse notes of the ravens, and the howling of the wolves and other wild animals who had been attracted from afar to the scene of slaughter. As I journeyed in the night, guided by the uncertain light of the flames, a distant column of fire, widening and increasing as I approached, served as a beacon. It was the town of Mortagne in flames. When I arrived there, no living creatures were to be seen except a few wretched women, who were striving to save some remnants of their property during the general conflagration." These

appalling cruelties were universal, and produced the usual effect of such excessive and uncalled-for severity. The infernal columns of Thurreau, the Noyades of Carrier, drove the Vendéans to desperation. "*Nulla spes victis si non desperare salutem*"* became the principle of a new war, if possible more murderous and disastrous than the former. But it was conducted on a different principle. Broken and dispersed by the Republican forces, pierced in every direction by the infernal columns, the Vendéans were unable to collect any considerable body of forces; but from amidst their woods and fastnesses, they maintained in detached parties an undaunted resistance. Stofflet and Charette continued, after the death of the other chiefs, to direct their efforts, though their mutual jealousy prevented any operations of considerable importance, and led them to sacrifice to their ambition the gallant M. de Marigny, one of the most intrepid and constant of the Royalist leaders.

106. In the spring of 1794, General Thurreau established sixteen intrenched camps round the insurgent district; but the detachment of twenty-five thousand men from La Vendée to the Pyrenees and the Moselle having compelled him to remain on the defensive, the Royalists took advantage of the respite thus afforded to reorganise their forces. Forty thousand men, including two thousand horse, were soon under arms in this unconquerable district, with which Charette stormed three of the intrenched camps, and put their garrisons to the sword. Meanwhile the severities of the Republicans, in persecuting the peasants of Brittany who sheltered the fugitive Vendéans, kindled a new and terrible warfare in that extensive province, which, under the name of the Chouan War, long consumed the vitals and paralysed the forces of the Republic. The nobles of that district, Puisaye, Bourmont, Georges Cadouhal, and others, commenced a guerilla struggle with murderous effect, and soon, on a space of twelve hundred square leagues, thirty

* "No hope to the vanquished, but in the efforts of despair."—SALLUST.

thousand men were in arms in detached parties of two or three thousand each.

107. Brittany, intersected by woody ridges, abounding with hardy smugglers, ardently devoted to the Royalist cause, and containing a population of 2,500,000 souls, afforded far greater resources for the Royalist cause than the desolated La Vendée, which never could boast of a third of that number of inhabitants. Puisaye was the soul of the insurrection. Proscribed by the Convention, with a price set upon his head, wandering from chateau to chateau, from cottage to cottage, he became acquainted with the spirit of the Bretons, and their inextinguishable hatred of the Convention. Perceiving the elements of resistance thus rife, he conceived the bold design of hoisting the royal standard again amidst its secluded fastnesses. His indefatigable activity, energetic character, and commanding eloquence, eminently qualified this intrepid chief to become the leader of a party, and soon brought all the other Breton nobles to range themselves under his standard. Early in 1794, he opened a communication with the British government, and strongly urged the immediate landing of an expedition of ten thousand men, with arms and ammunition, with which he answered for the re-establishment of the Royalist cause. So formidable did this war soon become, that, according to an official report of Carnot, before the end of the year there were no less than a hundred and twenty thousand Republicans on the shores of the ocean, of whom above eighty thousand were in active warfare. Even in Normandy, the seeds of revolt were beginning to manifest themselves; and detached parties of Royalists showed themselves between the Loire and the Seine, and struck terror into Paris itself. "On considering this state of affairs," says Jomini, "it is evident that there existed over all the west of France powerful elements of resistance, and that, if they had been united under one head, and seconded by the allied powers, it was by no means impossible to have restored the Royalist cause." Had the Duke d'Enghien, with a few thousand men, landed in Brittany, and

established a council, directing alike Puisaye, Bernier, Stofflet, Sapinaud, Scapeaux, and others, so as to combine their energies for one common object, instead of acting, as they did, without any concert in detached quarters, it is impossible to calculate what the result might have been. It is painful to think what at that crisis might have been effected, had fifteen thousand troops from Britain formed the nucleus of an army, made the Royalists masters of some of the fortified seaport towns with which the coast abounded, and lent to the insurgents the aid of her fleet and the terrors of her name.

108. Such was the memorable campaign of 1794, one of the most glorious in the annals of France—not the least memorable in the history of the world. Beginning on every side under disastrous or critical circumstances, it terminated with universal glory to the Republic. The Allies, at its commencement, were besieging, and soon captured, the last of the Flemish frontier towns; the Republican forces on the Rhine were unable to make head against their adversaries; the Alps were still in the possession of the Sardinian troops, and severe disasters had checkered the campaign at both extremities of the Pyrenees. At its conclusion, the Spaniards, defeated both in Biscay and Catalonia, were suing for peace; the Piedmontese, driven over the summit of the Alps, were trembling for their Italian possessions; the allied forces had everywhere recrossed the Rhine; Flanders was subdued, La Vendée all but vanquished, Holland revolutionised, and the British auxiliaries had fled for refuge into the states of Hanover. From a state of depression greater than in the darkest era of Louis XIV., France had passed at once to triumphs greater than had graced the proudest period of his reign.

109. But these immense successes had not been gained without proportionate losses, and it was already evident that the enormous sacrifices by which they had been achieved could not be continued for any length of time without inducing national ruin. During the course of the campaign the Republic had strained every nerve. Seven-

teen hundred thousand men had at one time been enrolled by sea and land under its banners; and at its close, a million were still numbered in the rolls of the army. But of this great force only six hundred thousand were actually under arms; the remainder encumbered the hospitals, or were scattered in a sickly or dying state in the villages on the line of the army's march. The disorder in the commissariat, and departments intrusted with the clothing and equipment of the troops, had risen to the highest pitch: hardly any exertions could have provided for the wants of such a multitude of armed men, and the cupidity or selfishness of the Revolutionary agents had diverted great part of the funds destined for these objects to the augmentation of their private fortunes. It increases our admiration for the soldiers of the Republic, when we recollect that their triumphs were generally achieved without magazines, tents, or equipments of any kind; that the armies, destitute of everything, bivouacked in the most rigorous season equally with the mildest, and that the innumerable multitudes who issued from its frontiers almost always provided for their daily wants from the country through which they passed.

110. Nothing could have enabled the French government to make head against such expenses, but the system of assignats, which in effect, for the time, gave them the disposal of all the wealth of France.* The funds on which this enormous paper circulation was based, embracing all the confiscated property in the kingdom, in lands, houses, and movables, were estimated at fifteen milliards of francs, or above £600,000,000 sterling; but in the distracted state of the country, few purchasers could be found for such im-

mense national domains, and therefore the security, for all practical purposes, was merely nominal. The consequence was, that the assignat fell to one-twelfth of its real value; in other words, an assignat for twenty-four francs was worth only two francs; that is, a note for a pound was worth only 1s. 8d. As all the payments, both to and by government, were made in this depreciated currency, and as it constituted the chief, and in many places the sole circulation of the country, the losses to creditors or receivers of money of every description became enormous; and, in fact, the public expenses were defrayed out of the chasm made in private fortunes. It was evident that such a state of things could not continue permanently; and accordingly the national exhaustion appeared in the campaign of 1795, and the Republic would have sunk under the failure of its financial resources in a few years, had not the genius of Napoleon discovered a new mode of maintaining the armies, and, by making war maintain war, converted a suffering defensive into an irresistible aggressive power.

111. At the commencement of the campaign the Allies were an overmatch for the French at every point, and the superiority of their discipline was more especially evident in the movements and attacks of large masses. That their enterprises were not conducted with skill; that they suffered under the jealousies and divisions of the cabinets which directed their movements; and that, by adhering to the ruinous system of extending their forces, and a war of positions, they threw away all the advantages which might have arisen from the number and experience of their forces, must appear evident to the most careless observer. The fate of the campaign in Flanders was decided by the detachment of Jourdan, with forty thousand men from the Meuse, to reinforce the army of the Sambre; what, then, might have been expected, if Cobourg had early concentrated his forces for a vigorous attack in Flanders, or the immense masses which lay inactive on the Rhine been brought to bear on the general fortune of the campaign?

* The monthly expenses of the war had risen to 200,000,000 francs, or £8,000,000, while the income was only 60,000,000, or £2,400,000; an enormous deficit, amounting to £67,200,000 in the year, which was supplied only by the incessant issue of paper money, bearing, by law, a forced circulation. There were 7,600,000,000 of francs, or £300,000,000 in circulation; the sum in the treasury was still 500,000,000, or £20,000,000; so that the amount issued by government was eight milliards, or £320,000,000 sterling.—TOUL. v. 194; TA. vii. 239.

112. But it may be doubted whether, by any exertions, the allied cause could have been finally made triumphant in France at this period. The time for energetic measures was past; the revolutionary fever was burning with full fury, and fifteen hundred thousand men were in arms to defend the Republic. By bringing up column after column to the attack; by throwing away with merciless prodigality the lives of the conscripts; by sparing neither blood nor treasure to accomplish their objects; by drawing without scruple upon the wealth of one-half of France by confiscation, and of the other by assignats, the Committee of Public Salvation had produced a force which was for the time unconquerable. By a more energetic and combined system of warfare, the Allies might have broken through the frontier on more than one point, and wrested from the Republic her frontier fortresses; but they would probably have found, in the heart of the country, a resistance which would in the end have proved their ruin. What might have been easily done by vigorous measures in 1792 or 1793, could not have been accomplished by any exertions in 1794, after the great levies of the Convention had come into the field, and the energy of revolution was turned into military confidence by the successes which had concluded the preceding campaign.

113. It deserves notice, too, what signal benefit accrued to France in this campaign from its central position, and the formidable barrier of fortified towns with which it was surrounded. By possessing an interior, while the Allies were compelled to act on an exterior line, the French government was enabled to succour the weak parts of their frontier, and could bring their troops to bear in overwhelming masses on one point; while their opponents, moving round a larger circumference, charged with the protection of different kingdoms, and regulated by distant and often discordant cabinets, were unable to make corresponding movements to resist them. Thus, the transference of the troops which conquered at Toulon to the Eastern Pyrenees; of the divisions of the

army of Savoy to the Rhine; of Jourdan's corps to the Sambre; and of the garrison of Mayence to Nantes—the immediate causes of the successes in Catalonia, the Palatinate, Flanders, and La Vendée—successively took place, without any corresponding movement having been made in the troops opposed to them, to reinforce the threatened quarters. Each division of the allied forces, delighted at being relieved from the pressure under which it had previously suffered, relapsed into a state of inactivity, without ever recollecting that, with an active and enterprising enemy, a serious defeat at one point was a disaster at all.

114. The Archduke Charles has said, that the great superiority of France, in a military point of view, arises from the chain of fortresses with which it is surrounded, whereby it is enabled, with equal facility, to throw delays in the way of an invasion of its own, and to find a solid base for an irruption into its neighbours' territories; and that the want of such a barrier on the right bank of the Rhine is the principal defect in the system of German defence. The campaign of 1794 affords a striking confirmation of this observation. After having driven the French forces, during the campaign of 1793, from the field, and compelled them to seek shelter in intrenched camps or fortified towns, the Allies were so much impeded by the siege of the fortresses which lay in their road, that they were compelled to halt in their career of success; and France had time to complete the vast armaments which afterwards proved so fatal to Europe. When the Republic, on the other hand, became the invading power in 1794, the want of any fortified towns to resist their progress enabled them to overrun Flanders, and drive the Allies in a few weeks beyond the Rhine. This consideration is of vital importance, both in the estimate of the relative power of France and the neighbouring states, and in all measures intended to restrain its ambitious projects. It was the same in ancient times. The Roman armies, unable to withstand the cavalry of Hannibal in the field, found a respite from

their disasters, after the slaughter of Cannæ, in the numerous fortified towns with which Italy was studded. From the moment that the war from one of battles became one of sieges, the fortune of the Carthaginian conqueror began to waver; and the mighty torrent which had rolled with impetuous fury from the Ebro to the Tiber, was lost in surmounting the inconsiderable fortresses of Campania and Apulia.

115. There are few spectacles in nature so sublime as that of a people bravely combating for their liberties against a powerful and vindictive enemy. That spectacle was exhibited in the most striking manner by the French nation during this campaign. The same impartial justice which condemns with unmeasured severity the bloody internal, must admire the dignified and resolute external conduct of the Convention. With unbending firmness, though often with atrocious cruelty, they coerced alike internal revolt and foreign violence; and, selecting out of the in-

numerable ranks of their defenders the most worthy, laid the foundation of that illustrious school of military chiefs who afterwards sustained the fortunes of the empire. It is melancholy to be obliged to admit, that it was their cruelty which was one cause of their triumphs; and that the fortunes of the Republic might have sunk under its difficulties, but for the inflexible severity with which its government overawed the discontented. The iron rule of Terror undoubtedly drew out of the agonies of the state the means of its ultimate deliverance. The impartial justice of Providence apparently made that terrific period the means of punishing the national sins of both the contending parties; and while the sufferings of the empire were the worthy retribution of its cruelty, and the necessary consequences of its injustice, the triumphs to which they led brought deserved chastisement on those powers who had sought, in that suffering, the means of unjust aggrandisement.

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR IN POLAND.

1. PROVIDENCE has so interwoven human affairs, that, when we wish to retrace the revolutions of a people, and to investigate the causes of their grandeur or misfortunes, we are insensibly conducted, step by step, to their cradle. The slightest consideration of the history of Poland must be sufficient to prove that that great nation, always combating, often victorious, but never securing its conquests, never obtaining the blessings of a stable government, has from the earliest times been on the decline. It emerged from the shock which overthrew the Roman empire, valiant, powerful, and extensive; from that hour it has invariably drooped, until at length it became the victim of

its ancient provinces. The kingdom of Poland formerly extended from the Borysthènes to the Danube, and from the Euxine to the Baltic. The Sarmatia of the ancients, it embraced within its bosom the original seat of those nations which subverted the Roman empire: Prussia, Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary, the Ukraine, Courland, Livonia, are all fragments of its mighty dominion. The Goths, who appeared as suppliants on the Danube, and were ferried across by Roman hands, never to recede; the Huns, who under Attila spread desolation through the empire; the Slavonians, who overran the greater part of Europe—emerged from its vast and uncultivated plains. But its sub-

sequent progress has but ill corresponded to such a commencement. While, in all other states, liberty, riches, power, and glory, have advanced with equal steps, and the victories of one age have contributed to the advancement of that which succeeded it, in Poland alone the greatest triumphs have been immediately succeeded by the greatest reverses; the establishment of internal freedom has led to nothing but external disaster, and the deliverer of Europe in one age was in the next swept from the book of nations.

2. The name of Poland, derived from the word signifying a plain (*pole*), expresses its real geographical character. It consists almost entirely of an immense level surface, which extends—with the exception only of a range of low hills that, to the south of Volhynia, branch out from the Carpathian mountains—from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Euxine. Part of this vast expanse is composed of rich alluvial soil, but the greater part of it is a sandy plain, of a dark red colour on the shores of the sea, but white in the interior of the country. Pomerania, part of Denmark, and nearly the whole of Prussia, formerly provinces of Poland, consist of the same sandy flat. The waves of the ocean, or of floods which, in former revolutions of the globe, have rolled over this wide extent of level ground, have strewed its surface with huge blocks of granite and other rocks foreign to the Polish territory, which have evidently been brought from a great distance; and in many places vast collections of bones of the elephant, the rhinoceros, and other tropical animals, as well as the mammoth, the mastodon, and other monsters, the race of which is now extinct upon the earth, are found, and attract the wonder alike of the illiterate peasant and learned observer of nature. This immense plain nowhere rises more than a few hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the ascent to the most elevated part is so gradual as to be imperceptible, save from the direction of the rivers, which are very numerous, and form a remarkable feature in the country.

3. Notwithstanding this general flat

surface, the summit-level of the country is very distinctly marked, from the one side of which the waters flow to the Euxine, from the other to the Baltic Sea. This summit-level itself, however, is not in general a ridge, or range of hills, but a swampy expanse, in the marshes of which the principal streams of the country take their rise; and, as with the rivers Amazons and Orinoco in the pampas of South America, the surface between their sources is so flat that in floods they communicate with each other. This is particularly the case with the Pripeca, a tributary of the Dnieper, which in spring is connected with the feeders of the Bug and the Niemen. The principal rivers which descend from the southern declivity of this marshy plateau are the Dniester and the Dnieper, with the great tributary of the latter, the Bug; to the north flows the Vistula, which, taking its rise in the Carpathian mountains, after being swelled by fifty tributary streams, such as the San, the Pilica, and the Narew, rolls its ample waves to the Baltic. One of these, the San, rises under the shade of a huge oak, which overhangs on the other side the fountains of the Theisse and of the Stry, which are among the principal sources of the Dniester. The Vartha and the Niemen traverse also the northern plains of Poland; and their waters, flowing in a bed but little depressed below the general surface of the adjacent country, frequently overflow, and convert the whole plain, to a considerable distance on either side, into a great lake. On the other hand, the Dniester and the Dnieper, and the other rivers which descend towards the Euxine, meander in deep beds, having steep banks of rock or gravel, which restrain their ample currents even in the greatest floods, and render the general surface of the adjacent country comparatively dry and salubrious.

4. Poland has few minerals in its bosom, a peculiarity which frees it equally from the wealth consequent on the working of mines, and the social depravity which such operations seldom fail, in the end, to induce in their train. For this defect, however, it

has received more than a compensation in the broad expanse of its level surface, and the general fertility of its soil. The plains of the Ukraine, or of Poland south of the ridge which divides the flowing of its waters, have long been celebrated for their extraordinary and surpassing fertility, and like the Delta of Egypt, or the plain of Mesopotamia, yield the richest crops with very little care from the husbandman. Podolia, also, on the southern declivity of Poland, hardly less rich, exhibits more varied and agreeable features. Pleasant hills, often crowned by beautiful groves, fill the whole province, which extends from the Dniester to the Beh, and is bounded on the north by the plains of Volhynia, on the south-east by the steppes of the Ukraine. These hills, which almost become mountains in the neighbourhood of Medryz Zee, exhibit alternately fertile valleys and healthful pastures. The soil, where it is arable, yields noble crops with hardly any cultivation; and so far back as the middle of the fifteenth century, Greece and the islands of the Archipelago were supplied by Podolian wheat, transported to their shores in Venetian vessels. The climate of this favoured province is less severe than that of the other parts of Poland. While they are still clothed with the garb of winter, the verdure of spring has already appeared on its sunny slopes. Melons, mulberries, and other southern fruits, ripen without care in the open air; and as summer is free from the malaria which infests the plains of the Ukraine, so winter is from its icy cold.

5. To the north of the summit-level, in the plains watered by the Vistula and its tributary streams, the soil is less rich, and stands more in need of the artificial aid of draining and manure. But a very slight application of these advantages is sufficient to make it produce the finest crops of wheat, barley, oats, and rye; and if cultivated in a superior manner, and opened up by canals, railroads, and common roads, for which the level surface offers the greatest possible advantages, it is capable of being made to rival the plain of Lombardy or the fields of Flanders in variety and

riches of agricultural produce. Already it is considered as the granary of Europe; the banks of the Vistula are to the British empire, in seasons of domestic scarcity, what those of the Nile were to the ancient Romans. Wretched, however, is the cultivation, deplorable the condition of the serfs, by whose labours these noble crops are reared. Ploughs and harrows of the rudest construction turn up the soil; scarcely any manure enriches the fields; frequent and long-continued fallows alone restore the exhausted fertility of nature. Raising the finest crops of red wheat, the indigent husbandman lives only on black rye bread; water is his sole drink, though his hands reap extensive crops of barley; and the luxuries of animal food and comfortable dwellings are unknown to the peasantry inhabiting a country where the hand of nature has covered the earth with rich and boundless pastures, and a profusion of fine forests has furnished the most ample materials for the construction of houses.

6. To the general flat and uniform character of Polish scenery, an exception must be made in regard to that part of the country where the Vistula takes its rise. Numerous rocky eminences, interspersed with limpid streams, there ascend with a uniform slope towards the Carpathian mountains, and their summits are often crowned with venerable castles and monasteries, which throw an air of antiquity and grandeur over the scenery. It is there that Wawell, the once magnificent castle of the royal race of the Jagellons, looks down on the ancient capital of the mighty Polish empire, where its kings, so long taken from their race, were crowned; it is there that, adorned with numerous steeples, and splendid churches, and ancient edifices, Cracow lies stretched at the foot of the mountains in the valley of the Vistula. Everything in that romantic region bespeaks the former grandeur and present decay of Poland. Beyond it, on a high mountain, stands the monastery of Tyniec, one of the richest and most ancient abbeys of the Benedictines in the country. On one side is seen the picturesque mount of Kosciusko; to the south, the distant

summits of the Carpathian range. Less hilly, but by no means level, is the land north of Cracow, towards the upper Vistula. It consists of a plateau, eight or nine hundred feet above the sea, intersected by deep and precipitous ravines, like those of Saxon Switzerland in Germany, clothed with sable woods, and often surmounted by princely castles and noble chateaus now in ruins. On one of the precipices, surrounded by rich foliage, stands Oycow, once the splendid residence of Casimir the Great. Near the sources of the Pilica, in the middle of a vast forest, stands Ogdzieniec, formerly the seat of the mighty Firley. Everything in this romantic region reminds the traveller of departed greatness; and in traversing these deserted halls or ruined fane, the mournful motto of the Courtenays recurs to the mind, "*Quomodo lapsus: quid feci!*" *

7. Overrun by Jews, and but little supported either by the industry of their own inhabitants or the wealth of the adjacent country, the towns of Poland exhibit a melancholy proof of the extent to which the folly of man can render unavailing all the choicest gifts of nature. Though the total population of the country, after the partition of 1772, was still above fourteen millions, Warsaw, Lublin, and Cracow were the only towns in it which deserved the name of cities, the first of which contained at that period only ninety thousand inhabitants, the second, twenty-five, the third, twelve thousand.† At this time, notwithstanding the great increase in every branch of industry which has taken place under the severe but regular and steady government of Russia, the Polish towns, considering the prodigious natural resources of the country, exhibit a deplorable picture of

squalid misery, of useless pride, and general idleness. Such activity as does exist among them is almost entirely to be ascribed to the Jews, who form, as it were, a nation by themselves encamped in Poland, and have gradually, from their industrious habits, engrossed all the lucrative employments in it. The kingdom of Poland, properly so called, now entirely absorbed by Russia, contains 50,960 geographical miles—an extent of surface greater than that of England and Wales together, which contain 46,000, but which is thinly peopled by only 4,582,000 inhabitants. Such is the last remnant, and it under foreign dominion, of the once mighty empire of Poland; of the conquests of Boleslas, and the dominions of the Jagellons; of a country which, in the days of its greatness, carried its victorious arms from the Baltic to the Euxine, and from Moscow to the Elbe.

8. This extraordinary decline has all arisen from one cause—that Poland has retained, till a very recent period, the independence and *equality* of savage life. It has neither been subjugated by more polished, nor has it itself vanquished more civilised states. The restlessness and valour of the pastoral character have remained unchanged during fifteen hundred years, neither grafted on the stock of urban liberty nor moulded by the institutions of civilised society. Poland shows what in its original state was the equality of the shepherd life. Neither the resistance, nor the tastes, nor the intelligence, nor the blood of vanquished nations, have altered in its inhabitants the inclinations and passions of the savage character. We may see in its history what would have been the fate of all the northern nations, if their fierce and unbending temper had not been tempered by the blood and modified by the institutions of a more advanced civilisation; and in the anarchy of its diets, what would have been the representative system had the opinion of Montesquieu been well founded, that it was found in the woods.

9. The shepherds who wandered in the plains of Sarmatia were, like all other pastoral tribes, inflamed by the strongest passion for that savage free-

* How am I fallen! what have I done?

† The following is the present population of the principal Polish towns:—

Warsaw,	186,554
Cracow,	25,000
Lublin,	12,000
Kalisch,	7,300
Plock,	6,500
Zamosc,	5,000
Sewalki,	3,500

—MALTE BRUN, vii. 534-543.

dom which consists in leading a life exempt from control—in roaming at will over boundless plains, resting where they chose, and departing when they wished. In their incursions into the Roman provinces they collected immense troops of captives, who were compelled to perform the works of drudgery, in which their masters disdained to engage—to attend the cattle, drive the waggons, and make the arms. Their imperious lords, acknowledging no superior themselves, knew no restraint in the treatment of their inferiors. They exercised a grievous tyranny over that unhappy race, with the same energy with which they would have resisted any attempt to encroach on their own independence. Such as Poland then was, it has ever since continued—a race of jealous freemen and iron-bound slaves; a vast and wild democracy ruling a captive people;

—“*Ferrea iuga
Insanumque forum.*” *

10. It is a mistake to suppose that the representative system was found in the woods. What was found there was not anything resembling parliaments, but Polish equality. The pastoral nations of the north, equally with the citizens of the republics of antiquity, had no idea of the exercise of the rights of freemen but by the concurrence of *all* the citizens. Of course, this privilege could only be exercised by a small number of them when the state became populous; and hence the narrow base on which, with them, the fabric of liberty was framed. The assemblies of the Champ-de-Mai, accordingly, like the early convocations of the Normans in England, were attended by all the freemen who held of the king; and sixty thousand Norman horsemen assembled at Winchester, to deliberate with the Conqueror concerning the vanquished kingdom. This was the original system in all the European states, and this is what the Polish diet always continued to be. It was the Christian Church, the parent of so many lofty

* —“*An iron yoke
And senseless forum.*”

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doctrines and new ideas, which had the glory of offering to the world, amidst the wreck of ancient institutions, the model of a form of government which gives to all classes the right of suffrage, by establishing a system which may embrace the remotest interests; which preserves the energy, and avoids the evils of democracy; which maintains the tribune, and shuns the strife of the forum. The Christian councils were the first example of representative assemblies; there were united the whole Roman world; there a priesthood, which embraced the civilised earth, assembled by means of delegates to deliberate on the affairs of the Universal Church. When Europe revived, it adopted the same model. Every nation by degrees borrowed the customs of the Church, then the sole depository of the traditions of civilisation. It was the religion of the vanquished people—it was the clergy, who instructed them in this admirable system, which flourished in the Councils of Nice, Sardis, and Byzantium, centuries before it was heard of in western Europe, and which did not arise in the woods of Germany, but in the catacombs of Rome during the sufferings of the primitive church.

11. Vienna was the frontier station of the Roman empire—it never extended into the Sarmatian wilds; and hence the chief cause of the continued calamities of the descendants of their first inhabitants. It was the infusion of the free spirit of the Scythian tribes into the decaying provinces of the Roman empire, and the union of barbaric energy with ancient and worn-out civilisation, which produced the glories of modern Europe. In Poland alone savage independence has ever remained unmodified by foreign admixture, Scythian descent unchanged by foreign blood, barbaric passions untamed by foreign wisdom—and the customs of the earliest ages have continued the same down to the partition of the monarchy. After representative assemblies had been established for centuries in Germany, France, and England, the Poles adhered to the ancient custom of summoning every man to discuss, sword

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in hand, the affairs of the republic. A hundred thousand horsemen met in the field of Volo, near Warsaw, to deliberate on public affairs; and the distractions of these stormy diets weakened the nation even more than the attacks of its foreign enemies. Among them was established, to their sorrow, the real system which was invented in the woods.

12. In Poland, accordingly, the structure of society was essentially different from that which obtained in any other part of Europe. The feudal system, the chain of military dependence from the throne to the cottage, has in every age been there unknown. The republic was composed entirely of two classes, both numerous and mutually hostile: the one destined to labour, dejection, and servitude; the other to independence, activity, and war. The iron band of a resident and firmly-based body of foreign proprietors, which has so powerfully held together the discordant elements of modern society—which united the vanquished, strong in their civilisation, their laws, and their religion, and the victors, strong in their power, their valour, and their conquests; which bound alike the nobility and the priesthood, the municipalities and the throne; which in the wisdom of Providence, amidst many evils, produced innumerable blessings—was wanting to the Poles. Thence it is that Poland is no more; thence it is that she has ever exhibited the spectacle of a nation without a people, since the numerous class of slaves could not deserve that name—of armies alike without discipline, infantry, or artillery—of a state undefended by frontier towns—of cities without a race of burghers, without commerce or industry—of a republic where the supreme power was practically annihilated, for the restraints on it were omnipotent.

13. The tastes and the habits of the nomad tribes have, almost to our time, predominated among the Poles. Their language, their manners, even their dress, long remained unchanged. The frequent use of furs, the flowing pelisse, caps of the skins of wild beasts, the absence of linen, and the magnificence of

their arms, are the characteristics of their national costume. Till within these few years they wore the singular crown of hair, which in the time of the Scythians encircled their bare heads. The passion for a wandering life has been transmitted to their latest posterity, and remains undiminished amidst all the refinements of civilisation. To travel in the country, living in tents, to pass from one encampment to another, has been in every age one of the most favourite amusements of the Polish noblesse; and it was in such occupations that the last years of the great Sobieski were employed. This fierce and unbending race of freemen preserved inviolate, as the Magna Charta of Poland, the right to assemble in person, and deliberate on the public affairs of the state. That terrible assembly, where all the proprietors of the soil were convoked, constituted at once the military strength of the nation in war and its legislature in peace. There were discussed alike the public concerns of the republic, the private feuds or grievances of individuals, the questions of peace or war, the formation of laws, the division of plunder, and the election of the sovereign.

14. In the eyes of this haughty race, the will of a freeman was a thing which no human power should attempt to subjugate, and therefore the fundamental principle of all their deliberations was, that *unanimity* was essential to every resolution. This relic of savage equality, of which the traces are still to be found in the far-famed jury system of England, was productive of incalculable evils to the republic; and yet so blind are men to the cause of their own ruin, that it was uniformly adhered to with enthusiastic resolution by the Poles, and is even spoken of with undisguised admiration by their national historians. But all human institutions must involve some method of extricating public affairs; and as unanimity was not to be expected among so numerous and impassioned a body as their diet, and the idea was not to be entertained for a moment of constraining the will of any citizen by an adverse majority, they adopted the only other

means of expediting business,—they massacred the recusants. This measure appeared to them an incomparably lesser evil than carrying measures by a majority, "because," said they, "acts of violence are few in number, and affect only the individual sufferers; but if once the precedent is established of compelling the minority to yield to the majority, there is an end to any security for the liberties of the people." It may easily be imagined what discords and divisions were nursed up under such a system. Fanned by the flame excited at all their national diets, the different provinces of the republic have in every age nourished the most profound animosity against each other. The waywodes and palatinates into which every province was divided, for the administration of justice or the arrangements of war, became divided against each other, and transmitted the feuds of the earliest times to their remotest descendants. "That hierarchy of enmities," as the Poles expressed it, descended even to private families: in the progress of time, religious discord divided the whole republic into two parties nearly equal in strength, and implacable in hostility; and Poland was transformed into an immense field of combat, destined never to know either tranquillity or truce till it passed under the yoke of a foreign master.

15. The clergy—that important body who have done so much for the freedom of Europe—never formed a separate order, or possessed any spiritual influence in Poland. Composed entirely of the nobles, they had no sympathy with the serfs, whom they disdained to admit to any of their sacred offices. Their bishops interfered, not as prelates, but as barons—not with the wand of peace, but with the sword of dissension. The priesthood formed in their stormy diets a sort of tribunes, subject to the passions of the multitude, but exempt, by reason of their sacred character, from the danger which constituted a check upon their extravagance. This was another consequence of the Poles not having settled in a conquered country. The clergy of the other European states, drawn from the vanquished

people, formed a link between them and their conquerors, and, by reason of the influence which their intellectual superiority conferred, gradually softened the yoke of bondage to the vanquished; the Polish priesthood, composed entirely of the nobility, added to the chains of slavery the fetters of superstition.

16. As if everything was destined to concur for the disorganisation of Poland, the inequality of fortunes, and the rise of urban industry, the source of so much benefit to all the other European monarchies, was there productive only of evil. Fearful of being compelled to divide their power with the inferior classes of society, when elevated by riches and intelligence, the nobles affixed the stigma of dishonour to every lucrative or useful profession. Their maxim was, that nobility is not lost by indigence or domestic servitude, but is totally destroyed by commerce and industry. Their constant policy was to debar the serfs from all knowledge of the use of arms, both because they had learned to fear, and because they continued to despise them. In fine, the Polish nobility, strenuously resisting every gradation of power as a usurpation, every kind of industry as a degradation, every attempt at superiority as an outrage, remained to the close of their career an idle and haughty democracy, at open variance with all the principles on which the prosperity of society depends.

17. As some species of industry, however, is indispensable where wealth has begun to accumulate, and as the vast possessions of the nobility gave great encouragement to those who would minister to their wants, the industry of towns insensibly increased, and an urban population gradually arose. But as the nobles were too proud, and the serfs too indigent, or too ignorant, to engage in such employments, they fell exclusively into the hands of a foreign race, who were willing to submit to the degradation they imposed for the sake of the profit they brought. The Jews spread like a leprosy over the country, monopolising every lucrative employment, excluding the peasantry from the

chance even of bettering their condition by emerging out of it, and superadding to the instinctive aversion of the free citizens at every species of labour the horror connected with the occupations of that hated race. Thus, the rise of towns and the privileges of corporations, the origin of free institutions in so many other countries, were there productive only of evil, by augmenting the disinclination of all classes to engage in their pursuits; the Jews multiplied in a country where they were enabled to engross all the industrial occupations; until at last above half of the whole descendants of Abraham were found in what formerly were the Polish dominions.

18. Five hundred years before liberty and equality became the watchword of the French Revolution, they were the favourite principles of the Polish republic. Anarchy and disorder did not prevail in the country because the throne was elective, but the throne became elective because the people were too jealous of their privileges to admit of hereditary succession. For a hundred and sixty years the race of the Jagellons sat on the throne of Poland, with as regular a succession as the Plantagenets of England; and the dynasty of the Piasts enjoyed the government for four hundred years; but all the efforts of the monarchs of these houses were unequal to the formation of a regular government. Contrary to what obtained in every other part of the world, it was always the great kings of Poland who were ultimately overthrown, and their reigns which were the most stormy of its annals. This arose from their talents and eminence; for the first rendered them the objects of jealousy, the last of envy. The supreme authority, which elsewhere in the progress of civilisation was strengthened by the spoils of feudal power, became in Poland only weakened by the lapse of time. All the efforts of their greatest monarchs toward aggrandisement were shattered against the compact, independent, and courageous body of nobles, whom the crown could neither overawe by menaces nor subdue by violence. In the plenitude of their democratic spirit, they would for

long admit no distinction among themselves, but that which arose from actual employment; and never recognised till a very recent period the titles and honours which, in other states, have long been hereditary. Even when they were established, the jurisdictions were only for life. Democratic equality could not brook the idea of a hereditary body of rulers. Their waywodes or military chieftains, their palatines or leaders of counties, their castellans or governors of castles, from the earliest period down to recent times, enjoyed their authority for a limited period only. These officers, far from being able in Poland, as in other states, to render their dignities hereditary, were not always even nominated by the king. Their authority, especially that of the palatines, gave equal umbrage to the monarchs whom they were bound to obey, as to the nobles whom they were intended to lead. There was thus authority and power nowhere in the state.

19. The kings of the Piast race made frequent and able efforts to create a gradation of rank in the midst of that democracy, and a body of burghers by the side of these nobles; but all their attempts proved ineffectual. A race of monarchs, whose succession was frequently interrupted, and their authority always contested, could not carry on any steady or consistent plan of government; while, unlike all other states, it was the people alone who there maintained a systematic and uniform line of conduct. Unhappily it was systematic only in absurdity, uniform in the production of ruin. England can have no difficulty in understanding its condition, for it was that of Ireland, with all its passions, and none of its external control. The crown of Poland, though enjoyed long by the great families of the Jagellons and the Piasts, has always been elective. The king possessed the disposal of all offices in the republic; and a principal part of his duty consisted in going from province to province to administer justice in person. "By my faith!" said Henry of Valois, when elected to the throne, "these Poles have made me nothing but a judge!" But the nobility themselves carried into

execution all his sentences by their own armed force. The command of the troops was not in general conferred upon the sovereign; and as there never was any considerable standing army in the service of the republic, the military force of the throne was altogether nugatory. Poland affords the most decisive demonstration that the chief evil of an elective monarchy, and that which has always made it so calamitous where it has prevailed, is to be found, not in the contests for the crown, which may be transient, but in the prostration of its power, which is lasting, and renders the protection of a stable government unknown in the state.

20. But the insurmountable evil, which in every age has opposed the formation of a regular government in this unhappy country, was the privilege, too firmly established to be ever shaken, which all the citizens had, of assembling together to deliberate on the affairs of the state, and of any one interposing a direct negative on the most important resolutions. So far from adopting the prudent maxim of all regular governments, that a civil war is the greatest of evils, they have by this institution given to their insurrections a legal form. From generation to generation the maxim has been handed down by the Poles—"Burn your houses, and wander over the country with your arms in your hands, rather than submit to the smallest infringement on your liberties." These assemblies, when once met, united in themselves the powers of all the magistrates; they were to that republic what the dictatorship was to ancient Rome. A Pole, compelled to submit to a plurality of suffrages, would have considered himself subjected to the most grievous despotism; and consequently no resolution of the diet was binding, unless it was unanimously agreed to by all the citizens. Any citizen, by the privilege of the *liberum veto*, had the power of dissolving the most numerous of these assemblies, or negating their most important acts; and although the Poles were fully sensible of the ruinous nature of this privilege, and pursued with eternal maledictions the individual who exercised it, yet

they never could be prevailed upon to consent to its abandonment.

21. These assemblies, so famous in Polish history, so fatal to her inhabitants, presented so extraordinary a spectacle that it is hardly possible, in reading even the most authentic descriptions of them, to believe that we have not stepped into the regions of Eastern romance. The plain of Volo, to the west of Warsaw, was the theatre, from the earliest times, of the popular elections. Soon the impatient *pospolite*, or general assembly of the free Poles, covered that vast area with its waves, like an army prepared to commence an assault on a fortified town. The innumerable piles of arms; the immense tables round which faction united its supporters; a thousand jousts with the javelin or the lance; a thousand squadrons engaged in mimic war; a thousand parties of palatines, governors of castles, and other dignified authorities, who traversed the ranks, distributing exhortations, party songs, and largesses; a thousand cavalcades of gentlemen, who rode, according to custom, with their battle-axes by their side, and discussed at the gallop the dearest interests of the republic; innumerable quarrels, originating in drunkenness and terminating in blood: Such were the scenes of tumult, amusement, and war—a faithful mirror of Poland—which, as far as the eye could reach, filled the plain. The arena was closed in by a vast circle of tents, which embraced, as in an immense girdle, the plain of Volo, the shores of the Vistula, and the spires of Warsaw. The horizon seemed bounded by a range of snowy mountains, of which the summits were discernible in the hazy distance by their dazzling whiteness. The camp formed another city, with its markets, its gardens, its hotels, and its monuments. There the great displayed their Oriental magnificence; the nobles, the palatines, vied with each other in the splendour of their horses and equipages; and the stranger who beheld for the first time that luxury, worthy of the last and greatest of the nomad people, was never weary of admiring the immense hotels, the porticoes, the colonnades, the galleries of painted or gilded stuffs, the

castles of cotton and silk, with their drawbridges, towers, and ditches.

22. On the day of the elections the three orders mounted on horseback. The princes, the palatines, the bishops, the prelates, proceeded towards the plain of Volo, surrounded by eighty thousand mounted citizens, any one of whom might, at the expiry of a few hours, find himself king of Poland; and each of whom enjoyed the absolute power of stopping at pleasure the whole proceedings. They all bore in their countenances, even under the livery or banners of a master, the pride arising from that ruinous privilege. The European dress nowhere appeared on that solemn occasion. The children of the desert strove to hide the furs and skins in which they were clothed under chains of gold and the glitter of jewels. Their bonnets were composed of panther skins; eagle or heron plumes surmounted them; on their front were the most splendid precious stones. Their robes of sable or ermine were bound with velvet or silver, their girdles studded with jewels; over all their furs were suspended chains of diamonds. One hand of each nobleman was without a glove; on it was the splendid ring on which the arms of his family were engraved, the mark, as in ancient Rome, of the equestrian order—another proof of the intimate connexion between the race, the customs, and the traditions of the northern tribes, and those of the founders of the Eternal City.

23. But nothing in this rivalry of magnificence could equal the splendour of their arms. Double poniards, double scimitars, set with brilliants; bucklers of costly workmanship, battle-axes enriched in silver, and glittering with emeralds and sapphires; bows and arrows richly gilt, which were borne at festivals, in remembrance of the ancient customs of the country, were to be seen on every side. The horses shared in this mixture of barbarism and refinement. Sometimes cased in iron, at others decorated with the richest colours, they bent under the weight of the sabres, the lances and javelins, by which the senatorial order marked their rank. The bishops were distinguished by their gray or green hats, and yellow or red

pantaloons, magnificently embroidered with diverse colours. Often they laid aside their sacerdotal habits, and signalled their address as young cavaliers, by the beauty of their arms and the management of their horses. In that crowd of the equestrian order, there was no gentleman so humble as not to try to rival this magnificence. Many carried, in furs and arms, their whole fortunes on their back. Numbers had sold their votes to some of the candidates, for the vanity of appearing with some additional ornament before their fellow-citizens. And the people, whose dazzled eyes beheld all this magnificence, were almost without clothing; their long beards, naked legs, and filth, indicated, even more strongly than their pale visages and dejected air, all the miseries of servitude.

24. At length the utter impossibility of getting anything done with these immense assemblies, frequently embracing a hundred thousand citizens on horseback, and the experienced difficulty of finding them subsistence for any considerable time, led to the introduction, to a certain extent, of the representative system. This change took place in the year 1467, about two hundred years after it had been established in England, and a hundred and eighty after its introduction into Germany. Unfortunately, however, it never prevailed generally in the kingdom, and was accompanied with such restrictions as tended to increase rather than diminish the divisions of the people. The labouring classes were not at all represented; and the nobility never abandoned, and frequently exercised, their right of assembling in person on all important occasions. These general diets being, after this change, rarer, were more generally attended; and as they were assembled only on extraordinary occasions—as the election of a king, or a question of peace or war—the passions of the people were increased by the importance of their suffrages, and inexperience added to the sudden intoxication of absolute power.

25. In the true spirit of their democratic institutions, the Poles had no sooner established a representative sys-

tem than they surrounded it with such checks as not only rendered it totally useless, but positively hurtful. Not unfrequently the electors, terrified at the powers with which they had invested their representatives, hastened, sword in hand, to the place of their meeting, prepared, if necessary, to oppose open force to the laws. These stormy assemblages were called "Diets under the buckler." The representatives continued in the new assemblies the ruinous law of unanimity, in spite of the advice of the wisest men, and in opposition to their continual remonstrances. The power of putting by a single vote a negative on all proceedings, of course, was more frequently exercised by one among four hundred deputies, who was intrusted with the interest of an extensive palatinate, than by an insulated individual amidst a hundred thousand of his fellow-citizens. The check, too, which the terror of being massacred imposed upon the exercise of this right in the primary assembly, was removed when, in the Chamber of Deputies, uplifted sabres were no longer ready to exterminate the recalcitrant. Moreover the electors, with the jealousy of the democratic spirit, uniformly exacted from every representative a pledge how he was to vote on every question that came before the Assembly; and after every session they held what were called *post-convivial diets*, the object of which was to bring him to account for the vote he had given on every occasion. In these diets the representatives ran the most imminent risk of being murdered, if they had deviated at all from the instructions they had received.

26. The sense of this danger made the deputies adhere strictly to the orders given them; and as their instructions were extremely various, the practical result was, that unanimity was impossible, and business could not be carried through. To avoid this, the majority, in some instances, proceeded by main force to pass measures in spite of the minority; but as this was deemed a direct violation of the constitution, it invariably led to civil war. Confederations of the minorities were established,

diets appointed, marshals elected, and these deplorable factions, which alternately had the king a chief and a captive, were regarded as a constitutional mode of extricating the rights of the people. This right of opposition, in the space of two centuries, had the effect of utterly annihilating every other power in the government. The deputies, without ever having made a direct attack upon the throne—without ever having attempted to wrest from the king or the senate the power allotted to them in the constitution—succeeded at length in suspending and neutralising every other branch of the legislature. The popular attachment to the veto augmented with the progress of wealth, and the increasing opulence of the great families who composed the senate, as it reduced all the citizens, at least on some occasions, to a state of perfect equality. The only astonishing thing is, that, with such institutions, the valour of the Polish nobility should so long have concealed the weakness arising from their unruly disposition. One would imagine that a people with such a government could not exist a year; and yet, such was their mingled energy and infatuation, they seemed never wearied either of victory or folly.

27. The political crisis which, at the close of the sixteenth century, convulsed all Europe, reinstated the Poles at once in all their ruinous democratic privileges, which the influence of their preceding monarchs had somewhat impaired. In the year 1573, on the death of the last of the race of the Jagellons, the nation with one voice reasserted and obtained all its original immunities. The command of the armies and the administration of justice were taken from the crown; two *hetmans* appointed one for Lithuania, and one for Poland; each was invested with an absolute command over the forces of these rival provinces of the republic, and they too often, by their jealousies, marred the effect of the most glorious triumphs. Meanwhile the administration of justice was confided to a few supreme tribunals, composed of the nobility, who were changed every fifteen months, by new elections, as if to prevent justice ever

being administered by those who had any acquaintance with law. Two standing armies were directed to be formed, one for Lithuania, the other for Poland: but they hardly amounted in all to ten thousand men; and even for these the jealousy of the nobility would only permit them to vote the most scanty supplies, which required to be renewed at each successive diet. In consequence of this circumstance, the Poles never had a regular force on which they could rely, worthy either of the name or the strength of the republic; and when all the adjoining states were daily consolidating their strength, and providing for the public defence by powerful standing armies, they had almost nothing to rely on for the maintenance of their independence but the tumultuary array of barbarous times.

28. Their forces, such as they were, consisted of five classes: the national troops, or a small body of regular soldiers, paid and equipped by the republic; the *pospolite*, or general assembly of all the free citizens on horseback; the armed valets, all forming part of the noble or free class, whose rapine in general did more harm than their courage did service; the artillery, which, from the want of funds for its support, was usually in the most wretched condition; and the mercenaries, composed chiefly of Germans, whose services would have been of great importance, had their fidelity been secured by regularity of pay, but who were generally in a state of mutiny for want of it. The whole body of the *pospolite*, the volunteers, the *valets d'armée*, and a large body of the mercenaries and national troops, served on horseback. The heavy cavalry, in particular, constituted the strength of the armies; there were to be found united, riches, splendour, and number. They were divided into cuirassiers and hussars—the former clothed in steel, man and horse bearing casque and cuirass, lance and sabre, bow and carbine; the latter defended only by a twisted hauberk, which descended from the head, over the shoulders and breast, and armed with a sabre and pistol. Both were distinguished by the splendour of their dress and equipage, and

the number and costly array of their mounted servants, accoutred in the most bizarre manner, with huge black plumes, and skins of bears and other wild beasts. It was the pride of this body that they were composed of men, all measured, as they expressed it, by the same standard; that is, equally acknowledging no superior but their God, and equally destined, perhaps, to step one day into the throne of the Piasts and the Jagellons. They boasted that, "if the heaven itself were to fall, they would support it on the point of their lances." The hussars and cuirassiers were denominated *towarzisz*—that is, companions: they called each other by that name, and they were designated in the same way by the sovereign, whose chief boast was to be *primus inter pares*, the first among equals. But all these forces were in general in the most miserable state of destitution. The regular army, almost always without pay, was generally without discipline, and totally destitute of every kind of equipment: the castles and fortified towns had no other defences but walls, which age had almost everywhere reduced to ruins; the arsenals were in general empty. All those great establishments, which in other states bespeak the constant vigilance of government, were wanting. Poland had no other resources but these armed confederations, which, nevertheless, frequently saved the republic in the midst of the greatest perils; and more than once, through the unconquerable valour of the nobles, preserved the liberties of Europe from the Ottoman power.

29. The physical situation of the Poles was singularly ill calculated to arrest the course of these disorders. Placed on the frontiers of European civilisation; removed from the sea, or any commercial intercourse with other states; without either ranges of mountains or fortified towns, to serve as asylums in case of defeat, they had to maintain a constant and perilous war with the hordes who threatened Christendom from the deserts of Asia. Their history is one uninterrupted series of mortal conflicts with the Muscovites, the Tartars, and the Turks, in the

course of which they were repeatedly brought to the brink of ruin, and saved only by those desperate efforts which characterise the Polish history above that of all other states in modern times. The frequency and murderous nature of these dreadful wars blighted every attempt at rural industry, and chained the nation, even in recent times, to those irregular and warlike habits which had been abandoned, centuries before, in all the other monarchies of Europe. Religious fury added grievously to these disastrous struggles, and the revolt of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, consequent on the schism between the Greek and the Catholic Church, brought the republic to the verge of destruction, and ultimately led to the incorporation of their vast territory with the Muscovite dominions.

30. Weakened in this manner in these contests with their enemies, equally by their freedom as their tyranny; knowing of liberty nothing but its licentiousness, of government but its weakness; inferior to all around them, not less in numbers than in discipline, the Poles were the only warlike nation in the world to whom victory never brought either conquests or peace. Unceasing combats with the Germans, the Hungarians, the Muscovites, the pirates of the north, all of whom regarded the republic as a common prey, fill their annals. They successively saw Bohemia, Mecklenburg, Moravia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, the Ukraine, and Red Russia, melt away from their once mighty dominion, without ever once thinking of establishing such a steady government as might secure the various parts of their vast possessions, or restraining those ruinous democratic privileges to which the whole public disasters were owing. Their character closely resembled that of the native Celts in western Europe. To repel civilisation, and retain unchanged the passions and habits of savage life, was their constant object. They succeeded in their wishes, and thence their ruin. Incapable of foresight, they saw their neighbours daily increasing in strength, without making any effort to keep pace with their progress. Blindly attached to

their customs, they adhered to them with fatal pertinacity, despite of all the lessons of experience, and were thus destined to realise to the uttermost the bitter fruits of a pitiless aristocracy and a senseless equality.

31. Centuries before their partition at the close of the eighteenth century, the distracted state and experienced weakness of the Polish republic had suggested to the neighbouring powers the project of dividing its territory. Authentic documents demonstrate that this design was seriously entertained in the time of Louis XIV., and postponed only in consequence of the vast reputation and heroic character of John Sobieski, which prolonged the existence of the republic for a hundred years, and threw a ray of glory over its declining fortunes. Of the powers whose unworthy alliance effected the destruction of the oldest republic in the world, all had arisen out of its ruins, or been spared by its arms. Prussia, once a province of Poland, had grown out of the spoils of its ancient ruler; Austria owed to the intervention of a Polish hero its deliverance from the sword of the Mussulman; and long before the French eagles approached the Kremlin, a Polish army had conquered Moscow; and the Sarmatians had placed a son of their own king on the throne of Russia.

32. Nothing can so strongly demonstrate the wonderful power of democracy as a spring, and its desolating effects when not compressed by a firm regulator, as the history of John Sobieski. The force which this illustrious champion of Christendom could bring into the field to defend his country from Mahomedan invasion, seldom amounted to fifteen thousand men; and when, previous to the battle of Kotzim, he found himself, by an extraordinary effort, at the head of forty thousand, of whom hardly one-half were well disciplined, the unusual spectacle inspired him with such confidence that he hesitated not to attack eighty thousand Turkish veterans, strongly intrenched, and gained the greatest victory which had been achieved by the Christian arms since the battle of Ascalon. The troops which he led to the deliverance

of Vienna were no more than eighteen thousand native Poles, and the combined Christian army only numbered seventy thousand combatants; yet with this force he routed three hundred thousand Turkish soldiers; and broke the Mussulman power so effectually, that, for the first time for three hundred years, the crescent of Mahomet permanently receded, and from that period historians date the decline of the Ottoman empire. Yet, after these glorious triumphs, the ancient divisions of the republic paralysed its strength, and rendered unavailing its marvellous achievements. No efforts on the part of the sagacious hero could induce the impatient nobility to submit to any burdens, in order to establish a permanent force for the public safety. The defence of the frontiers was again intrusted to a few thousand undisciplined horsemen; and the Polish nation incurred the disgrace of allowing its heroic king, the deliverer of Christendom, to be besieged for months, with fifteen thousand men, by innumerable hordes of barbarians, before the tardy *pospolite* advanced to his relief.

33. Sobieski, worn out with his ineffectual endeavours to create a regular government, or establish a permanent force for the protection of Poland, clearly foresaw the future fate of the republic. Before his accession to the throne, he had united with the primate and sixteen hundred of its principal citizens to overturn the phantom of equality with which they were perpetually opposed, and, to use his own words, "rescue the republic from the insane tyranny of a plebeian noblesse." His reign was one incessant struggle with the principles of anarchy which were implanted in his dominions; and he at length sank under the experienced impossibility of remedying them. The aged hero, when drawing near the grave, the approach to which was accelerated by the ingratitude and dissensions of his subjects during his later years, expressed himself to the senate in these memorable and prophetic terms—"He was well acquainted with the griefs of the soul who declared, that small distresses love to declare themselves, but

great are silent. The world will be mute with amazement at the contemplation of us and our counsils. Nature herself will be astonished! That beneficent parent has gifted every living creature with the instinct of self-preservation, and given the most inconsiderable animals arms for their defence: we alone in the universe turn ours against ourselves. That instinct is taken from us, not by any resistless force, not by any inevitable destiny, but by a voluntary insanity, by our own passions, by the desire of mutual destruction. Alas! what will one day be the mournful surprise of posterity to find that from the summit of glory, from the period when the Polish name filled the universe, our country has fallen into ruins, and fallen, alas, for ever! I have been able to gain for you victories; but I feel myself unable to save you from yourselves. Nothing remains to be done but to place, in the hands, not of destiny, for I am a Christian, but of a powerful and beneficent Deity, the fate of my beloved country. Believe me, the eloquence of your tribunes, instead of being turned against the throne, would be better directed against those who, by their disorders, are bringing down upon our country the cry of the prophet, which I, alas! hear too clearly rolling over our heads—"Yet forty years, and Nineveh will be no more."

34. The anticipation of the hero was not exactly accomplished; his own glorious deeds, despite the insanity of his subjects, prolonged the existence of Poland for nearly a hundred years. But succeeding events proved every day more clearly the truth of his prediction. The conquest of the frontier town of Kamienieck from the Turks, achieved by the terror of his name after he was no more, was the last triumph of the republic. He was also its last national sovereign, and the last who possessed any estimation in the world. With him disappeared both its power and its ascendancy among other nations. From that period successive foreign armies invaded its provinces, and invaded it never to recede. The different factions in the state, steeped in the bitterness of party strife, and exhausted by their

efforts for mutual destruction, sought in the support of strangers the means of wreaking their vengeance on each other. Foreign ambition gladly responded to the call; and, under the pretence of terminating its distractions, armed one-half of the country against the other. The adjoining powers soon became omnipotent in so divided a community: all hastened to place themselves under the banners of some neighbouring sovereign. By turns the Saxons, Swedes, Muscovites, Imperialists, and Prussians, ruled its destinies: Poland was no more; according to his own prophecy, it descended into the tomb with the greatest of its sons.

35. Never did a people exhibit a more extraordinary spectacle than the Poles after this period. Two factions were for ever at war; both had, to espouse and defend their interests, an army; but it was a foreign army, a conquering army, an army conquering without a combat. The inferior noblesse introduced the Saxons; the greater called in the Swedes. From the day in which Sobieski closed his eyes, strangers never ceased to reign in Poland; its national forces were continually diminishing, and at length totally disappeared. The reason is, that a nation without subjects is speedily exhausted; the republic, composed only of two hundred thousand citizens, at length had no more blood to shed, even in civil war. No encounters thereafter took place but between the Swedish, German, or Russian forces; their struggles resembled more the judicial combat of the feudal ages than the contests of powerful nations. The factions of the republic, united round these foreign banners, exchanged notes and summonses like belligerent powers. By degrees blood ceased to flow; in these internal divisions gold was found more effectual than the sword, and, to the disgrace of Poland, its later years sank under the debasement of foreign corruption.

36. Pursued to the grave by the phantom of equality, the dissensions of Poland became more violent as it approached its dissolution. The *liberum veto* was more frequently exercised every year; it was no longer produced by the

vehemence of domestic strife, but by the influence of external corruption. That single word plunged the republic, as if by enchantment, into a lethargic sleep, and every time it was pronounced, it fell for two years into a state of absolute inanition. Faction even went so far as to dissolve the diets in their first sittings, and render their convocation a mere vain formality. All the branches of the government immediately ceased to be under any control; the treasury, the army, the civil authority, released from all superintendence, fell into a state of anarchy. Nothing similar to this ever occurred with any other people. The legislative power succeeded in destroying itself; and no other power ever ventured to supply its place. The executive, parcelled out into many independent and hostile divisions, was incapable of effecting such a usurpation; and if it had, the right of the nation to assemble in open confederation would immediately have rendered it nugatory. The prophecy of Montesquieu, as to the future destruction of the British constitution, has been accomplished in Poland; it fell when the legislative became more corrupt than the executive.

37. When the adjoining states of Russia and Austria, therefore, effected the first partition of Poland in 1792, they did not require to conquer a kingdom, but only to take each a share of a state which had fallen to pieces. The election of Stanislaus Poniatowski, in 1764, to the throne of Poland, took place literally under the buckler; but it was not under the buckler of its own nobles, but of the Muscovite, the Cossack, and the Tartar, who overshadowed the plain of Volo with their arms—last and fatal consequence of centuries of anarchy! In vain did the Poles, taught at length by woeful experience, attempt, by the advice of Czartoriski, to abandon the fatal privilege of the *liberum veto*; the despots of Russia and Prussia declared that they took the liberties of Poland, and that important right in particular, under their peculiar protection, and perpetuated a privilege which insured their conquest of the kingdom. The inferior noblesse had the madness to invoke the aid of the Empress

Catherine, to maintain their ancient privileges against what they called the tyranny of the aristocracy; and Poland, invaded by the two most powerful monarchies of Europe, was deprived of the aid of the greater part of its own subjects. The higher nobility, the clergy, the real patriots, made generous efforts, but all in vain; the insane people, regardless of everything but the maintenance of their powers, refused to second them, and one-half of Poland was lost in the struggle.

38. The terrible lesson was not received in vain. Taught by the dismemberment of the territory, what remained of Poland strove to amend its institutions: the *liberum veto* was abandoned, and the nobles themselves, taking the lead in the work of reformation, made a voluntary surrender of their privileges for the public good. The example of the French Revolution had penetrated the wilds of Sarmatia, and a new era seemed to open upon the world from its example. On the 3d May 1791, a constitution founded upon the hereditary descent of the throne, the abolition of the *liberum veto*, religious toleration, the emancipation of the bourgeois, and the progressive enfranchisement of the serfs, was proclaimed at Warsaw, amidst tears of joy from a people who hoped that they had at last reached a termination to their long misfortunes. The Polish reform was so different from the French that it would seem as if it was expressly set down by Providence to afford a contrast to that bloody convulsion, and deprive the partitioning powers of a shadow even of justice in the mournful catastrophe which followed. "In contemplating that change," says Mr Burke, "humanity has everything to rejoice and glory in—nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it is probably the most pure public good ever yet conferred on mankind. Anarchy and servitude were at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people, without trenching on their liberties; foreign cabal abolished, by changing the crown from elective to hereditary; a reigning king, from a heroic love to his country, exerted him-

self in favour of a family of strangers, as if it had been his own. Ten millions of men were placed in a way to be freed gradually, and therefore to themselves safely, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they are, only fetter the mind, but from substantial personal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, were placed in the consideration which belongs to that improved and connecting situation of social life. One of the most numerous, proud, and fierce bodies of nobility in the world, was arranged only in the foremost rank of free citizens. All, from the king to the labourer, were improved in their condition; everything was kept in its place and order, but in that place and order everything was bettered. Not one drop of blood was spilled, no treachery, no outrage; no slander, more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoil or confiscation, no citizen beggared, none imprisoned, none exiled; but the whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, a unanimity, and secrecy, such as have never before been known on any occasion." But it was too late. The powers which environed Poland were too strong, the weakness entailed on it by its long anarchy, was too great, to admit of its being restored to the rank of an independent power. Like many men who discover the error of their ways when on the verge of the grave, the Poles had continued the passions of their youth down to the period when amendment is impossible, and repentance fruitless. Had they abandoned their democratic contentions in the days of Sobieski, the state might have recovered its ascendancy; in the days of Catherine it was no longer practicable.

39. The last struggles of the Poles, like all their preceding ones, originated in their own divisions. The partisans of the ancient anarchy revolted against the new and more stable constitution which they had recently received; they took up arms at Targowice, and invoked the aid of the Empress Catherine to restore the disorder from which they had lost and she had gained so much. A second dismemberment speedily en-

sued, and, in the distracted state of the country, it was effected without opposition. Prussia and Russia took upon themselves alone the execution of this partition, and the combined troops were in the first instance quietly cantoned in the provinces which they had seized. The Russian general Ingelstroem was stationed at Warsaw, and occupied all the inconsiderable portion of the republic still left to Stanislaus. Soltikoff had under his orders a powerful corps in Volhynia and Podolia. Suwarroff, with a large corps, was placed at Cherson, to overawe both the Turks and the southern provinces; while a large Prussian corps was ready to support Ingelstroem, and had already seized upon the northern parts of the country. Thus Poland, divided and paralysed, without fortified towns, mountains, or defensible positions, was overrun by the armies of two of the most powerful military monarchies in Europe.

40. There is a certain degree of calamity which overwhelms the courage; but there is another, which, by reducing men to desperation, sometimes leads to the greatest and most glorious enterprises. To this latter state the Poles were now reduced. Abandoned by all the world, distracted with internal divisions, destitute alike of fortresses and resources, crushed in the grasp of gigantic enemies, the patriots of that unhappy country, consulting only their own courage, resolved to make a last effort to deliver it from its enemies. In the midst of their internal convulsions, and through all the prostration of their national strength, the Poles had never lost their individual courage, or the ennobling feelings of civil independence. They were still the redoubtable husars who broke the Mussulman ranks under the walls of Vienna, and carried the Polish eagles in triumph to the towers of the Kremlin; whose national cry had so often made the Osmanlis tremble, and who had boasted in their hours of triumph, that if the heaven itself were to fall, they would support it on the points of their lances. A band of patriots at Warsaw resolved at all hazards to attempt the restoration of their independence, and they made choice of

Kosciusko, who was then at Leipsic, to direct their efforts.*

41. This illustrious hero, who had received the rudiments of military education in France, had afterwards served, not without glory, in the ranks of independence in America. Uniting to Polish enthusiasm French ability, the ardent friend of liberty and the enlightened advocate for order, brave, loyal, and generous, he was in every way qualified to head the last struggle of the oldest republic in existence for its national independence. But a nearer approach to the scene of danger convinced him that the hour for action had not yet arrived. The passions, indeed, were awakened; the national enthusiasm was full; but the means of resistance were inconsiderable, and the old divisions of the republic were not so healed as to afford the prospect of the whole national strength being exerted in its defence. But the public indignation could brook no delay; several regiments stationed at Pultusk revolted,

* Thadeus Kosciusko was born in 1755, of a poor but noble family, and received the first elements of his education in the corps of cadets at Warsaw. There he was early distinguished by his diligence, ability, and progress in mathematical science, inasmuch that he was selected as one of the four students annually chosen at that institution to travel at the expense of the state. He went abroad, accordingly, and spent several years in France, chiefly engaged in military studies; from whence he returned in 1778, with ideas of freedom and independence unhappily far in advance of his country at that period. As war did not seem likely at that period in the north of Europe, he set sail for America, then beginning the War of Independence, and was employed by Washington as his adjutant, and distinguished himself greatly in that contest beside Lafayette, Lameth, Dumas, and so many of the other ardent and enthusiastic spirits from the Old World. He returned to Europe on the termination of the war, decorated with the order of Cincinnatus, and lived in retirement till 1789, when, as King Stanislaus was adopting some steps with a view to the assertion of national independence, he was appointed Major-General by the Polish Diet. In 1791 he joined with enthusiasm in the formation of the Constitution which was proclaimed on the 5th May in that year, and in 1792 performed several brilliant actions under Poniatowsky, especially at Dubienka, which with four thousand men he defended during six hours against the assault of twelve thousand Russians. Stanislaus having been forced to make peace, he was obliged to yield

and moved towards Galicia; and Kosciusko, albeit despairing of success, determined not to be absent in the hour of danger, hastened to Cracow, where, on the 3d March, he closed the gates, and proclaimed the insurrection.

42. Having, by means of the regiments which had revolted, and the junction of some bodies of armed peasants—imperfectly armed, indeed, but full of enthusiasm—collected a force of five thousand men, Kosciusko left Cracow, and boldly advanced into the open country. He encountered a body of three thousand Russians at Raslowice, and, after an obstinate engagement, succeeded in routing it with great slaughter. This action, inconsiderable in itself, had important consequences; the Polish peasants exchanged their scythes for the arms found on the field of battle, and the insurrection, encouraged by this first gleam of success, soon communicated itself to the adjoining provinces. In vain Stanislaus disavowed the acts of his subjects; the flame of

independence spread with the rapidity of lightning, and soon all the freemen in Poland were in arms. Warsaw was the first great point where the flames broke out. The intelligence of the success at Raslowice was received there on the 12th April, and occasioned the most violent agitation. For some days afterwards it was evident that an explosion was at hand; and at length, at day-break on the morning of the 17th, the brigade of Polish guards, under the direction of their officers, attacked the governor's house and the arsenal, and was speedily joined by the populace. The Russian and Prussian troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were about seven thousand men; and after a prolonged and obstinate contest in the streets for thirty-six hours, they were driven across the Vistula with the loss of above three thousand men in killed and prisoners, and the flag of independence was hoisted on the towers of Warsaw.

43. One of the most embarrassing circumstances, in the situation of the Russians, was the presence of above sixteen thousand Poles in their ranks, who were known to sympathise strongly with these heroic efforts of their fellow-citizens. Orders were immediately despatched to Suwarroff to assemble a corps, and disarm the Polish troops scattered in Podolia, before they could unite in any common measures for their defence. By the energy and activity of this great commander, the Poles were disarmed brigade after brigade, and above twelve thousand men reduced to a state of inaction without much difficulty—a most important operation, not only by destroying the nucleus of a powerful army, but by stifling the commencement of the insurrection in Volhynia and Podolia. How different might have been the fate of Poland and Europe had they been enabled to join the ranks of their countrymen!

44. Kosciusko and his countrymen did everything that courage or energy could suggest to put on foot a formidable force to resist their adversaries; a provisional government was established, and in a short time forty thousand men were raised. But this force, though

to necessity, and retired to Leipzig, where he lived in seclusion till 1794, when, his countrymen having resolved to make a last effort to avert entire subjugation, he was solicited to take the command, and with true patriotic devotion, albeit almost despairing of success, he set out to sacrifice himself for his country. After the battle of Macowice, in which he was made prisoner, he was taken to St Petersburg, where he was detained in confinement for two years, until the accession of Paul, when he was set at liberty, and treated by him with great generosity. He then withdrew to England, from whence he passed over to America, where he was received with the utmost distinction; and in 1798 returned to France, where he lived in retirement, refusing all offers of command from Napoleon, whose selfish designs on Poland he early divined. To gain his services, the French Emperor condescended to the baseness, in 1807, of forging his name to a proclamation to the Poles, urging them to reassert their independence—a fraud which Kosciusko exposed in 1814, when the Allies conquered France. He continued to live in retirement in Champagne till March 1814, when the Russians found him, to their great surprise, in a small town near their headquarters. He had several interviews with the Emperor Alexander, who treated him with marks of respect; but he declined all offers of employment, and at last died at Solesne in 1817, beloved alike by his friends and his enemies.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xii. 551, 552, and *Biog. des Contemporains*, x. 148, 149.

highly honourable to the patriotism of the Poles, was inconsiderable when compared with the vast armies which Russia and Prussia could bring up for their subjugation. Small as the army was, its maintenance was too great an effort for the resources of the kingdom, which, torn by intestine faction, without commerce, harbours, or manufactures, having no national credit, and no industrious class of citizens but the Jews, now felt the fatal effects of its long career of democratic anarchy. The population of the country, composed entirely of unruly gentlemen and ignorant serfs, was totally unable at that time to furnish those numerous supplies of intelligent officers which are requisite for the formation of an efficient military force; while the nobility, however formidable on horseback in the Hungarian or Turkish wars, were less to be relied on in a contest with regular forces, where infantry and artillery constituted the great strength of the army, and courage was unavailing without the aid of science and military discipline.

45. The central position of Poland, in the midst of its enemies, would have afforded great military advantages, had its inhabitants possessed a force capable of turning it to account—that is, if they had had, like Frederick the Great in the Seven Years War, a hundred and fifty thousand regular troops, which the population of the country could easily have maintained, and a few well-fortified towns, to arrest the enemy in one quarter, while the bulk of the national force was precipitated upon them in another. The glorious stand made by the nation in 1831, with only thirty thousand regular soldiers at the commencement of the insurrection, and no fortifications but those of Warsaw and Modlin, proves what immense advantages this central position affords, and what opportunities it offers to military genius like that of SKRYNIECKI, to inflict the most severe wounds even on a superior and well-conducted antagonist. But all these advantages were wanting to Kosciusko; and it augments our admiration of his talents, and of the heroism of his countrymen, that, with such inconsiderable means, they made so

honourable a stand for their national independence.

46. No sooner was the King of Prussia informed of the revolution at Warsaw, than he moved forward at the head of thirty thousand men to besiege that city; while Suwarreff, with forty thousand veterans, was preparing to enter the south-eastern parts of the kingdom. Aware of the necessity of striking a blow before the enemy's forces were united, Kosciusko advanced with twelve thousand men to attack the Russian general Denisoff; but, upon approaching his corps, he discovered that it had united to the army commanded by the king in person. Unable to face such superior forces, he immediately retired, but was attacked next morning at day-break near Sekoczyn by the allies, and after a gallant resistance his army was routed, and Cracow fell into the hands of the conquerors. This check was the more severely felt, as, about the same time, General Zayoncheck was defeated at Chelme, and obliged to recross the Vistula, leaving the whole country on the right bank of that river in the hands of the Russians. These disasters produced a great impression at Warsaw: the people as usual ascribed them to treachery, and insisted that the leaders should be brought to punishment; and although the chiefs escaped, several persons in an inferior situation were arrested and thrown into prison. Apprehensive of some subterfuge, if the accused were regularly brought to trial, the burghers assembled in tumultuous bodies, forced the prisons, erected scaffolds in the streets, and, after the manner of the assassins of September 2d, put above twelve persons to death with their own hands. These excesses affected with the most profound grief the pure heart of Kosciusko; he flew to the capital, restored order, and delivered over to punishment the leaders of the revolt. But the resources of the country were evidently unequal to the struggle; the paper money, which had been issued in their extremity, was at a frightful discount; and the sacrifices required of the nation were the more severely felt, that hardly a hope of ultimate success remained.

47. The combined Russian and Prussian armies, about thirty-five thousand strong, now advanced against the capital, where Kosciusko occupied an intrenched camp with twenty-five thousand men. During the whole of July and August, the besiegers were engaged in fruitless attempts to drive the Poles into the city; and at length a great convoy, with artillery and stores for a regular siege, which was ascending the Vistula, having been captured by a gentleman named Minewsky, at the head of a body of peasants, the King of Prussia raised the siege, leaving a portion of his sick and stores in the hands of the patriots. After this success, the insurrection spread immensely, and the Poles mustered nearly eighty thousand men under arms. But they were scattered over too extensive a line of country in order to make head against their numerous enemies—a policy tempting by the prospect it holds forth of exciting an extensive insurrection, but ruinous in the end, by exposing the patriotic forces to the risk of being beaten in detail. Scarcely had the Poles recovered from their intoxication at the raising of the siege of Warsaw, when intelligence was received of the defeat of Sizakowsky, who commanded a corps of ten thousand men beyond the Bug, by the Russian grand army under SUWAROFF.* This celebrated general, to whom the principal conduct of the war was now committed, followed up his successes with the utmost vigour. The retreating column was again assailed on the 19th by the victorious Russians, and, after a glorious resistance, driven into the woods between Janoff and Biala, with the loss of four thousand men and twenty-eight pieces of cannon. Scarcely three thousand Poles, with Sizakowsky at their head, escaped into Siedlice.

48. Upon receiving the accounts of this disaster, Kosciusko resolved, by drawing together all his detachments, to fall upon Fersen before he joined Suwaroff, and the other corps which were advancing against the capital. With this view he ordered General Poninsky to join him, and marched with

all his disposable forces to attack the Russian general, who was stationed at Maccowice; but fortune on this occasion cruelly deceived the Poles. Arrived in presence of Fersen, he found that Poninsky had not yet arrived; and the Russian commander, overjoyed at this circumstance, resolved immediately to attack him. In vain Kosciusko despatched courier after courier to Poninsky to advance to his relief. The first was intercepted by the Cossacks, and the second did not reach that leader in time to enable him to take a decisive part in the approaching combat. Nevertheless the Polish commander, aware of the danger of retreating with inexperienced troops in presence of a disciplined and superior enemy, determined to give battle on the following day, and drew up his little army with as much skill as the circumstances would admit. The forces on the opposite sides in this action, which decided the fate of Poland, were nearly equal in point of numbers; but the advantages of discipline and equipment were decisively on the side of the Russians. Kosciusko commanded about ten thousand men, a great part of whom were recently raised, and imperfectly disciplined; while Fersen was at the head of twelve thousand veterans, including a most formidable body of cavalry. Nevertheless, the Poles in the centre and right wing made a glorious defence; but the left, which Poninsky should have supported, having been overwhelmed by the cavalry under Denisoff, the whole army was, after a severe struggle, thrown into confusion. Kosciusko, Sizakowsky, and other gallant chiefs, in vain made the most heroic efforts to rally the broken troops. They were wounded, struck down, and made prisoners by the Cossacks, who inundated the field of battle; while the remains of the army, now reduced to seven thousand five hundred men, fell back in confusion towards Warsaw.

49. After the fall of Kosciusko, who sustained in his single person the fortunes of the republic, nothing but a series of disasters overtook the Poles. The Austrians, taking advantage of the general confusion, entered Galicia, and

* See a Biography of SUWAROFF—*Infra*, chap. xxvii. § 55.

occupied the palatinates of Lublin and Sandomir; while Suwarroff, pressing forward towards the capital, defeated Mokronowsky, who, at the head of twelve thousand men, strove to retard the advance of that redoubtable commander. In vain the Poles made the utmost efforts; they were routed with the loss of four thousand men; and the patriots, though now despairing of success, resolved to sell their lives dearly, and shut themselves up in Warsaw, to await the approach of the conqueror. Suwarroff was soon at the gates of Praga, the eastern suburb of that capital, where twenty-six thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon, defended the bridge of the Vistula and the approach to the capital. To assault such a position with forces hardly superior was evidently a hazardous enterprise; but, the approach of winter rendering it indispensable that if anything was done at all it should be immediately attempted, Suwarroff, who was habituated to successful assaults in the Turkish wars, resolved to storm the city. On the 2d November, the Russians made their appearance before the glacis of Praga, and Suwarroff, having in great haste completed three powerful batteries, and breached the defences with imposing celerity, made his dispositions for a general assault on the following day.

50. The conquerors of Ismail advanced to the attack in the same order which they had adopted on that memorable occasion. Seven columns at daybreak approached the ramparts, rapidly filled up the ditches with their fascines, broke down the defences, and, pouring into the intrenched camp, carried destruction into the ranks of the Poles. In vain the defenders did their utmost to resist the torrent. The wooden houses of Praga speedily took fire, and, amidst the shouts of the victors and the cries of the inhabitants, the Polish battalions were borne backward to the edge of the Vistula. The multitude of fugitives speedily broke down the bridges; and the citizens of Warsaw beheld, with unavailing anguish, their defenders on the other side perishing in the flames, or by the sword of the

conquerors. Ten thousand soldiers fell on the spot, nine thousand were made prisoners, and above twelve thousand citizens, of every age and sex, were put to the sword—a dreadful instance of carnage, which has left a lasting stain on the name of Suwarroff, and which Russia expiated in the conflagration of Moscow. The tragedy was at an end. Warsaw capitulated two days afterwards; the detached parties of the patriots melted away, and Poland was no more. On the 6th November, Suwarroff made his triumphant entry into the blood-stained capital. King Stanislaus was sent into Russia, where he ended his days in captivity, and the final partition of the monarchy was effected.

51. Such was the termination of the oldest republic in existence—such the first instance of the destruction of a member of the European family by its ambitious rivals. As such, it excited a profound sensation in Europe. The folly of preceding ages, the long period of wasting anarchy, the madness of democratic ambition, the irretrievable defects of the Sarmatian constitution, were forgotten. Poland was remembered only as the bulwark of Christendom against the Ottomans; she appeared only as the succouring angel under John Sobieski. To behold a people so ancient, so gallant, whose deeds were associated with such heart-stirring recollections, fall a victim to Imperial ingratitude, Prussian cupidity, and Muscovite ambition, was a spectacle which naturally excited the utmost indignation. The bloody march of the French Revolution, the disasters consequent on domestic dissension, were forgotten, and the Christian world was penetrated with a grief akin to that felt by all civilised nations at the fall of Jerusalem. The poet has celebrated these events in the immortal lines—

“Oh! bloodiest picture in the book of time,
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime;
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe!
Dropp’d from her nerveless grasp the shattered spear,
Closed her bright eye, and curb’d her high career;
Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shriek’d—as Kosciuszko fell!”

52. But the truth of history must dispel the illusion, and unfold in the fall of Poland the natural consequence of its national delinquencies. Sarmatia neither fell unwept nor without a crime; she fell the victim of her own dissensions—of the chimera of equality insanely pursued, and the rigour of aristocracy unceasingly maintained; of extravagant jealousy of every superior, and merciless oppression of every inferior rank. The eldest-born of the European family was the first to perish, because she had thwarted all the ends of the social union; because she united the turbulence of democracy to the exclusiveness of aristocratic societies; because she exhibited the vacillation of a republic without its energy, and the oppression of a monarchy without its stability. Such a system neither could nor ought to be maintained. The internal feuds of Poland were more fatal to human happiness than the despotism of Russia, and the growth of improvement among its people was slower than among the ryots of Hindostan.

53. To anyone who has either studied in history or experienced in real life the practical working of the principle of self-government among mankind, in situations where democratic equality is really established, the destruction of Poland will appear far from surprising. In truth, the only wonderful thing is, that her people so long succeeded in maintaining their independence. It is the fretting against control, the "ignorant impatience of taxation" in mankind, when practically intrusted with self-government, which was the real cause of the calamity. No lessons of experience however severe, no calls of patriotism however urgent, no warnings of wisdom however emphatic, could induce its plebeian noblesse to submit to any present burden to avert future disaster. Like the Americans at this time, who refuse in many States, at all hazards to their public credit, to tax themselves to defray the interest of their State's debt, they preferred "any load of infamy however great, to any burden of taxation however light." So strong is this disinclination to submit to present burdens to prevent future

evil, among men in all ages and countries, that it may fairly be considered as insurmountable; and therefore any society in which supreme power is really vested in the people, bears in itself the seeds of early ruin. Democratic bodies often exhibit extraordinary energy, if they can derive their resources from foreign plunder or domestic confiscation; but they will never, except in the last extremity, burden themselves. Real self-taxation is in truth a delusive theory: where it is attempted to be put in practice it invariably fails; what was so long mistaken for it was the taxing of one class by another class—of the many by the few. These are unpalatable truths, but they are not the less truths; nor is it less on that account the duty of the historian to state them. If any one doubts their accuracy, let him contemplate the abandonment of the Sinking Fund, in consequence of the enormous and uncalled-for reduction of indirect taxation since popular influence began to predominate in Great Britain, and the recent repudiation of the States' debt by a large part of the American people.

54. In this respect the history of Muscovy presents a striking and instructive contrast to that of Poland. Commencing originally with a smaller territory, yet farther removed from the light of civilisation—cut off in a manner from the intelligence of the globe, decidedly inferior to its heroic rival in its earlier contests—the growth of Russia has been as steady as the decline of Poland. The Polish republic fell at length beneath a power which it had repeatedly vanquished, whose capital it had conquered; and its name was erased from the list of nations at the very time that its despotic rival had attained the zenith of power and glory. These facts throw a great and important light on the causes of early civilisation, and the form of government adapted to a barbarous age. There cannot in such a state be so great a misfortune as a weak, there cannot be so great a blessing as a powerful government. No oppression is so severe as that which is there inflicted by the members of the same state on each other; no anarchy so irremediable as

that which originates in the violence of their own passions. To restrain the fury and coerce the dissensions of its subjects is the first duty of government in such periods; in its inability to discharge this duty is to be found the real cause of the weakness of a democratic—in the rude but effective performance of it, the true secret of the strength of a despotic state.

55. Such, however, are the ennobling effects of the spirit of freedom, even in its wildest form, that the remnant of the Polish nation, albeit bereft of a country by their own insanity, have by their deeds commanded the respect, and by their sorrows obtained the sympathy of the world. The remains of Kosciusko's bands, disdaining to live under Muscovite oppression, sought and found an asylum in the armies of France; they served with distinction both in Italy and Spain, and awakened by their bravery that sympathy which, with other and more selfish motives, brought the conqueror of Europe to the walls of the Kremlin. Like the remains of a noble mind borne down by suffering, they have exhibited flashes of greatness even in the extremity of disaster; and while wandering without a home, from which their own madness or that of their fathers had banished them, obtained a respect to which their conquerors were often strangers at the summit of their glory. Such is the effect even of the misdirected spirit of freedom; it dignifies and hallows all that it inspires, and, even amidst the ruins which it has occasioned, exalts the human soul!

56. The history of England has illustrated the beneficial effects which have resulted to its character and institutions from the Norman Conquest. In the severe suffering which followed that great event, in the anguish of generations, in the forcible intermixture of the races of the victor and vanquished, were laid the deep and firm foundations of English freedom. In the checkered and disastrous history of Poland may be traced the consequences of an opposite, and, at first sight, more fortunate destiny—of national independence uninterruptedly maintained, and purity of

race unceasingly preserved. The first, in the school of early adversity, were taught the habits and learned the wisdom necessary for the guidance of maturer years; the second, like the spoiled child whose wishes had never been coerced, nor its passions restrained, at last acquired on the brink of the grave, prematurely induced by excessive indulgence, that experience which should have been gained in earlier years. It is through this terrible but necessary ordeal that Poland is now passing; and the experience of ages would indeed be lost, if we did not discern in its present suffering the discipline necessary for future happiness, and, in the extremity of temporary disaster, the severe training for ultimate improvement.

57. The partition of Poland, and scandalous conduct of the states who reaped the fruit of injustice in its fall, has been the frequent subject of just indignation and eloquent complaint from the European historians; but the connection between that calamitous event and the subsequent disasters of the partitioning powers, has not hitherto met with due attention. Yet nothing can be clearer than that it was this iniquitous measure which brought all the misfortunes that followed upon the European monarchies—that it was it which opened the gates of Germany to French ambition, and brought Napoleon with his terrible legions to Vienna, Berlin, and the Kremlin. The more the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 are studied, the more clearly does it appear that it was the prospect of obtaining a share in the partition of Poland which paralysed the allied arms, which intercepted or turned aside the legions which might have overthrown the Jacobin rule, and created that jealousy and division amongst their rulers, which, more even than the energy of the Republicans, contributed to the uniform and astonishing success of the latter. Had the redoubtable bands of Catherine been added to the armies of Prussia in the plains of Champagne in 1792, or to those of Austria and Great Britain in the fields of Flanders in 1793, not a doubt can remain that the revolutionary party would have been overcome, and a constitutional monarchy estab-

lished in France, with the entire concurrence of three-fourths of all the respectable classes in the kingdom, and to the infinite present and future blessing of its whole inhabitants. Even in 1794, by a cordial co-operation of the Prussian and Austrian forces after the fall of Landrecies, the whole barrier fortresses erected by the genius of Vauban might have been captured, and the Revolution, thrown back upon its own resources, been permanently prevented from proving dangerous to the liberties of Europe. What, then, paralysed the allied armies in the midst of such a career of success, and caused the campaign to close under circumstances of such general disaster? The prospect of partitioning Poland, which first retained the Prussian battalions, during the crisis of the campaign, in sullen inactivity on the Rhine, and then led to the precipitate and indignant abandonment of Flanders by the Austrian forces.

58. The subsequent fate of the partitioning powers is a striking instance of that moral retribution which, sooner or later, in nations as well as individuals, attends a flagrant act of injustice. To effect the destruction of Poland, Prussia paralysed her armies on the Rhine, and threw on Austria and Britain the whole weight of the contest with Republican France. She thereby permitted the growth of its military

power, and the battle of Jena, the treaty of Tilsit, and six years of bondage, were the consequence. Suwaroff entered Warsaw when its spires were yet gleaming with the fires of Praga, and when the Vistula ran red with Polish blood; and, before twenty years had expired, the Poles revenged on the Moskwa that inhuman massacre, and the sack of Warsaw was forgotten in the conflagration of Moscow. Austria withdrew from Flanders to join in the deed of iniquity, and secure in Galicia the fruits of injustice; and twice did the French guards in consequence pass in triumph through the walls of Vienna. The connection between this great and guilty act and the subsequent disasters of the spoliating powers, therefore, is direct and evident; and history would be worse than useless if it did not signalise that memorable instance of just retribution for the eternal warning and instruction of mankind. Already has been realised, in part at least, the anticipation of the poet:—

"Yes! thy proud lords, unpitied land! shall see
That man hath yet a soul, and dare be free!
A little while, along thy saddening plains,
The starless night of desolation reigns:
Truth shall restore the light by nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heaven.
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurld,
Her name, her nature, wither'd from the
world!"*

* *Pleasures of Hope.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1795.

1. THE great success which in every quarter had signalised the conclusion of the campaign of 1794, led, early in the following year, to the dissolution of the confederacy against the French Republic. The conquest of Holland determined the wavering policy of Prussia. Early in January conferences were publicly opened at Bale, and before the end

of the month the preliminaries were signed. The public articles of this treaty bound the King of Prussia to live on friendly terms with the Republic, and not furnish succour to its enemies—to concede to France the undisturbed enjoyment of its conquests on the left bank of the Rhine, leaving the equivalent to be given to Prussia at ulterior

arrangement; while, on the other hand, the French government engaged to withdraw its troops from the Prussian possessions on the right bank, and not treat as enemies the states of the Empire in which Prussia took an interest. By the secret articles, "the King of Prussia engaged not to undertake any hostile enterprise against Holland, or any country occupied by the French troops;" an indemnity was stipulated for Prussia, in the event of France extending her frontier to the Rhine; the Republic promised not to carry hostilities in the Empire beyond a fixed line; and, in case of the Rhine being permanently fixed on as the boundary of France, and including the states of Deux-Ponts, the Republic engaged to undertake a debt of 1,500,000 rix-dollars due to Prussia by their potentate.

2. There was, in truth, no present interest at variance between these powers, and the treaty contained little more of importance than a recognition of the Republic by Frederick William. But there never was a step more ultimately ruinous taken by a nation. The conquest of Holland, which overturned the balance of power, and exposed Prussia, uncovered, to the attacks of France, should have been the signal for a sincere

coalition, such as that which had coerced the ambition of Louis XIV., and subsequently overturned the power of Napoleon. What a succession of disasters would such a decided conduct in all probability have prevented! What long and disastrous wars, what a prodigious effusion of human blood, what unheard-of efforts did it require for Prussia to regain in 1813 the position which she occupied in 1795! But these events were buried in the womb of fate; no one then anticipated the coming disasters; and the Prussian ministers deemed themselves fortunate in escaping from a war in which no real interest of the monarchy seemed to be at stake. They concluded peace accordingly; they left Austria to contend single-handed with the power of France; and the battle of Jena and treaty of Tilsit were the consequence.*

3. The disunited and unwieldy mass of the Germanic Empire, without altogether discontinuing military operations, pursued them in so languid a manner as was equivalent to a complete pacification. Bavaria, the Elector of Mayence, and several other powers, issued a declaration, that the states of the Empire had taken up arms only for the protection of the states adjoining,

* The British historian need not hesitate to express this opinion, since it is not only agreeable to that of all the German annalists, but expressly admitted by the able and candid Prussian statesman who concluded with Barthelemy, on the part of the Directory, that unhappy pacification. "The King of Prussia," says Prince Hardenberg, "tired of warlike operations, rudely awakened from his dreams on the plains of Champagne, and deeming a counter-revolution in France impossible, said to his ministers, 'Arrange matters as you like, provided you extricate me from the war with France.'" By signing the treaty of Bâle, he abandoned the house of Orange, sacrificed Holland, laid open the Empire to French invasion, and prepared the ruin of the ancient Germanic constitution. Despising the lessons of history, that prince forgot that no sooner was the independence of Holland menaced, in the end of the seventeenth century, than a league of all the sovereigns of Europe was formed to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV.; while at this time the invasion of the same country, effected under the Republican banners, led to a dissolution of the coalition of kings against the French Revolution. From that moment every throne was stripped of the magic halo which heretofore had surrounded it. Acci-

dent merely prevented the treaty of Bâle from being followed by a general revolution in Europe. Had Frederick William been animated with the spirit of Frederick the Great, he would have negotiated with the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other; and, supporting Holland, he would even have included it in the line of his military protection. By so doing, he would have risen to the rank not only of the mediator, but the arbiter of Europe, and been enabled to aspire to the glorious mission of balancing the dominion of the seas against Continental despotism. Whereas the peace of Bâle, concluded in narrow views, and without any regard to the common cause, destroyed the personal character of Frederick William, and stripped the Prussian monarchy of its glorious reputation. We may add, that if, ten years afterwards, Prussia was precipitated in the abyss, it is to be imputed to its blind and obstinate adherence to the system of neutrality, which commenced with the treaty of Bâle. No one felt this more deeply, or expressed it more loudly, than the Prussian diplomatist who concluded that pacification.—PRINCE HARDENBERG'S *Memoirs*, iii. 150, 151. These able *Memoirs*, though written by the Count D'Allonville, were compiled from Prince Hardenberg's papers.

Alsace, and that they had no inclination to interfere in the internal affairs of France. Spain, exhausted and dejected, awaited only the most favourable opportunity of making a separate peace, and concluding a contest from which she had already suffered so much; while Piedmont, crushed by the weight of armaments beyond its power to support, which cost more than three times the subsidies granted by Great Britain, equally desired a conclusion to hostilities without venturing to express the wish. The conquest of Holland relieved the French government of all anxiety in that quarter, by compelling the Dutch to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Republic. The principal conditions of that treaty were, that the United Provinces ceded Venloo and Maastricht to Belgium; and bound themselves to aid the French with twelve ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, and one-half of the troops which they had under arms.

4. Thus the whole weight of the war fell on Austria and Great Britain. The former of these powers had suffered too much by the loss of the Low Countries to permit her to think of peace, while the disasters she had experienced had not as yet been so great as to compel her to renounce the hope of regaining them: Mr Pitt, in the latter, was fully aware of the approaching danger, and indefatigable in his efforts to revive the confederacy. He met with a worthy ally in Thugut, who directed the cabinet of Vienna. On the 4th May 1795, a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the two powers, by which Austria engaged to maintain 200,000 men in the field during the approaching campaign, and Great Britain to furnish a subsidy of £6,000,000 sterling. The utmost efforts were at the same time made to reinforce the Imperial armies on the Rhine.

5. The British government made exertions for the prosecution of the war more considerable than they had yet put forth, and seemed sensible that the national strength required to be more fully exerted now that the war approached her own shores. The naval force was augmented to one hundred thousand

seamen; one hundred and eight ships of the line were put in commission, and the land forces raised to one hundred and fifty thousand men. The expenditure of the year, exclusive of the interest of the national debt, amounted to £27,000,000, of which £18,000,000 was raised by loan, and £3,500,000 by exchequer bills. New taxes to the amount of £1,600,000 were imposed, and, notwithstanding the most vehement debates on the conduct of the ministry, and the original expedience of the war, a large majority in parliament concurred in the necessity, now that the country were embarked in the contest, of prosecuting it with vigour. On the 18th February, an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. This important event, the first step towards the great and decisive share which the last-mentioned power ultimately took in the contest, was not, however, at first productive of any results. The Empress Catherine, whose attention was wholly engrossed in securing the immense territories which had fallen to her by the partition of Poland, merely sent a fleet of twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, to reinforce Admiral Duncan, who was cruising in the North Sea, to blockade the squadron recently acquired by France from the Dutch republic; but neither had any opportunity of measuring their strength with the enemy.

6. A powerful and energetic party in Great Britain still declaimed against the war as unjust and unnecessary, and viewed with secret complacency the triumphs of the Republican forces. A secret belief that the cause of France was at bottom their own, led them to desire its success. It was urged in parliament, that the Revolutionary government in France being now overturned, and one professing moderation installed in its stead, the great object of the war was in fact at an end; that the continued disasters of the Allies proved the impossibility of forcing a government on that country contrary to the inclination of its inhabitants: that the confederacy was now practically dissolved, and the first opportunity should therefore be seized to conclude a contest from

which no rational hopes of success any longer remained : that, if we continued fighting till the Bourbons were restored, it was impossible to see any end to the contest, or to the burden which would be imposed upon the country during its continuance : that nothing but disaster had hitherto been experienced in the struggle ; and if that was the case formerly, when all Europe was arrayed against the Republic, what might now be expected when Great Britain and Austria alone were left to continue the struggle, and the French power extended from the Pyrenees to the Texel ! —that every consideration of safety and expedience, therefore, recommended the speedy close of a contest, of doubtful policy in its commencement, and more than doubtful justice in its principles.

7. Mr Pitt replied,—The object of the war was not to force the people of France to adopt any particular form of government, but merely to secure their neighbours from their aggression. Although there was great reason to fear that no security could be found for this till a monarchy was restored in that country, yet it was no part of the allied policy to compel its adoption : the government of the French republic was changed in form only, and not in spirit, and was as formidable as when the war was first provoked by the declamations of the Girondists : hostilities would again be commenced as soon as the military power of their enemies was dissolved, and the Allies would then find it as difficult a matter to re-assemble their forces, as the French would now find it to dissolve theirs. It is highly improbable that the Republican government will be able to induce men accustomed to war and rapine to return to the peaceful occupations of life ; and much more likely that they will find it necessary to employ them in schemes of ambition and plunder, to prevent them from turning their arms against domestic authority. War, however costly, at least gives to Great Britain security ; and it would be highly impolitic to exchange this for the peril necessarily consequent upon a resumption of amicable relations with a country in such a state of political conta-

gion. Peace would at once prove destructive to the French West India islands, by delivering them over to anarchy and Jacobinism, and from them the flame of servile revolt would speedily spread to our own colonial possessions in that quarter. Notwithstanding the great successes of the French on the Continent, the balance of conquest in the contest with Great Britain is decidedly in favour of this country : the losses of the Republicans in wealth and resources have been greater since the beginning of the war than those of all the Allies put together ; the forced requisitions and assignats of the French, which have hitherto maintained the contest, cannot be continued without the severities of the Reign of Terror ; and now is the time, by vigorously continuing the contest, to compel the Directory to augment their redundant paper currency, and thus accelerate the ruin which it is evident such a system must sooner or later bring on the financial resources of the country. Parliament by a large majority supported ministers in the prosecution of the war, in both houses of parliament.

8. The internal feeling of Great Britain, notwithstanding the continued ill success of its arms on the Continent, was daily becoming more unanimous in favour of the war. The atrocities of the Jacobins had moderated the ardour of many of the most enlightened of their early friends, and confirmed the hostility of almost all the moral and religious, as well as the opulent and influential classes ; the spectacle of the numerous and interesting emigrant families, who had been reduced from the height of prosperity to utter destitution, awakened the compassion of the humane over the whole country ; while the immense successes of the Republicans, and, above all, the occupation of Holland, excited the hereditary and ill-extinguished jealousy of the British people of their ancient rivals. Although, therefore, the division of parties continued most vehement, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act still invested the government with extraordinary powers, yet the feeling of the country was gradually becoming more

united, and its passions, like those of a combatant who has been wounded in the strife, were waxing warmer with all the blood which it had lost.

9. In France, on the other hand, the exhaustion consequent upon a state of extraordinary and unparalleled exertion was rapidly beginning to display itself. The system of the Convention had consisted in spending the capital of the country by means of confiscations, forced loans, and military requisitions; and the issue of assignats, supported by the Reign of Terror, had, beyond all former example, carried their designs into effect. But all such violent means of obtaining supplies can, from their very nature, only be temporary: how great soever may be the accumulated wealth of a state, it must in time be exhausted, if not supplied by the continued labours of private industry. The Reign of Terror, by stopping all the efforts of individuals to better their condition, and paralysing the arms of labour over the whole country, dried up the sources of national wealth. Even had the fall of Robespierre not put a period to the violent means adopted for rendering it available to the state, the same result must soon have followed from the cessation of all the sources of its supply.

10. During the winter of 1794, the French government made the greatest exertions to put their navy on a respectable footing, but all their efforts on that element led to nothing but disaster. Early in March the Toulon fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, put to sea with the design of expelling the British squadron from the Gulf of Genoa, and landing an expedition in Corsica. Being ignorant of their intention, Lord Hotham, who commanded the British blockading fleet, was at Leghorn at the time, and they succeeded in capturing the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, in the Gulf of St Florent, which found itself surrounded by the French fleet before its crew were aware it had put to sea. But the British admiral was not long in taking his revenge. On the 7th March he set sail from Leghorn with thirteen line-of-battle ships, and on the 18th fell in with the French squadron of the same

force. By a skilful manœuvre he succeeded in cutting off two ships of the line, the *Ca Ira*, and the *Censeur*, which fell into the hands of the British; and the remainder of the fleet, after a severe but partial action, was compelled to fall back to the Isles de Hyères, and disembark the land troops which they had on board. By this vigorous stroke the object of the expedition in the recovery of Corsica was entirely frustrated; and such was the dismay with which the soldiers were inspired from their sufferings during its continuance, that out of eighteen thousand men who were originally embarked, only ten thousand reached the French army, then lying in the Marquisate of Onelle.

11. Meanwhile the courts of Vienna and of Turin were making the most vigorous efforts for the prosecution of the war on the Piedmontese frontier. The Austrians reinforced the King of Sardinia with fifteen thousand men, and the Piedmontese troops raised the effective force in the field to fifty thousand men. The French soldiers on that frontier were in a still greater state of destitution and misery than the army of the Rhine. From the effect of desertion and sickness, during the severe winter of 1794, amidst the inhospitable region of the Alps, the total effective forces on that frontier did not exceed forty-five thousand. They occupied the whole crest of the mountains, from Vado to the Little St Bernard; while eighteen thousand of the allied forces were stationed in front of Cairo, fifteen thousand near Ceva, ten thousand in the valleys of Stura and Suza, and six thousand on the lofty ridges which close the upper extremity of the valley of Aosta. Generally speaking, the Republicans were perched on the summits of the mountains, while the Piedmontese forces occupied the narrow defiles where they sink down into the Italian plains.

12. The campaign commenced by a well-concerted enterprise of the French against the Col Dumont, near Mont Cenis, which the Piedmontese occupied with a force of two thousand men, from whence they were driven with considerable loss. But shortly after-

wards, Kellermann having been obliged to weaken his right by large detachments, to suppress a revolt at Toulon, the Imperialists resolved to take the lead by offensive operations against the French forces stationed in the Maritime Alps. For this purpose a simultaneous attack was made on the Republican posts at St Giacomo, Bordinetto, and Vado, which were all fortified. Though the French gained an advantage at the Col de Tende, their line was forced back after several days' fighting, and the Republicans were obliged to evacuate all their positions in the Maritime Alps. The allied forces occupied Loano, Final, and Voltri, with the whole magazines and artillery which had been collected there, and threatened the country of Nice and the territory of the Republic. Had the allied generals pushed their advantages with vigour, the whole right wing of the French army might have been driven from the mountains, or destroyed; for they could have collected thirty thousand fresh troops, flushed with victory, to crush twenty thousand, harassed with fatigue, destitute of shoes, and literally starving. Kellermann, with the aid of his chief of the staff, Berthier, exerted the utmost degree of skill and ability to compensate the inferiority of their force; but it was with the greatest difficulty, and only by pledging their private credit for the supplies of the army, that they were enabled either to procure provisions for the troops, or inspire them with the resolution to defend the rugged and desolate ridge in which the contest was carried on. Their situation was rendered the more desperate by a naval action between the British and Toulon fleets in the Bay of Frejus, in the course of which the Alcide, of seventy-four guns, blew up; and the French squadron, severely shattered, was compelled to take refuge in the harbour of Toulon. Fortunately for the Republicans, divisions between the allied generals at this time paralysed their movements, and prevented them from following up the advantages which their recent successes, and the open communication with the British fleet, seemed to afford.

13. These disasters on the frontiers of Provence induced the government to detach seven thousand men from the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, and ten thousand men from the army of the Rhine, to reinforce the combatants on the Alps. Their arrival, towards the end of August, restored the superiority to the Republican side, while no corresponding addition was made to the forces of the allied generals—another proof, among the many which these campaigns afford, of the total want of concert which prevailed between the Allies on the vast circle of operations from the Rhine to the Mediterranean, and the inestimable advantages which the French derived from the unity of government, and interior line of communication, which they enjoyed. The consequences soon proved ruinous to the allied armies. Kellermann, enabled by this powerful reinforcement to resume the offensive, and encouraged by the evident discord between the allied generals, formed the design of separating the Sardinian from the Austrian forces by a concentrated attack upon the centre of their line, and compelling the latter to give battle alone in the valley of Loano. But before this plan could be carried into effect, the peace with Spain enabled the government to detach to the support of the army of Italy the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, which arrived in the Maritime Alps before the end of September, and the command of the whole was given to General Scherer, Kellermann being detached to the command of the forces in Savoy. This great addition rendered the Republicans nearly double the allied forces in that quarter; while the courts of Turin and Vienna took no steps to avert the storm preparing to burst upon their heads. In truth, the Piedmontese government, experiencing the fate of all weak states in alliance with powerful ones, began to be as jealous of its friends as its enemies; while the Imperial generals rendered it too evident, by their manner and conduct, that they had no confidence either in the sincerity of the government or the efficiency of their soldiers. Devins, the Piedmontese general, trusted for

his support, not to the strength of the mountains which he occupied, but to the co-operation of the British fleet in the Bay of Genoa—a signal error, which soon led to the most disastrous consequences.

14. The Austrian army, consisting of forty thousand men, was posted in an extensive and fortified position, having its left resting on the little seaport town of Loano, and its right extending to the summit of the impending heights to the northward, from whence it communicated by a chain of fortified posts with the strong places of Ceva, Mondovi, and Coni, held by the Piedmontese troops. The position was strong; but this strength was balanced by the circumstance that, in case of disaster, the left wing had no means of retreat. The Republicans occupied a position in front of their opponents, their right resting on the little village of Borghetto on the sea-coast, their left extending to the Col de Tende and the summits of the Maritime Alps. The army at first consisted only of thirty-seven thousand men, but it was raised, by the successive arrival of the columns from the Eastern Pyrenees, before the middle of November, to sixty thousand men. Massena,* who had acquired a remarkable knowledge of the localities of that rugged district during the preceding campaigns, and whose great military abilities had already become conspicuous, was intrusted with the command of the attack. Notwithstanding the vast accession of force which the Republicans had received, and the increased activity which they had for some time evinced, the Austrian commander was so little aware of his danger that he lay at La Pietra, detained by an abscess in his mouth, while his officers were chiefly assembled at Feriole, where they were roused from a ball by the sound of the French cannon, at six o'clock on the morning of the 23d November.

15. Scherer, the general-in-chief, commanded the right wing, Massena the centre, and Serrurier the left. Massena's design was to force the Austrian centre

* See a biography of *MASSENA*, *infra*, chap. xx. § 49.

with an overwhelming force, and from that vantage-ground to take the remainder of the line in flank and rear. After haranguing his troops, he led them to the assault. The Austrian centre, commanded by Argenteau, made an obstinate resistance at the posts of Bordinetto and Melogno, and drove back the first assailants; but such was the vehemence of the fresh columns which the Republicans brought up to the assault, that they were compelled at length to retire to a second line on the right bank of the Bormida. Massena soon forced that position also, and by so doing got into the interior of the Austrian line, and was able to take all their positions in rear. The result of this first day's combat was, that, the centre of the Allies being forced, their left wing was liable to be overwhelmed by the combined attacks of the French centre and right wing. No sooner was the Austrian general made sensible of this disaster than he took the most precipitate steps to draw back his left wing. But he was not permitted to do this without sustaining the greatest losses. By break of day Augereau was climbing the heights of the Apennines, while his victorious battalions were driving everything before them. In conducting their retreat, the Imperialists did not display the vigour or decision which could alone save them in such perilous circumstances, and which, on the preceding day, had extricated the division commanded by Roccahini from equal danger.

16. The consequence was, that one column was beset on all sides in a ravine, which formed their only line of retreat; the head of the column, seized with a panic, was driven back upon the centre, and thrown into utter confusion; and, in the midst of an unparalleled scene of carnage and horror, forty-eight pieces of cannon and one hundred caissons were abandoned. The other column of the left wing only escaped by betaking themselves to almost inaccessible paths, and abandoning all their artillery, and at length, with great difficulty, effected their retreat by the road of the Corniche. Five thousand prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, and an

immense quantity of ammunition and magazines, fell into the hands of the victors; the total loss on the side of the Austrians was not less than seven thousand, while that of the French hardly amounted to one thousand men. This great victory, which terminated the campaign of 1795 in the Alps, was of decisive importance to the Republic. It gave the French winter-quarters at Loano, Savona, Vado, and other places on the Italian side of the Apennines, and, by rendering them masters of the valleys of the Orba, the Bormida, and the Tanaro, afforded every facility, at the commencement of the following campaign, for achieving the great object of separating the Austrian from the Piedmontese troops. In Savoy, the early fall of the snows precluded active operations at that rigorous season; but the French continued to occupy their elevated position on the summits of the ridge of Mont Genevre, Mont Cenis, and the Little St Bernard.

17. This battle, the most decisive yet gained from the commencement of the war by the Republican forces, is well deserving of consideration. It was the first instance of the successful application by the French troops of those principles of strategy which were afterwards carried to such perfection by Napoleon. It is the first victory in which the strength of the adverse army was at once broken by the number of prisoners and artillery which were taken. The same principle which the English adopted under Rodney and Howe—that of breaking the line, and falling with an overwhelming force upon one wing—was here carried into execution with decisive effect. It is worthy of observation, that this system was thus fully understood and practically exemplified by Massena, before Napoleon ever had the command of an army; another proof among the many which exist, that even the greatest genius cannot by more than a few years anticipate the lights of the age. Such a plan is the natural result of conscious prowess, and an experienced superiority in combat, which leads the attacking force to throw itself, without hesitation, into the midst of the enemy's columns. It will never be

adopted but by the party by whom such a superiority is felt; it will never be successful but where such a superiority exists.

18. The war on the Spanish frontier, during this campaign, was speedily brought to a successful termination. In the Western Pyrenees, the Republicans, during the winter, had sustained the greatest losses from sickness. No less than twelve thousand men had perished in the hospitals since the troops went into their cantonments, and twenty-five thousand were still sick: only twenty-five thousand, out of a nominal force of sixty thousand, were in a condition to take the field; and they, having long been reduced to half a ration a-day, looked more like spectres than men. It was not till the beginning of June that the Republican forces were so much strengthened, by reinforcements from the interior, as to be able to take the field. The fall of Figueras and Roses gave the French a secure base for their campaign in Catalonia; but the operations there, though upon the whole successful, were not of any decisive importance. The Spanish army in that quarter was stationed on the river Fluviá. Several combats of inconsiderable importance took place, the most remarkable of which was that of Besalu, where Augereau, with a small force, defeated all the efforts of the Spanish army. The opposing armies were still on the Fluviá, when the treaty of peace between the two powers suspended all further hostilities.

19. It was in Biscay that the decisive action took place which hastened this important event. Twelve thousand men, detached from the army of La Vendée, and replaced in that quarter by the troops who had been engaged in the reduction of Luxembourg, at length put the French commander in a condition to take the field. Towards the end of June, the campaign commenced by an unsuccessful attempt of the French upon the corps commanded by Filanigieri; but in the beginning of July Moncey forced the passage of the river Deva, and, by a vigorous attack with his centre, succeeded in dividing the Spanish army into two parts, and inter-

posing a hostile force between them. General Crespo, who commanded the Spanish left, was so vigorously pursued by the Republicans that he was compelled to abandon both Bilbao and Vitoria, and found himself driven to the frontiers of Old Castile, with a force reduced by the sword and desertion to seven thousand men. The left wing of the invading army was not so successful; and preparations were making for the investment of Pampeluna, when hostilities were terminated by the intelligence of the treaty of Bâle, concluded on the 12th July between the hostile powers. By this treaty Spain recognised the French Republic, and ceded to France the Spanish half of the island of St Domingo; an acquisition more embarrassing than valuable, in the state of anarchy to which the precipitate measures for the emancipation of the negroes had reduced that once flourishing colony. In return, the Republic relinquished all its conquests in Spain, and the frontiers of the two states were fixed as before the commencement of hostilities. The principal advantage gained to France by this treaty, and it proved in the end a most important one, was the command which it gave the government of two experienced and courageous armies, which were forthwith transferred to the seat of war in the Alps, and powerfully contributed to the great achievements which in the following campaign signalled the progress of the army of Italy.

20. During the whole winter of 1794, the unconquerable Charette maintained, with a few thousand men, the contest in La Vendée. The increase of the Republican forces, the diminution of his own followers, seemed only to augment the resources of his courage. So highly was his perseverance prized, that Suwarroff wrote with his own hand a letter expressive of his admiration; and all the princes of Europe looked to him as the only man capable of restoring the royal cause. But after the fall of Robespierre, and the execution of Carrier, more moderate ideas began to prevail in the French government; and the Committee of Public Salvation became weary of a contest apparently in-

terminable, and which consumed in intestine war a large portion of the forces of the Republic. At the suggestion of Carnot, they published a proclamation, couched in terms of reconciliation and amity; and this having led to an address in similar terms from the Royalist chiefs, conferences took place between the contending parties, and a treaty was concluded at La Jaulnais for the final pacification of the west of France.

21. The principal conditions of this treaty were the according the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion to the inhabitants of the insurgent district; the establishment of a corps of two thousand territorial guards, composed of the natives of the country, and paid by government; the immediate payment of two millions of francs for the expenses of the war; various indemnities to the greatest sufferers from its ravages; the removal of the sequestration laid on the property of the emigrants, and all those condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal; the tacit permission to the people to retain their arms, and an exemption from every kind of tax, levy, or requisition. On their side, the Royalists engaged to submit to the laws of the Republic, and, as soon as possible, surrender their artillery. There were also secret articles, the exact nature of which has never been ascertained; but Charette and the Royalist party always maintained, that they contained an engagement on the part of the Convention, as soon as the state of public feeling would admit of it, to restore the monarchy. This treaty, though not at the time embraced by Stofflet and the Chouans, was shortly after acceded to by them also. Nine days after the signature of this treaty, Charette and his officers made a triumphal entry into Nantes, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Discharges of artillery announced the passage of the Loire, the scene of so many Republican atrocities, by the Royalist hero, who was mounted on a splendid charger, dressed in blue, with the Royalist scarf, and a plume of white feathers on his head. Four of his lieutenants rode by his side, arrayed in the same

manner, which formed a striking contrast to the dress of the commissioners of the Convention, distinguished chiefly by the red cap of liberty.

22. But after the first tumults of public joy had subsided, it became evident that the treaty was a truce rather than a final pacification, and that the seeds of inextinguishable discord subsisted between the opposite parties. The Royalists and the Republicans each associated exclusively with their own party. The officers of Charette appeared at the theatre with the white cockade; though he himself, who had so often rivalled Coligny in war, surpassed him in prudence and caution during peace. Carefully avoiding every menacing or hostile expression, he was yet reserved and circumspect in his demeanour; and it was evident to all that, though anxious to avoid an immediate rupture, he had no confidence in the continuance of the accommodation. The members of the Committee of Public Salvation were impressed with the same conviction. The answer they made to their friends, when pressed on the subject of the treaty, was—"We have little reliance on the submission of Charette; but we are always gaining time, and preparing the means of crushing him on the first symptom of a revolt." In truth, the Republican pride had too good reason to be mortified at this treaty. Conquerors of all their other enemies, they were yet seemingly humbled by their own subjects; and the peasants of La Vendée had extorted terms which the kings of Europe had in vain contended for. It is painful to think that the renewal of hostilities in this district, and its tragic termination, was owing to the delusive hopes held out by, and the ill-judged assistance of, Great Britain.

23. Induced by the flattering accounts of the emigrants, the British government had long been making great preparations for a descent on the western coast of France, by a corps of those expatriated nobles whose fortunes had been rendered all but desperate by the Revolution. Its success appeared to them so certain, that all the terrors of the laws against them could not prevent a large force from being recruited

among the emigrants in Britain and Germany, and the prisoners of war in the British prisons. The government judged, perhaps wisely, that, as the expected movement was to be wholly national, it would be inexpedient to give the command of the expedition to a British commander, or support it by any considerable body of British troops. The forces embarked consisted of six thousand emigrants in the pay of Great Britain, with a regiment of artillerymen from Toulon, and they carried with them eighty pieces of cannon, with all their equipages and arms, and clothing for eighty thousand men. They were divided into two corps; the first commanded by Puisaye, whose representations had caused the adoption of the plan; and the second by the Count de Sombreuil. A third division of British troops was destined to support the two first, when they had made good their landing on the French coast. The command of the whole was given to the Count d'Artois, and great hopes were entertained of its success, not so much from the numerical amount of the forces on board, as the illustrious names which the nobles bore, and the expected co-operation of the Chouans and Vendéans, who had engaged, on the first appearance of a prince of the blood, to place eighty thousand men at his disposal.

24. The naval affairs of the French, on the western coast, had been so unfortunate as to promise every facility to the invading force. In winter the Brest fleet, in obedience to the positive orders of government, put to sea; but its raw and inexperienced crews were totally unable to face the tempests, which kept even the hardy veterans of Great Britain in their harbours. The squadron was dispersed by a storm, five ships of the line were lost, and the remainder so much damaged that twelve line-of-battle ships were alone able in June to put to sea. This fleet, accompanied by thirteen frigates, surprised the advanced guard of the Channel fleet, under the command of Admiral Cornwallis, near Belle-Isle, on the 7th June; but such was the skill and intrepidity of the British admiral, that he succeeded in maintaining a running fight

the whole day, and at length extricated his little squadron, without any loss, from the fearful odds by which it was assailed. Six days afterwards, Lord Bridport, with fourteen ships of the line and eight frigates, hove in sight, and, after two days' manœuvring, succeeded in compelling the enemy to engage. The British admiral bore down in two columns on the hostile fleet, who, instead of awaiting the contest, immediately fell into confusion, and strained every nerve to escape. In the running fight three ships of the line were captured by the British, and, if the wind had permitted all their squadron to take part in the action, there can be no doubt that the whole French fleet would have been taken or destroyed. As it was, they were so discomfited, that they crowded all sail till they reached the harbour of L'Orient, and made no attempt during the remainder of the season to dispute with the British the empire of the seas.

25. This brilliant engagement having removed all obstacles in the way of the expedition, two divisions of the emigrants set sail, and on the 27th appeared in Quiberon Bay. They immediately landed, to the amount in all of about ten thousand men, and made themselves masters of Fort Penhièvre, which defends the entrance of the peninsula of the same name. Encouraged by this success, they next disembarked all the immense stores and the train of artillery, which were intended to equip the whole Royalist forces of the west of France. But dissensions immediately afterwards broke out between Puisaye and d'Hervilly, neither of whom was clearly invested with the supreme direction, the former having the command of the emigrants, the latter of the British forces. At the same time, a small force detached into the interior having experienced a check, the troops were withdrawn into the peninsula and forts. The Chouans, indeed, flocked in great numbers to the spot, and ten thousand of these brave irregulars were armed and clothed from the British fleet; but it was soon discovered that their desultory mode of fighting was altogether unsuited for co-operation

with regular forces; and, on the first occasion on which they encountered the Republicans, they dispersed, leaving the emigrants exposed to the whole shock of the enemy. This check was decisive of the fate of the expedition; the troops were all crowded into the peninsula, lines hastily constructed to defend its entrance, and it was determined to remain on the defensive—a ruinous policy for an invading force, and which can hardly fail of insuring its destruction.

26. Meanwhile, an inconceivable degree of agitation prevailed in the Morbihan, and all along the western coast of France. The appearance of a few vessels in the Bay of Quiberon, before the fleet arrived, filled the peasantry with the most tumultuous joy; without the aid of couriers or telegraphs, the intelligence spread in a few hours through the whole province; and five hundred thousand individuals, men, women, and children, spent the night round their cottages, too anxious to sleep, and expecting by every breeze further information. One of their chiefs, d'Allegre, embarked on board a fishing-vessel, and reached Lord Cornwallis's vessel, from whom he received a liberal supply of powder, which was openly disembarked on the coast. Instantly the whole population was at work; every hand was turned towards the manufacture of the implements of war. The lead was stripped from the roofs of the houses and churches, and rapidly converted into balls; the women and children made cartridges; universal joy prevailed; the moment of deliverance appeared to be at hand. The intelligence of the disembarkation of the Royalist forces excited the utmost sensation through all France, and demonstrated what might have been the result, if a powerful army, capable of arresting the Republicans in the field, had been thrown into the western provinces, while its numerous bands were organised in an effective manner.

27. Hoche immediately took the most vigorous measures to face the danger. His forces were so disposed as to overawe Brittany, and stifle the symptoms of insurrection which manifested themselves in that extensive district; while

he himself, having collected seven thousand men, proceeded to the attack of the peninsula of Quiberon. On the 7th July, he advanced in close columns to the lines, and, after a smart action, drove the Royalists back in confusion to the intrenched camp which they had formed near Fort Penhilièvre. This disaster led to an open rupture between the emigrants and Chouan chiefs. Mutually exasperated, they accused each other of the bad success of the operations, and many thousands of the latter disbanded, and sought to escape from the peninsula. While vigour and resolution thus characterised all the operations of the Republicans, disunion and misunderstanding paralysed the immense force which, under able and united management, might have been placed at the disposal of the Royalists. The Royalist Committee at Paris, either ignorant of, or determined to counteract the designs of Puisaye on the coast, sent instructions to Charette and the Vendéans in Lower Poitou, to attempt no movement till the fleet appeared on his own shores. He, in consequence, renewed his treaty with the Convention at the very time when the expedition was appearing off Quiberon Bay; and refused to accept the arms, ammunition, and money which Lord Cornwallis tendered to him, to enable him to act with effect. At the very time when everything depended upon unity of action, and a vigorous demonstration of strength in the outset, the Royalists of Poitou, Anjou, Upper Brittany, and Maine, were kept in a state of inactivity by the Royalist Committee; while the emigrants and the peasants of the Morbihan, not a tenth part of the real force of the insurgents, sustained the whole weight of the Republican attack.

23. The misery of the troops, cooped up in the camp, soon became extreme. Eighteen thousand men found themselves shut up in a corner of land, without tents or lodgings of any sort to protect them from the weather; and the want of provisions soon rendered it absolutely necessary to discover some means of enlarging the sphere of their operations. In this extremity, Puisaye, whose courage rose with the difficulties

with which he was surrounded, resolved to make an effort to raise the blockade. He was the more encouraged to make this attempt from the arrival of the third division of the expedition, under the Count de Sombreuil, with the best regiments of the Royalists, and bearing the commission to himself as commander-in-chief of the whole allied forces. For the attempt, four thousand Chouans, under the command of Tinténac, were sent by sea to the point of St James, to attack the Republican intrenchments in rear, while Count Vauban, with three thousand, was despatched to Carnac, to combine with him in the same object, and Puisaye, at the head of the main body, assailed them in front.

29. Notwithstanding the extensive line, embracing twenty leagues, over which this attack on the Republican intrenchments was combined, it might have been attended with success, had not Tinténac, misled by orders received from the Royalist Committee at Paris, been induced, after landing, to move to Elvin, where he indeed destroyed a Republican detachment, but was prevented from taking any part in the decisive action which ensued on the peninsula. Meanwhile Vauban, repulsed at Carnac, was compelled to re-embark his troops, and came back only in time to witness the rout of the main body of the Royalists. Puisaye, ignorant of these disasters, marched out of his camp, at day-break, on the 16th, at the head of four thousand five hundred gallant men, and advanced towards the enemy. The Republicans fell back at his approach to their intrenchments; and a distant discharge of musketry made the Royalists believe that Tinténac and Vauban had already begun the attack in the rear, and that the decisive moment was come. Full of joy and hope, Puisaye gave the signal for the assault, and the emigrant battalions advanced with the utmost intrepidity to the foot of the redoubts; but scarcely had they reached them, when several masked batteries opened a terrible fire of grape; a shower of musketry from above mowed down their ranks, while the strength of the works in front rendered any further advance impossible. The expected at-

tack in the rear never appeared, the Royalists were exposed alone to the destructive fire from the intrenchments, and, after sustaining it for some time with firmness, Puisaye, seeing that the expected diversion had not taken place, gave the signal for a retreat. It was soon converted into a rout by the Republican cavalry, which issued with fury out of the besiegers' lines, and threw the retiring columns into disorder. D'Hervilly was killed, and the Royalists were driven back with such vehemence to the fort on the peninsula, that, but for the fire of the British cruisers, the enemy would have entered it pell-mell with the fugitives.

30. This bloody repulse was a mortal stroke to the Royalists. Tinténiac, returning from his unfortunate digression to Elvin towards the scene of action, on the following day, was encountered and killed, after the dispersion of his forces, by a light column of the Republicans. On the same day Sombreuil disembarked his forces, but they arrived in the fort only in time to be involved in the massacre which was approaching. Hoche, resolved not to let the Royalists recover from their consternation, determined to storm the fort by escalade, without going through a regular siege. On the night of the 20th July, the Republicans advanced in silence along the shore, while the roar of the waves, occasioned by a violent wind, prevented the sound of their footsteps being heard in the fort. A division, under Menaye, threw themselves into the sea, in order to get round the rocks on which the redoubts were erected, while Hoche himself advanced with the main body to escalade the ramparts in front. Menaye advanced in silence with the water up to the shoulders of his grenadiers, and, though many were swallowed up by the waves, a sufficient number got through the perilous pass to ascend the rocky ascent of the fort on the side next the sea. Meanwhile the garrison, confident in their numbers, was reposing in fancied security, when the sentinels on the walls discovered a long moving shadow at the foot of the works. The alarm was instantly given; the cannon fired on the living mass, and the soldiers of

Hoche, torn in pieces by the unexpected discharge, were falling into confusion, and preparing to fly, when a loud shout from the other side announced the success of the escalating party under Menaye, and the flashes of the cannon showed the tricolor flag flying on the highest part of the fort. At this joyful sight the Republicans returned with fury to the charge, the walls were quickly scaled, and the Royalists driven from their post with such precipitation, that a large park of artillery placed in one of the most advanced quarters was abandoned.

31. Meanwhile Puisaye and Vauban, who were awakened by the noise, made ineffectual efforts to rally the fugitives in the peninsula. It was no longer possible. Terror had seized every heart; emigrants, Chouans, men and women, rushed in confusion towards the beach, while Hoche, vigorously following up his success, was driving them before him at the point of the bayonet. Eleven hundred brave men, the remains of the emigrant legions, in vain formed their ranks, and demanded with loud cries to be led back to regain the fort. Puisaye had gone on board the British squadron, in order to put in safety his correspondence, which would have compromised almost the whole of Brittany; and the young and gallant Sombreuil could only draw up his little corps on the last extremity of the sand, while the surrounding waves were filled with unfortunate fugitives, striving, amidst loud cries and showers of balls, to gain the fishing-barks which hovered near the shore. Many of these boats sank from the crowds which filled them, and seven hundred persons lost their lives in that way. The British fleet, from the violence of the tempest, was unable to approach the shore, and the remains of the emigrants were supported only by the fire of a British corvette, which swept the beach. At length the Republicans, penetrated with admiration at the noble conduct of their enemies, called out to them to lay down their arms, and they should be treated as prisoners of war; and Sombreuil, with generous devotion, stipulated that the lives of the soldiers should be spared,

and the emigrants allowed to embark, without providing for his own personal safety. The capitulation was agreed to by Humbert and the officers present, though Hoche was not implicated in this agreement; and upon its conclusion an officer was despatched through the surf, who with great difficulty reached the corvette, and stopped its destructive fire.*

32. The wretched fugitives, numbers of whom were women, who had crowded round this last band of their defenders, now rushed in despair into the waves, deeming instant destruction preferable to the lingering torments awaiting them from their conquerors: from the beach, the Republicans fired at their heads, while many of the Royalist officers, in despair, fell on their swords, and others had their hands cut off in clinging to the boats, which were already loaded with fugitives. Though numbers were drowned, yet many were saved by the skill and intrepidity of the boats of the British fleet, who advanced to their assistance. One of the last which approached the British squadron contained the Duke of Levis, severely wounded. Such was the multitude which crowded the shore, that the boats were compelled to keep off for fear of being sunk by the numbers who rushed into them. "Approach," exclaimed the French to the boatmen; "we ask you only to take up our commander, who is bleeding to death." The ensign-bearer of the regiment of Hervilly added, "Only save my standard, and I die content:" with heroic self-devotion

* Humbert advanced with the white flag, and said aloud, so as to be heard by the whole line, "Lay down your arms; surrender; the prisoners shall be spared." At the same time he asked a conference with the Royalist general; Sombreuil advanced, and, after a few minutes' conversation with the Republican, returned to his own troops, and called out aloud, that he had agreed on a capitulation with the general of the enemy. Many of his officers, more accustomed to the treachery of the Republicans, refused to trust to their promises, and declared that they would rather fight it out to the last. "What!" said Sombreuil, "do you not believe the word of a Frenchman?"—"The faith of the Republicans," said Lanivy, "is so well known to me, that I will engage we shall all be sacrificed." His prophecy proved too true.

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they handed up their leader and standard, and returned to the Republican fire, which speedily destroyed them.

33. Tallien, whom the Convention had sent down with full powers, as commissioner of government, to Quiberon Bay, made an atrocious use of this victory, and stained with ineffaceable disgrace the glory of his triumph over Robespierre. In defiance of the verbal capitulation entered into with the Royalists by Humbert and the officers engaged in the combat, he caused the emigrant prisoners, eight hundred in number, to be conveyed to Auray, where they were confined in the churches, which had been converted into temporary prisons; while he himself repaired to Paris, where, by a cruel report, he prevailed upon the government to disregard the capitulation, and bathe their hands in the blood of the noblest men in France. "The emigrants," said he, "that vile assemblage of ruffians sustained by Pitt, those execrable authors of all our disasters, have been driven into the waves by the brave soldiers of the Republic; but the waves have thrown them back upon the sword of the law. In vain have they sent forward flags of truce to obtain conditions; what legal bond can exist between us and rebels, if it be not that of vengeance and death?" In pursuance of this advice, the Convention decreed that the prisoners should be put to death, notwithstanding the efforts of the brave Hoche, who exerted himself on the side of mercy.

34. The unfortunate men were soon aware of the fate which awaited them; and their conduct in the last extremity reflected as much honour on the Royalist, as their murder did disgrace on the Republican cause. The ministers of religion penetrated into those asylums of approaching death, and the Christian faith supported the last hours of their numerous inmates. An old priest, covered with rags and filth, one of the few who had escaped the sword of the Republicans, conveyed its consolations to the numerous captives; and they joined with him in the last offices of religion. Their last prayers

were for their king, their country, and the pardon of their enemies. To the executioners they gave the garments which were still at their disposal. Such was the impression produced by the touching spectacle, that even the Republican soldiers, who had been brought up without any sort of religious impressions, were moved to tears, and joined, uncovered, in the ceremonies which they then, many of them, for the first time in their lives, had witnessed. When brought before the military commission, Sombreuil disdained to make any appeal in favour of himself; but asserted in the most solemn terms, that the capitulation had guaranteed the lives of his followers; that but for a solemn promise to that effect, they would have perished with arms in their hands; that their death was the work of executioners, not soldiers; and that their destruction was a crime which neither God nor man would pardon. When led out to execution, he refused to have his eyes bandaged; and when desired to kneel down to receive the fatal discharge, replied, after a moment's reflection, "I will do so; but I bend one knee to my God, and another to my sovereign." The other victims who were brought forward, insisted in such vehement terms on the capitulation, that the Republican officers were obliged to give them a respite; but the Convention refused to listen to the dictates of humanity, and they were all ordered for execution. Seven hundred and eleven perished with a constancy worthy of a happier fate; the remainder were suf-

fered to escape by the indulgence of the soldiers who were intrusted with their massacre, and the humanity of the commissioner who succeeded Tallien in the command. These atrocious scenes took place in a meadow near Aunay, still held in the highest veneration by the inhabitants, by whom it is termed the field of martyrs.*

35. The broken remains of the Quiberon expedition were landed in the Isle of Houat, where they were soon after joined by an expedition of two thousand five hundred men from England, which took possession of the Isle Dieu, and where the Count d'Artois assumed the command. The insurgents of La Vendée, under Charette, fifteen thousand strong, marched in three columns to the Sables d'Olonne to join the expedition; but so rapid and decisive were the measures of Hoche, that they were soon assailed by a superior force, and compelled to seek safety by separating in the forest of Aizenay. Several partial insurrections at the same time broke out in Brittany, but, from want of concert among the Royalist chiefs, they came to nothing. Soon after, the British expedition, not having met with the expected co-operation, abandoned Isle Dieu, which was found to be totally unserviceable as a naval station, and returned with the Count d'Artois, who evinced neither spirit nor conduct in this ill-fated service, to Great Britain. Charette, in despair at the departure of the expedition, said to the Count de Grignon, who brought the intelligence, "Tell the prince that you have brought my death-war-

* The Republican authors of the valuable "History of the Revolution by Two Friends of Liberty," much to their honour, admit that this violation of the capitulation at Quiberon was indefensible. "We shall not inquire now," say they, "with whom the truth lies; we shall only take it for granted that the *émigrés*, knowing from the decrees the fate reserved for those taken with arms in their hands, would not surrender without stipulating that their lives should be spared; but that the general and the representative, who, doubtless, were not present at the capitulation, did not look upon themselves as bound by it, and thought that they ought rigorously to carry out the decrees, being moreover guided by political reasons which called for an example to be made. Without wishing

to blame these motives, or to justify the men who returned to their native country as rebels, we incline to think that it would have been better to declare these emigrants not to be Frenchmen, and treat them as prisoners of war."—*Histoire de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté*, xiv. 116, 117. The English historian need feel no hesitation in condemning this cruel violation of a military capitulation, even when said to have been unauthorised, because he will have occasion to pass a similar judgment on similar violations of military conventions, even when attended with less tragic consequences—in the cases of Schwartzberg's breach of the Convention of Dresden, *infra*, chap. LXXXII. § 37; and of Nelson's violation of the Capitulation of Naples, chap. XXVII. § 98, 99.

rant : to-day I am at the head of fifteen thousand men ; to-morrow I shall not have fifteen hundred. Nothing remains for me but to fly, or seek a glorious death. My choice is made ; I shall perish with my arms in my hands." His indignation exhaled in a letter to the Count d'Artois, in which he openly accused him of cowardice. But his position was no longer tenable ; he was obliged to fly into the interior. From that moment the affairs of the Royalists rapidly declined in all the western provinces ; the efforts of the Chouans and Vendéens were confined to an inconsiderable guerilla warfare ; and this was finally extinguished in the succeeding year by the great army and able dispositions of Hoche, whom the Directory invested, at the end of the campaign, with the supreme command. It is painful to reflect how different might have been the issue of the campaign, had Great Britain really put forth its strength in the contest ; and, instead of landing a few thousand men on a coast bristling with bayonets, sent thirty thousand to make head against the Republicans, till the Royalists were so organised as to be able to take the field with regular troops.

36. The situation of the armies on the northern and eastern frontier remained the same as at the conclusion of the last campaign ; but their strength and efficiency had singularly diminished during the severe winter and spring which followed. Moreau had received the command of the army of the north, encamped in Holland ; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse, stationed on the Rhine near Cologne ; Pichegru, that of the army of the Rhine, cantoned from Mayence to Strasburg. But all these forces were in a state of extreme penury, from the fall of the paper money in which their pay was received, and totally destitute of the equipments necessary for carrying on a campaign. They had neither caissons, horses, nor magazines ; the soldiers were almost naked, and even the generals frequently in want of the necessaries of life, from the failure of the eight francs a-month, in silver, which formed the inconsiderable but necessary supplement to their

paper salaries. Those who were stationed in foreign countries contrived, indeed, by contributions upon the vanquished, to supply the deficiency of their nominal pay ; and the luxury in which they lived offered a strange and painful contrast to the destitute situation of their brethren on the soil of the Republic. Jourdan had neither a bridge equipage to enable him to cross the Rhine, nor a sufficiency of horses to move his artillery and baggage ; Kleber, in front of Mayence, had not a quarter of the artillery or stores necessary for the siege of the place. Discipline had relaxed with the long-continued sufferings of the soldiers, and the inactivity consequent on such a state of destitution had considerably diminished their military spirit. Multitudes had taken advantage of the relaxation of authority following the fall of Robespierre, to desert and return to their homes ; and the government, so far from being able to bring them back to their colours, was not even able to levy conscripts in the interior, to supply their place. Many resorted to Paris, where the Convention was happy to form them into battalions, for their own protection against the fury of the Jacobins. Soon the intelligence spread that the deserters were undisturbed in the interior ; and this extended the contagion to such a degree, that in a short time a fourth of the effective force had returned to their homes. The soldiers thought they had done enough for their country when they had repelled the enemy from its frontiers, and advanced its standards to the Rhine ; the generals, doubtful of their authority, did not venture to take severe measures with the refractory ; and those who remained, discouraged by the loss of so great a number of their comrades, felt that depression which is the surest forerunner of defeat.

37. The Austrians, on the other hand, having made the greatest efforts during the winter to reinforce their armies, and not having as yet experienced any part of the exhaustion which extraordinary exertion had brought on the Republican forces, were in a much better state, both in point of numbers,

discipline, and equipment. Including the contingents of Suabia and Bavaria, their forces on the Rhine had been raised to 150,000 men; while the French forces on the same frontier, though nominally amounting to 370,000 men, could only muster 145,000 in the field.* And such was the state of destitution of these forces, that the cavalry was almost completely dismounted; and Jourdan could not move a few marches from his supplies, until he got 25,000 horses for the service of his artillery. The Rhine, that majestic stream, so long the boundary of the Roman empire, separated the contending armies from the Alps to the ocean. The Imperialists had the advantage arising from the possession of Mayence. That bulwark of the Germanic Empire had been put into the best possible state of defence, and gave the Allies the means of making an irruption with security upon the left bank. Notwithstanding this great advantage, such was the consternation produced by their former reverses, that they remained inactive on the right bank of the river till the end of June, when Marshal Bender, having exhausted all his means of subsistence, and seeing no hope of relief, was compelled to surrender the important fortress of Luxembourg to the Republican generals. Ten thousand men, and an immense train of artillery, on this occasion fell into the hands of the victors.

38. While the Imperialists were thus allowing the bulwark of the Lower Rhine to fall into the hands of the enemy, the Prince of Condé, on the Upper Rhine,

* The distribution of the Republican forces at the commencement of the campaign was as follows, in effective troops, deducting the detachments and sick:—

	Active.	Garrisons.	Nominal, including garrisons.
North,	67,910	29,000	136,250
Sambre and Meuse,	87,680	66,000	170,300
Rhine and Moselle,	56,820	96,800	193,670
Alps,	14,000	4,800	21,000
Italy,	27,500	24,000	93,500
Eastern Pyrenees,	43,290	4,000	82,790
Western ditto,	83,780	5,000	75,180
West,	42,000		70,200
Shores of Brittany,	51,000		78,400
Cherbourg,	26,000		37,700
	449,930	229,000	958,990

was engaged in a negotiation, by which he hoped to procure the frontier fortresses of Alsace for the Bourbon princes. This prince, whose little corps formed part of the left wing of the Austrian army, was engaged in a correspondence with the malcontents in Alsace, and from them he learned that Pichegru was not altogether inaccessible to negotiation. In fact, that illustrious man was, on many accounts, discontented both with his own situation and that of his country. Like Dumourier and Lafayette, he had been horror-struck by the atrocities of the Convention, and saw no hope of permanent amendment in the weak and disunited government which had succeeded it; while, at the same time, the state of destitution to which, in common with all the army, he was reduced by the fall of the assignats, in which their pay was received, rendered him discontented with a government which made such returns for great patriotic services. During all the extremities of the Reign of Terror, Pichegru and his army, instead of obeying the sanguinary orders of the Dictators, had done everything in their power to furnish the means of escape to their victims. He had nobly refused to execute the inhuman decree, which forbade the Republican soldiers to make prisoners of the British troops. His soldiers, after the conquest of Holland, had set a rare example of discipline; and the sway he had acquired over them was such, as to prevent all the license and insubordination which had followed the conquest of Flanders by the forces of Dumourier. In these circumstances nothing was more natural or laudable, than that the same general who had secured the independence of his country by his arms, should strive to establish its internal prosperity by the restoration of a constitutional throne; and it is certain that he engaged in a correspondence with the Prince of Condé for the attainment of this object. The Republican historians allege that his fidelity was shaken by different motives; that his passion for pleasure was restrained by the elusory nature of his pay, which, although nominally four thousand francs a-month, was in reality

only one hundred francs, from the depreciation of the assignats, and that he yielded to the offer of a marshal's baton, the government of Alsace, a pension of 200,000 francs, the chateau and park of Chambord, and a million in silver. No decisive evidence has yet been produced on the subject; but it is certain that, after six months consumed in mysterious communication, Pichegru broke off the negotiation, and prepared to obey the orders of the Convention, by commencing the campaign.

39. Wurmser, to whom the cabinet of Vienna had intrusted the command of its forces on the Upper Rhine, remained till the beginning of September without making any movement. Mutually afraid, the hostile armies occupied the opposite banks of the Rhine, without attempting to disquiet each other. Wurmser's forces, including garrisons, amounted to eighty thousand men; while those of Clairfait, including the same species of force, were ninety-six thousand. The formidable state of defence in which Mayence had been placed, left no hope of reducing it without a regular siege; while a squadron of gun-boats on the Rhine gave the Allies the command both of that stream and of the numerous islands which lie on its bosom. Jourdan, having at length procured the necessary bridge-equipage, prepared to cross the river in the beginning of September. On the 6th of that month he effected the passage without any serious opposition, at Eichelcamp, Neuwied, and Dusseldorf, and compelled the garrison of the latter town to capitulate. After repulsing the Austrian corps in that vicinity, he advanced slowly towards Lahn, and established himself on that stream a fortnight afterwards. Meanwhile Pichegru, in obedience to the orders of government, crossed the Upper Rhine at Mannheim, and, by the terrors of a bombardment, compelled that important city—one of the principal bulwarks of Germany—to capitulate. This unexpected event threatened to change the fortune of the war; for Pichegru, now securely based on the Rhine, seemed equally in a situation to combine with Jourdan for a general attack on the

allied forces, or to direct his arms to the reduction of Mayence.

40. Alarmed by these successes, the Austrian generals made the most prudent dispositions which could have been adopted to arrest the enemy. Clairfait, unable, after the loss of Mannheim, to defend the line of the Lahn, abandoned his position on that river, and fell back behind the Maine; while Jourdan, following his opponent, and leaving a division before Ehrenbreitstein, descended into the rich valley of the Maine, and invested Mayence on the left bank of the Rhine, at the same time that Pichegru was debouching from Mannheim. In these critical circumstances, Clairfait displayed a degree of vigour and ability which led to the most important results. Reinforced by fifteen thousand Hungarian recruits, that able general deemed himself in a situation to resume the offensive. Accumulating his forces on his own right, he succeeded, by a skilful march, in turning the French left, and forcing them to fall back into a situation where they had him in their front, and the Rhine in their rear. Jourdan was now in the most perilous position. His communications being threatened, his flank turned, and his rear resting on a great river, exposed his army to destruction in the event of defeat. To avert the catastrophe of the French army a century before at Turin, when Marshal Marsin was totally defeated by Prince Eugene, no other course remained but to raise the siege of Mayence, and fall with his whole forces on Clairfait, who was now in communication with Wurmser, or to abandon all his positions, and recross the Rhine. The disorganised state of his army rendered the former project, afterwards so ably practised by Napoleon before Mantua, impracticable; and therefore he commenced his retreat. It was conducted in the utmost confusion; cannon, men, and horses arrived pell-mell at the bridges over the Rhine, and hardly fifty men of any corps were to be found together when they regained the left bank. The loss in men was inconsiderable, but the moral consequences of the retrograde movement were equivalent to a severe defeat. Had

Clairfait been aware of the circumstance, a great and decisive blow might have been struck; for General Marceau, to whom the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein had been intrusted, having burned his flotilla when he raised the siege, some of the burning vessels were carried down by the stream to Neuwied, where they set fire to the bridge established at that place, which was speedily consumed. Kleber, with twenty-five thousand men, who had not as yet repassed, was now in a desperate situation; but, fortunately for him, the Allies were ignorant of the accident, and Clairfait about the same time relinquished the pursuit and drew his forces towards Mayence, where he meditated operations which soon produced the most important results.

41. Suddenly abandoning the pursuit of the French left wing, this intrepid general turned by forced marches to Mayence, at the head of a chosen corps, and at daybreak on the following morning issued out by several columns to attack the lines of circumvallation which were still in the hands of the Republicans on the left bank of the river. These lines, the remains of which still excite the admiration of the traveller, were of immense extent, and required an army for their defence. The French army had been engaged for a year in their construction, and they were garrisoned by thirty thousand men. The secret of the march of the Imperial army had been so well preserved, that the besiegers were first apprised of their arrival by the sight of the formidable columns which advanced to storm their intrenchments. The Imperialists advanced in three columns, and in admirable order, to the assault; and such was the consternation of the Republicans, that they abandoned the first line almost without opposition. An event of that description is generally decisive of the result in the defence of intrenchments, because the defenders are thunderstruck by seeing their redoubts forced in any quarter, and, instead of thinking of driving back the enemy as in the open field, in general give over all for lost, and betake themselves to a precipitate flight. So it proved on the present occasion. The

measures of the Austrians were so well taken, that the French found themselves assailed in all quarters at once: they made for some time an obstinate defence in the second line; but at length, perceiving that they were turned by other forces, which had crossed below Mayence, they fell into confusion, and fled in all directions. Their loss in this brilliant affair was three thousand men; and they were deprived, in addition, of the whole artillery, magazines, and stores, which they had collected with so much care for the siege of the bulwark of Germany.

42. This attack on the part of Clairfait was combined with other operations along the whole line, from Coblenz to Mannheim. On the same day on which it took place, an island, which the Republicans had fortified a league above Coblenz, was captured, with two battalions which composed its garrison; and by this success, which rendered the evacuation of the *île-de-pont* of Neuwied unavoidable below Mayence, they were entirely driven to the left bank of the river. At the same time, Wurmsers attacked and carried the *île-de-pont* erected by Pichegru on the Neckar; and this success, coupled with the great blow struck by Clairfait, compelled Pichegru to retire behind the Pfim, which was not accomplished without the utmost confusion. The small number of troops which Clairfait had brought to the left bank of the Rhine, alone saved the Republicans on this occasion from the greatest disasters. Pichegru had left a garrison ten thousand strong in Mannheim, and the position which he had occupied enabled him to communicate with the place by his right flank. Despairing of being able to effect its reduction as long as this communication was preserved open, the Austrians resolved to dislodge the French from their position. For this purpose Clairfait was reinforced with twelve thousand men from the army of the Upper Rhine, and he immediately made preparations for an attack. It took place on the following day; and, after an obstinate resistance, the Republicans were compelled to abandon the line of the Pfim, and retire behind the Els-

bach, leaving Mannheim to its own resources.

43. While these important events were going forward on the Upper Rhine, Jourdan, with his defeated and discouraged force, was suffering the most cruel perplexity on the Lower. His army was with difficulty reorganised, and put in a condition for active service; and the Directory having meanwhile succeeded to the helm of affairs, Carnot transmitted to him the most pressing orders to advance to the succour of Mannheim, which was now severely pressed by the Austrians. At length, towards the end of November, he put himself in motion at the head of forty thousand men, and advanced to the Nahe, in the midst of the most dreadful weather. But all his efforts were in vain. The central position of Clairfait and Wurmser both covered the siege of Mannheim and prevented the junction of the Republican armies; the defiles by which a communication could have been maintained were all in the hands of the Imperialists; and after several unsuccessful attacks, Jourdan was obliged to fall back, leaving Mannheim to its fate. That strong fortress, with a garrison of nine thousand men, capitulated at the same time to Wurmser. This important event was decisive of the fate of the campaign. Wurmser, now relieved from all apprehensions as to his communications, brought his whole forces to the left bank of the Rhine, and drove back Pichegru to the lines of the Queich, and the neighbourhood of Landau; while Clairfait pressed Jourdan so severely, that he began to construct an intrenched camp at Traarbach, with a view to secure his passage over the Moselle. In this disastrous state it was with the utmost joy that he received a proposition from the Austrians, who, as well as their opponents, were exhausted with the fatigues of the campaign, for a suspension of arms during the winter, in virtue of which a line of demarcation was drawn between the contending parties; and both armies were put into winter-quarters on the left bank of the Rhine.

44. The French marine was so completely broken by the disasters in the

Mediterranean, and at L'Orient, that nothing more of consequence took place at sea during the remainder of the year. The British availed themselves of their maritime supremacy to make themselves masters of the important station of the Cape of Good Hope, which surrendered to Sir James Craig on the 16th of September. Unable to act in large squadrons, the French confined themselves to mere predatory expeditions; and the vast extent of the British commerce afforded them an ample field for this species of warfare, from which, towards the close of the year, they derived great gains.

45. By the result of this campaign the Allies gained considerable advantages. The career of French conquest was checked, the Republican soldiers driven with disgrace behind the Rhine; and while the Imperial forces, so lately disheartened and desponding, were pressing forward with the energy of conquest, their opponents, distracted and disorderly, had lost all the spirit by which they were formerly animated. The movements of Clairfait and Wurmser proved that they had profited by the example of their adversaries. Their tactics were no longer confined to a war of posts, or the establishment of a cordon over an extensive line of country, but showed that they were aware of the value of an interior line of operations, and of the importance of bringing an overwhelming force to the decisive point. By adopting these principles, they checked the career of conquest, restored the spirits of their troops, and not only counterbalanced the disadvantage of inferior numbers, but inflicted severe losses upon their adversaries. This result was the natural effect of the continuance of the contest. The energy of a democracy is often formidable during a period of popular excitement, and is capable of producing unparalleled exertions for a limited period; but it seldom succeeds in maintaining a lasting contest with a regular and organised government. The efforts of the populace resemble the spring of a wild beast; if the first burst fails, they rarely attempt a second. During the invasions of 1793 and 1794, the

French nation was animated with an extraordinary spirit, and urged to the defence of their country by every motive which can sway a people. But their efforts, how great soever, after a time necessarily and rapidly declined. By the prolongation of the contest they had exhausted the means of longer maintaining war; the vehemence of their exertions, and the tyranny by which they were called forth, rendered it impossible that they could be continued. The nation, accordingly, which had twelve hundred thousand men on foot during the invasion of 1794, could not muster a third of the number in the following campaign; and the victor of Fleurus, within a year after his triumph, was compelled to yield to an inferior enemy.

46. Nothing also is more remarkable than the comparatively bloodless character of the war up to this period. The battle of Jemappes, which surrendered Flanders to Dumourier; that of Nerwinde, which restored it to the Imperialists; that of Fleurus, which gave it back to the Republicans, were all concluded at a cost of less than five thousand men to the vanquished; and the loss sustained by the French in the storming of their lines before Mayence, which decided the fate of the German campaign, was only three thousand men: whereas the loss of the Austrians at Aspern was thirty thousand; that of the Russians at Borodino, forty thousand; that of Wellington's army at Waterloo, twenty-two thousand; and out of seven thousand five hundred native British who conquered at Albuera, not two thousand were unwounded at the conclusion of the fight. So much more desperately did the parties fight as the contest advanced; so much more vehement were the passions excited in its later stages; and so much more terrible was the struggle when the Republicans, instead of the lukewarm soldiers of the south, met the sturdy inhabitants of the north of Europe.

47. Everything, therefore, conspires to indicate that, by a concentrated and vigorous effort, after the first burst of French patriotism was over, the objects

of the war might have been achieved, and security from aggression afforded to the neighbouring powers. These objects were not the forcing of an unpopular dynasty upon France, or of a tyrannical government upon its people, but the compelling it to retire within those limits which are consistent with the peace of Europe, and give up its attempts to propagate its revolutionary principles in other states. Had Prussia, instead of weakly deserting the alliance in the beginning of 1795, sent a hundred thousand men to the Rhine, to support the Austrian troops; had Great Britain raised three hundred thousand soldiers, instead of a hundred and twenty thousand, and sent eighty thousand native British to Flanders, instead of five thousand emigrants to Quiberon Bay, no one can doubt that, in the state of exhaustion in which France then was, the Republic would have been compelled to abandon all its conquests. The moment her armies were forced back from foreign states, and thrown upon their own resources—the moment that war was prevented from maintaining war—the weakness arising from financial embarrassments and blighted industry would have become apparent; the decrepitude of age would at once have fallen on the exhausted state. The great error of the Allies, and, above all, of Great Britain, at this period, was, that they did not make sufficiently vigorous efforts at the commencement; and thought it enough, in a struggle with the desperate energy of a revolutionary state, to exert the moderate strength of an old and methodical warfare. Nothing is so ill judged, in such a situation, as the niggardly conduct which prolongs a contest: by spending fifty millions more at its commencement, Great Britain might have saved five hundred millions; by sending an army worthy of herself to the Continent in 1795, she might have then achieved the triumph of 1815. It was to this period of lassitude and financial embarrassment, necessarily consequent upon a series of extraordinary revolutionary exertions, that Mr Pitt always looked for the successful termination of the war. Possibly, even with the slight

efforts which alone were then thought practicable by this country, his expectations might have been realised before many years had elapsed, if the ordinary course of human affairs had continued. But the hand of fate was on the cur-

tain; a new era was about to open on human affairs, and a resistless impulse to be given for a period to French ambition, by the genius of that wonderful man who has since chained the history of Europe to his own biography.

CHAPTER XIX.

FRENCH REPUBLIC—FROM THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY.

1. "It is a sad calamity," says Jeremy Taylor, "to see a kingdom spoiled, and a church afflicted; the priests slain with the sword, and the blood of nobles mingled with cheaper sand; religion made a cause of trouble, and the best men most cruelly persecuted; government turned, and laws ashamed; judges decreeing in fear and covetousness, and the ministers of holy things setting themselves against all that is sacred. And what shall make recompense for this heap of sorrows, when God shall send such swords of fire? Even the mercies of God, which shall then be made public, when the people shall have suffered for their sins. For so I have known a luxuriant vine swell into irregular twigs and bold excrescences, and spend itself in leaves and little rings, and afford but little clusters to the wine-press; but when the lord of the vine had caused the dressers to cut the wilder plant, and make it bleed, it grew temperate in its vain expense of useless leaves, and knotted into fair and juicy bunches, and made account of that loss of blood by the return of fruit. It is thus of an afflicted kingdom cured of its surfeits, and punished for its sins; it bleeds for its long riot, and is left ungoverned for its disobedience, and chastened for its wantonness; and when the sword hath let forth the corrupted blood, and the fire hath purged the rest, then it enters into the double joys of restitution, and gives God thanks

for his rod, and confesses the mercies of the Lord in making the smoke to be changed into fire, and his anger into mercy."

2. Never were these truths more strongly exemplified than in France during the progress of the Revolution. Each successive convulsion had darkened the political atmosphere. Anguish and suffering incessantly increased; virtue and religion seemed banished from the earth; relentless cruelty reigned triumphant. The bright dawn of the morning, to which so many millions had turned in thankfulness, was soon overcast, and darkness deeper than midnight overspread the world. "But there is a point of depression in human affairs," says Hume, "from which the change is necessarily for the better." This change is not owing to any oscillation between good and evil, in the transactions of the world, but to the reaction which is always produced by long-continued suffering, and the provision made by nature for the correction of vicious institutions by the consequences which they produce. Wherever the tendency of institutions is erroneous, an under-current begins to flow, destined to open men's eyes to their imperfections; when they become destructive, it overwhelms them. The result of the conspiracy of Robespierre and the Municipality, proved that this point had been reached under the Reign of Terror. On all former occa-

sions since the meeting of the States-General, the party which revolted against the constituted authorities had been victorious; on that it was vanquished. The Committees of the Assembly, the subsisting government, crushed a conspiracy headed by the powerful despot who wielded the revolutionary energy of France, and who was still supported by the terrible force of the faubourgs, which no former authority had been able to withstand. This single circumstance demonstrated that the revolutionary movement had reached its culminating point, and that the opposite principles of order and justice were beginning to resume their sway. From that moment the anarchy and passions of the people subsided, the storms of the moral world began to be stilled, through the receding darkness the ancient landmarks began dimly to appear, and the sun of heaven at length broke through the clouds which enveloped him.

"Defluit saxæ agitur humor :
Concedunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax (nam sic volvere) ponto
Unda recumbit."

3. An interesting episode in the annals of the Revolution occurred in the prisons during the contest which preceded the fall of the tyrant. From the agitation and cries in the streets, the captives were aware that a popular movement was impending, and a renewal of the massacres of 2d September was anticipated from the frantic multitude. Henriot had been heard in the Place du Carrousel to pronounce the ominous words, "We must purge the prisons." The sound of the *générale* and the tocsin made them imagine that their last hour had arrived, and they embraced each other with tears, exclaiming, "We are all now eighty years of age!" After two hours of breathless anxiety, they heard the decree of the Convention cried through the streets, which declared Robespierre *hors la loi*, and by daybreak intelligence arrived that he was overthrown. The transports which ensued may be imagined; ten thousand prisoners were relieved from the prospect of instant death. In one chamber, a female prisoner, who

was to have been brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal that very day, was made acquainted with the intelligence, by means of signs, from a woman on the street, before she ventured to give public demonstration of her joy; her name became afterwards memorable—it was JOSEPHINE BEAUHARNAIS, future Empress of France.

4. The transports were the same through all France. The passengers leapt from the public conveyances, embraced the bystanders, exclaiming, "My friends, rejoice! Robespierre is no more; the tigers are dead!" Two hundred thousand captives in the prisons throughout the country were freed from the terror of death; three hundred thousand trembling fugitives issued from their retreats, and embraced each other with frantic joy on the public roads. An epitaph designed for his tomb expressed in powerful language the public opinion on the consequence of prolonging his life:

"Passant ! ne pleure point son sort;
Car s'il vivait, tu serais mort."

No words can convey an idea of the impression which the overthrow of Robespierre produced in Europe. The ardent and enthusiastic in every country had hailed the beginning of the French Revolution as the dawn of a brighter day in the political world, and in proportion to the warmth of their anticipations had been the grievousness of their disappointment at the terrible shades by which it was so early overcast. The fall of the tyrant revived those hopes, and put an end to those apprehensions. The moral laws of nature were felt to be still in operation; the tyranny had only existed till it had purged the world of a guilty race, and then it was itself destroyed. The thoughtful admired the wisdom of Providence, which had made the wickedness of men the instrument of their own destruction; the pious beheld in their fall an immediate manifestation of the Divine justice. "The dawn," it has been not less eloquently than justly said, "of the arctic summer day after the

* "Passenger ! bewail not his fate,
For had he lived, thou hadst died."

arctic winter night; the great unsealing of the waters; the awakening of animal and vegetable life; the sudden softening of the air; the sudden blooming of the flowers; the sudden bursting of whole forests into verdure, is but a feeble type of that happiest and most genial of revolutions,—the Revolution of the 9th Thermidor.*

5. The Revolution of 9th Thermidor, however, was by no means, as is commonly supposed, at least in its first stages, the reaction of virtue against wickedness. It was the effort of one set of assassins, threatened with death, against another. The leaders of the revolt in the Convention which overthrew the central government, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, Amar, Barère, were no better, but in many respects worse, than Robespierre and St Just. Equally unscrupulous in the means they employed, equally bloody in the executions they ordered, they were far more selfish in their objects, and more despicable in their characters. With them the Revolution was not, as with Robespierre, a desperate and sanguinary struggle for the happiness of man, in which all its supposed enemies required to be destroyed; it was merely an engine for advancing their private fortunes. They conspired against him, not because they hated his system, but because they perceived it was about to be directed against themselves. Little amelioration of the state government was to be expected from their exertions. It was public opinion, clearly and energetically expressed after the fall of the Committee of Public Salvation, which compelled them to revert to the path of humanity. But this opinion was irresistible; it forced itself upon persons the most adverse to its principles, and finally occasioned the destruction of the very men who, for their own sakes, had brought about the first resistance to the reign of blood.

6. The Convention had vanquished Robespierre by means of a unanimous effort, headed and directed by the committees; but this revulsion of public feeling proved too strong for the com-

mittees themselves. The charm of the Decemviral government was broken when its head was destroyed. On the day after the fall of Robespierre there were but two parties in Paris—that of the committee, who strove to maintain the remnant of their power, and that of the liberators, who laboured to subvert them. Every day brought forth a new proof of the vehement revulsion of public feeling. In the Théâtre Français the bust of Marat was pulled down and broken to pieces amidst loud applause. His bones were ejected from the Pantheon, and cast into a common sewer. The picture of his death, which hung in the hall of the Convention, was removed, and the savage inscriptions provoking to blood, with which the walls of the city had been covered, were effaced. The party by whom these changes were urged on, was from the first distinguished by the name of *Thermidorians*, from the day on which their triumph had been achieved. Tallien was at their head, and they soon numbered among their supporters all the generous youth of the metropolis. The party of the committees was paralysed by the fall of the Municipality of Paris, sixty of the most obnoxious members of which had been executed the day after the death of Robespierre. Their influence arose only from the possession of the machinery of government, and the vigour of some of their members, all of whom saw no safety to themselves but in the maintenance of the revolutionary government. Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, Vadier, Amar, and Carnot, constituted a body influenced by the same principles, and capable of maintaining their authority in the most difficult circumstances. But after the counter-revolution of the 9th Thermidor, the current of public opinion soon became irresistible, and they were impelled, in spite of themselves, into measures of humanity.

7. The Thermidorians were composed of the whole centre of the Convention, the remnant of the Royalists, and the survivors of the party of Danton. Boissy d'Anglas, Siéyès, Cambacérès, Chénier, Thibaudeau, from the moderate party, ranged themselves beside Tallien, Fré-

* MACAULAY, in review of the *Memoirs of BARÈRE*, *Edinburgh Review*.

ron, Legendre, Barras, Bourdon de l'Oise, Rovère, and others, who had followed the colours of Danton. Four of this party were chosen to replace the executed members of the Committee of Public Salvation, and soon succeeded in moderating its sanguinary measures. But great caution was necessary in effecting the change. The Jacobins were still powerful from their numbers, their discipline, and their connection with the affiliated societies throughout France; and their early support of the Revolution identified them in the eyes of the populace with its fortunes. Hence the Thermidorians did not venture at first to measure their strength with such antagonists, and four days after the death of Robespierre the sittings of that terrible club were resumed. But so vehement was the current of public opinion, so dreadful had been the general suffering under the Reign of Terror, that the friends of clemency daily gained accessions of strength. On the 27th July, the seventy-three members of the Assembly, who had protested against the violence of 31st May, were brought forth from prison, and joined their liberators.

8. The two parties were not long in measuring their strength after their common victory. Barère, on the part of the Committee, proposed on the 30th July, that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be kept up, and that Fouquier Tinville should continue to act as public accuser. At his name a murmur of indignation arose in the Assembly, and Fréron, taking advantage of the general feeling, exclaimed, "I propose that we at length purge the earth of that monster, and that Fouquier be sent to lick up in hell the blood which he has shed." The proposal was carried by acclamation. Barère endeavoured to maintain the tone of authority which he had so long assumed; but it was too late. He was obliged to leave the tribune, and the defeat of the Committee was apparent. The trial of this great criminal took place with extraordinary formality, and in the most public manner, before the Revolutionary Tribunal. It developed all the injustice and oppression of that iniquitous court: the trial of sixty or eighty prisoners in one

sitting of three or four hours; the inhuman stopping of any defence; the signature by the judges of blank sentences of condemnation, to be afterwards filled up with any names by the clerks; and the atrocious celerity of the condemnations. After a long process he was condemned, and fourteen jurymen of the Tribunal along with him. The sentence bore among other charges, "having, under colour of legal judgment, put to death an innumerable crowd of French citizens of every age and sex." The indignation of the populace was strongly manifested when they were led out for execution; cries, groans, and applauses broke from the crowd as they passed along. The sombre, severe air of Fouquier especially attracted notice; he maintained an undaunted aspect, and answered the reproaches of the people by ironical remarks on the dearth of provisions under which they laboured.

9. The next measures of the Convention were of a humane tendency. The law of 22d Prairial, against suspected persons, was repealed; and though the Revolutionary Tribunal was continued, its forms were remodelled, and its vengeance directed in future chiefly against the authors of the former calamities. The captives were gradually liberated from confinement, and instead of the fatal chariots which formerly stood at the gates of the prisons, crowds of joyous citizens were seen receiving with transport their parents or children, restored to their arms. Agreeably to the advice formerly given by Danton and Camille Desmoulins, they were not all discharged at once, but were gradually liberated from the jails, and all at length restored to their friends. At the end of two months, out of ten thousand suspected persons, not one remained in the prisons of Paris. The efforts of the Jacobins to prevent the discharge of the persons confined in prison in the departments, whom they designated as all aristocrats, were very great; but the numerous and heart-rending details of the massacres which were transmitted to the Convention, from every part of the country, overwhelmed all opposition. Among the rest, one re-

lated by Merlin de Thionville excited particular attention. It was an order signed by a man named Lefevre, an adjutant-general, addressed to, and executed by, a Captain Macé, to drown at Paimbœuf forty-one persons; of whom one was an old blind man seventy-six years of age; twelve were women of different ages; twelve girls below twenty years; fifteen children, of whom ten were between five and ten years of age, and five still at the breast. The order was couched in these terms, and was rigidly executed: 'It is ordered to Peter Macé, captain of the brig Destiny, to put ashore the woman Bidet, and the remainder of the preceding list shall be taken to the heights of Black Peter, and thrown into the sea, as rebels to the law. This operation concluded, he will return to his post.'

10. The imprudent zeal of one of their party, however, soon convinced the Thermidorians how necessary it was to proceed with caution in the counter-revolutionary measures. Without any general concert with his friends, Lecointre denounced Billaud, Collot, and Barère, of the Committee of General Safety, and Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, of that of Public Salvation, in the National Assembly. This measure was premature; it alarmed the friends of the Revolution, and was almost unanimously rejected. But for the strong feeling against the former government which existed in Paris, this defeat might have been fatal to the friends of humanity, and restored the Reign of Terror.

11. By the advice of Madame de Fontenay, the beautiful mistress, and afterwards the courageous and eloquent wife of Tallien, the Thermidorians called to their support the youth of the metropolis—men at an age when generous feeling is strong, and selfishness weak, and whose minds, unwarping by the prejudices or passions of former years, had expanded during the worst horrors of the Revolution. They soon formed a powerful and intrepid body, ever ready to combat the efforts of the Jacobins, and confirm the order which was beginning to prevail. Composed of the most respectable ranks

in Paris, they almost all numbered a parent or relation among the victims of the Revolution, and had imbibed the utmost horror at its sanguinary excesses. To distinguish themselves from the populace, they wore a particular dress, called the *Costume à la Vierge*, consisting of a robe without a collar, expressive of their connection with those who had suffered by the guillotine. Instead of arms, they bore short clubs loaded with lead, and were known by the name of *La Jeunesse Dorée*. They prevailed over the Jacobins at the Palais Royal, where they had the support of the shopkeepers of that opulent quarter, but were worsted in the gardens of the Tuileries, where the vicinity of the club of their antagonists rendered revolutionary influence predominant. Their contests with the democrats were incessant; on the streets, in the theatres, in the public walks, they were ever at their post, and contributed by their exertions, in a most signal manner, to confirm and direct the public mind. In revolutions, the great body of mankind are generally inert and passive; the lead speedily falls into the hands of those who have the boldness to take it.

12. These contests between the two parties at length assumed the most important character. The whole of Paris became one vast field of battle, in which the friends of humanity, and the supporters of terror, strove for the mastery of the Republic. But public opinion pronounced itself daily more strongly in favour of the Thermidorian party. Billaud Varennes declared in the Jacobin Club—"The lion sleeps, but his wakening will be terrible." This declaration occasioned the greatest agitation in Paris; and the cry was universal to assault the club of the Jacobins. The national guard of the sections supported the troops of the Jeunesse Dorée, and their combined forces marched against that ancient den of blood. After a short struggle the doors were forced, and the club dispersed. On the following day they proceeded to lay their complaints before the Convention, but Rewbell, who drew up the report on their complaints, pronounced their

doom in the following words: "Where was the Reign of Terror organised? At the club of the Jacobins. Where did it find its supporters and satellites? Among the Jacobins. Who are they who have covered France with mourning; peopled its soil with bastiles; and rendered the Republican yoke so odious, that a slave bent beneath its fetters would refuse to live under it? The Jacobins. Who now regret the hideous yoke from which we have so recently escaped? The Jacobins. If you want courage to pronounce on their fate at this moment, you have no longer a Republic, since you have the Jacobins!" The Convention provisionally suspended their sittings; but the club having resumed their meetings on the following day, they were again assailed by the Troupe Dorée, with the cry, "Vive la Convention! à bas les Jacobins!" After an ineffectual struggle they were finally dispersed, with every mark of ignominy and contempt; and on the following day, the commissioners of the Convention put a seal on their papers and terminated their existence.

13. Thus fell the club of the Jacobins, the victim of the crimes it had sanctioned, and the reaction these had produced. Within its walls all the great changes of the Revolution had been prepared, and all its principal scenes rehearsed; from its energy the triumph of the democracy had sprung, and from its atrocity its destruction arose—a signal proof of the tendency of revolutionary violence to precipitate its supporters into crime, and render them at last the victims of the atrocities which they have committed. A contemporary journalist has preserved a striking account of the universal transports at the closing of this terrible club, which, with its affiliated societies, had so long covered all France with mourning. "It was a truly touching spectacle to behold the joy of the people at the extinction of the Jacobins. All hearts were opened at the news of the salutary decree of the Convention. In the evening the streets and public places resounded with cries of joy, with almost childish mirth, with games and

dances. *Every one pressed his friend's hand, without mentioning why*: all understood what was meant. In the coffee-houses, in the cabarets, toasts were universal to the health of the National Convention; in the public gardens they parodied a stanza of the Carmagnole with the words—

"Les Jacobins avaient promis
De faire égorger tout Paris."*

Many citizens spontaneously illuminated their windows; a sweeter, a more cordial joy was universal than had appeared during the noisy fêtes conceived by the Committee of Public Salvation, to strew with flowers the bloody avenue to slavery, and adorn the victims whom they were about to sacrifice to their ambition. Is there one amongst you who, during those odious fêtes, did not feel his heart sink within him, his flesh creep, and who, in the enchantment of that compulsory illumination, in the whirl of bought dances, cries of joy, and strains of music in those gardens, decked with so much care, did not withdraw within himself in the midst of the intoxicated multitude, to weep over the present, and mourn over the future! Very different is the spontaneous joy, the unbought entrancement, of this auspicious moment."

14. Another event, which contributed in the most powerful manner to influence the public mind, was the trial of the prisoners from Nantes, who had been brought up to Paris under the reign of Robespierre. These captives, who were one hundred and thirty in number when they left the banks of the Loire, were reduced to ninety-four by the barbarous treatment they experienced on the road. Their trial was permitted to proceed by the Thermidorian party, in hopes that the detail of the atrocities of the Jacobin leaders would increase the horror already existent in the public mind. It proceeded slowly, and the series of cruelties which it developed exceeded even what the imagination of poets had figured of the most terrible. The exposure of these, and similar cruelties, could not fail in increasing the

* "The Jacobins had promised
To massacre all Paris."

public indignation against the society of the Jacobins, from whose emissaries they had all proceeded. The prisoners were acquitted amidst the acclamations of the people; and the public voice, wrought up to the highest pitch by the recital of these barbarities, loudly demanded the punishment of their authors. Pressed by the force of public opinion, the Convention was obliged to authorise the accusation of Carrier, the head of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, how unwilling soever they might be to sanction a proceeding which they were conscious might be drawn into an example fatal to many of themselves.

15. The trial of this infamous man developed a still more dreadful series of iniquities, and contributed perhaps more than any other circumstance to confirm the inclination of the public mind. One of the witnesses deposed "that he had obtained permission to visit a chamber in the prisons where three hundred infants were confined; he found them groaning amidst filth, and shivering with cold; on the following morning he returned, but they were all gone; they had been drowned the preceding night in the Loire." Many thousand persons of both sexes, and all ages, including an extraordinary number of children, had perished in this inhuman manner. Carrier did not deny these atrocities, but sought to justify himself by alleging the orders of the Committee of Public Salvation at Paris, and the necessity of making reprisals against the fanatical cruelty of the insurgents of La Vendée. The massacres of the children, of the women, and the *noyades* of the priests, which could not be vindicated on that ground, he alleged he had not commanded; although he could not dispute that he had permitted them, in a district where his authority was unbounded. After a long trial, this infamous wretch was found guilty of numerous *noyades* and illegal massacres, condemned and executed. With him were also convicted Grand-Maison and Pinard, members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes. The acquittal of the others excited the public indignation so strongly, that the Convention

ordered that they should be arrested anew, and the tribunal which had absolved them abolished.

16. Yielding to the growing influence of public opinion, which daily pronounced itself more strongly in favour of humane measures, the Convention at length revoked the decree which had expelled the nobles and priests; and Cambacérès, taking advantage of a moment of enthusiasm, proposed a general amnesty for all revolutionary offences other than those declared capital by the criminal code. The proposition was favourably received, and remitted to a committee. On the following day, Tallien proposed the suppression of all the Revolutionary Tribunals; the Jacobins vehemently opposed the proposal, and the Convention, fearful of precipitating matters by too hasty measures, contented themselves for the present with abridging their power.

17. The manners of the people, during those days of reviving order, exhibited an extraordinary mixture of revolutionary recklessness with the reviving gaiety and elegance of the French character. The captives recently delivered from prison comprised almost all the higher classes in Paris, and their habits gave the tone to the general manners of the day. Never was seen a more remarkable union than their circles afforded of grief and joy, of resentment and forgetfulness, of prudence and recklessness, of generous exultation and blamable indifference, of Jacobin vulgarity and reviving elegance. The first attempt made was to return to gentleness of feeling and social enjoyment; any approach to luxury, in the dilapidated state of their fortunes, was out of the question. The barbarous retaliation of severity for cruelty, which produced such a frightful reaction in the south of France, was unknown in the metropolis: in the saloons of the Thermidorians, nothing but the most humane measures were proposed, or the most generous sentiments uttered. Minds subdued by misfortune, and influenced by the approach of death with religious feeling, breathed, on their first return into the world, much of that benevolent and Christian spirit which had

been awakened in many cases for the first time in their minds. Nor was the transformation less violent and immediate in the dresses generally worn; but in the tumult of reviving enjoyment, pleasure, as is always the case in such circumstances, was sought after with an avidity inconsistent with decorum, fatal to morals. The ladies, in their desire to attract admiration, outstripped the bounds of decency in their attire.* The hideous unwashed Jacobins, with their long black uncombed locks, their haggard eyes and revolting stare, disappeared. Their filthy rags, assumed to please the mob, were exchanged for elegant attire; out of the secret deposits of their plunder were brought out stores of wealth: furniture, dresses, pictures, all of the most costly description, suddenly made their appearance; the removal of the necessity of assuming the appearance of incorruptibility revealed at once the extent of their cupidity and the magnitude of their spoliation.

18. The two centres of the society of Paris were the Faubourg St Germain and the quarter of the Chaussée d'Antin; the first comprising the residence of the remains of the nobility, the last of the bankers and merchants who had risen to wealth during the recent troubles. Rigid economy prevailed in the former; the pride of riches, the passion for newly acquired distinction, swayed the latter. At the theatres, at the public assemblies, everything breathed the recent deliverance from death. No such thunders of applause shook the opera as when the orchestra struck up the favourite air of the Troupe Dorée, called *Le Réveil du Peuple*, which successfully combated the revolutionary energy of the Marseillaise hymn. One of the most fashionable and brilliant kinds of assembly was called *Le Bal des*

Victimes, the condition of entrance to which was the loss of a near relation by the guillotine. Between the country-dances they said, "We dance on the tombs;" and a favourite dress for the hair was adopted from the way in which it had been arranged immediately before execution. The almanac most in request were called "*Les Almanachs des Prisons*," in which the sublime resignation and courage of many of the captives were mingled with the ribaldry and indecency with which others had endeavoured to dispel the gloom of that sombre abode. But the Christian virtue of charity was never more eminently conspicuous than among those who, themselves recently delivered from death, knew how to appreciate the sufferings of their fellow-creatures.

19. Meanwhile the Convention gradually undid the laws which had been passed during the government of the Terrorists. The law of the maximum of prices, which had been introduced to favour the tumultuous inhabitants of the towns, at the expense of the industrious labourers of the country; the prohibitions against Christian worship; the statutes confiscating the property of the Gironde party, condemned by the Committees, were successively repealed. This was followed by a general measure, restoring to the families of all persons condemned since the Revolution, their property, so far as it had not been disposed of to others. The Abbé Morellet published an eloquent appeal to the public, entitled *Le Cri des Familles*, and Legendre concluded a powerful speech in their favour with these touching words: "If I possessed one acre belonging to these unfortunate sufferers, never could I taste of repose. In the evening, while walking in my solitary garden, I would fancy I beheld in each rosebud the tears of an orphan whom I had robbed of its inheritance." The bust of Marat was soon after broken at the Théâtre Feydeau by a band of the Troupe Dorée, as it had already been at the Théâtre Français, and next day his busts were destroyed in all the public places. About the same time, the survivors of the proscribed members of the Girondist party, who had been in

* "Licentiousness was mistaken for gallantry, and the most outrageous indecency for the most refined elegance. Freedom in dress was carried to such a pitch, that women never appeared in the public assemblies and promenades without their necks and arms entirely bare; and over the rest of their body there was no covering but a slight robe of gauze, so transparent as to leave their figures nearly naked to the eyes."—*Deux Amis*, xiv. 33, 34.

concealment since the revolt of the 81st May, were restored to their seats in the Assembly; and the Thermidorian party saw itself strengthened by the accession of Louvet, Isnard, Lanjuinais, Henri Larivière, and others, alike estimable for their talents and their constancy under adverse fortune, and whose numerous crimes had been expiated by the sufferings, their natural consequence, which they had undergone.

20. Supported by the accession of so many new members, and the increasing force of public opinion, Tallien and his friends at length proceeded to the decisive measure of impeaching Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier, the remaining heads of the Jacobins. "You demand the restoration of terror," said Tallien: "let us consider the means it employs before we estimate its effects. A government can never inspire terror but by menacing with capital punishments, by menacing without intermission, without distinction, without investigation, all who oppose it—by menacing without proof, on mere suspicion, on no ground at all—by striking continually with relentless hand, in order to inspire terror into all the world. You must suspend over every action a punishment, over every word a threat, over silence even a suspicion; you must place under every step a snare, in every family a traitor, in every tribunal an assassin; you must put every citizen to the torture, by the punishment of multitudes, and subsequent massacre of the executioners, lest they should become too powerful. Such is the system of governing by terror; does it belong to a free, humane, and regular government, or to the worst species of tyranny?" These eloquent words produced a great impression: the opposition against the Jacobins became so powerful, both within and without the Assembly, that a return to severe measures was impossible, and the government was swept along by the universal passion for a humane administration.

21. This bold step, however, excited the most violent tumults among the democratic party. Several causes at that period contributed to inflame the

public discontent. The winter, which had set in with uncommon severity, exposed many of the lower classes to suffering; a scarcity of provisions was, as usual, ascribed by the multitude to the conduct of government, and the dreadful depreciation of the assignats threatened almost every individual in the kingdom with ruin. Instruments of this dangerous description, to the amount of above eight milliards of francs, or £320,000,000 sterling, had been put into circulation by the Revolutionary government; and although their influence had been prodigious at the moment in sustaining the credit of the state, and even causing its coffers to overflow, yet their nominal value soon gave way, from the distrust of government, the vast excess of the circulating medium, and the immense quantity of confiscated property which was at the same time brought to sale. They had now fallen to one-fifteenth of the sum for which they were issued. "The worst rebellions," says Lord Bacon, "are those which proceed from the stomach;" and of this truth Paris soon furnished an example. The Jacobin leaders, threatened with accusation, used their utmost exertions to rouse the populace, and the discontent arising from so much suffering made them lend a willing ear to their seditious harangues. Carnot was not included in the Act of Accusation; but he had the magnanimity to declare that, having acted with his colleagues for the public good, he had no wish but to share their fate. This generous proceeding embarrassed the accusers; but, in order to avoid implicating so illustrious a character in the impeachment, it was resolved to limit it to some only of the members of the Committee, and Amar, Vouland, and the painter David, were excluded: the last of whom had disgraced a fine genius by the most savage revolutionary fanaticism.

22. On the 1st April, a revolt was organised in the faubourgs, to prevent the trial of Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier, which was to commence two days after. The cry of the insurgents was—"Bread, the

constitution of 1793, and the freedom of the patriots in confinement." The universal suffering which had followed the democratic rule, afforded the Jacobins too powerful a lever to move the passions of the people; and, as usual in such cases, they found no difficulty in making them believe that their distresses were not owing to their own excesses, but to the abridgment of their power: "Since France had become republican," says the graphic annalist, himself a member of the Convention and supporter of Robespierre, "every species of evil had accumulated upon its devoted head: famine, a total cessation of commerce, civil war, attended by its usual accompaniments—conflagration, robbery, pillage, and murder. Justice was interrupted, the sword of the law wielded by iniquity: property spoliated, confiscation had become the order of the day, the scaffold permanently erected, calumnious denunciations held in the highest estimation. Nothing was wanting to the general desolation. Virtue, merit of every sort, were persecuted with unrelenting severity, debauchery encouraged, arbitrary arrests universally established, the revolutionary armies ploughing through the state like devouring flame, cruelty everywhere fomented, hatred and disunion brought into the bosom of domestic circles. Never had a country descended so low; never had a people been overwhelmed by a similar chaos of crimes and abominations." Instigated by such sufferings, a formidable band soon surrounded the Convention. Speedily they forced their way in; drunken women, abandoned prostitutes, formed the revolting advanced guard; but speedily a more formidable band of petitioners, with pikes in their hands, filled every vacant space.

23. Having penetrated to the bar, they commenced the most seditious harangues. "You see before you," said they, "the men of the 14th July, the 10th August, and the 31st May. They have sworn to conquer or die: they will maintain the constitution of 1793, and the Declaration of Rights. It is high time that the working classes should cease to be the victims of the

selfishness of the rich, and the cupidity of merchants. Where is the abundant harvest of the last year? Have we destroyed the Bastille to raise up a thousand others for the imprisonment of the patriots? Public misery is at its height; the assignats are worth nothing, for you have passed decrees which have destroyed their value; and you, sacred Mountain, the men of the 14th July invoke your aid in this crisis to save the country." With these words, ascending the benches of the members, they seated themselves with the deputies of the Mountain. Everything announced the approach of a crisis; the Jacobins were recovering their former audacity, and the majority of the Convention, labouring under severe apprehension, were on the point of withdrawing, when, fortunately, a large body of the Troupe Dorée, who had assembled at the sound of the tocsin, entered the hall, under the command of Pichegru, chanting in loud strains the "Réveil du Peuple." The insurgents knew their masters; and that formidable body, before whom the strength of the monarchy had so often trembled, yielded to the courage of a few hundred half-disciplined young men. The crowd, lately so clamorous, gradually withdrew from the bar, and in a short time the accused members were left alone to the vengeance of the Convention, to answer for a revolt which they had so evidently excited.

24. The Thermidorians made a humane use of their victory. They were fearful of making too large chasms in the ranks of the allies by whose assistance they had so recently been delivered from the tyranny of Robespierre; and they justly feared a reaction in the public mind, if they themselves put in practice, on their first triumph, the bloody maxims which they had so severely condemned in their adversaries. By concert with the leaders of the Girondists, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barère, were condemned to the limited punishment of transportation; and seventeen members of the Mountain, who had seemed most favourable to the revolt, were put under arrest, and the next day conducted to the chateau of Ham. The persons thus put

in confinement included Cambon Rumps, Thuriot, Amar, and the whole strength of the Jacobin party. The transference of the condemned deputies to the chateau of Ham was not accomplished without some difficulty. They were once rescued by the insurgent populace; but Pichegru having arrived at the head of three hundred of the Troupe Dorée, the mob was dispersed, and the prisoners were again seized and conducted to the place of their confinement. Nothing is more instructive in the history of the French Revolution than the important consequences which, in all its stages, attended the efforts of even the smallest body, acting energetically in the cause of order.

25. The fate of these revolutionary leaders was commensurate to their crimes, in the colony to which they were ultimately conveyed. Their lives, which were in the first instance threatened by the burning climate of Cayenne, were saved by the generous kindness of the Sisters of Charity, who, in the hospital on that distant shore, continued to practise towards the most depraved of mankind the sublime principles of forgiveness of injuries. Collot d'Herbois, shortly after his recovery, endeavoured to engage the slaves of the colony in a revolt; being defeated in the attempt, he was confined in the fort of Sinumari, where he died from the effects of a bottle of spirits, which he swallowed in a moment of despair. Billaud Varennes survived long the other companions of his exile; his hardened mind prevented him from feeling the pangs of remorse, and his favourite occupation was teaching a parrot, which he had tamed, the jargon and the indecencies of the revolutionary language. His punishment, and it was a dreadful one, consisted in the tempest of passion which his depraved disposition had roused within his own breast.

"Nullo martiro fuor che la tua rabbia,
Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito."

Barère had nearly died, shortly after his sentence, of a loathsome malady

* "No martyrdom but your own rage
Could be a pain equal to your atrocity."

DANTE, *Inferno*, xiv. 65.

which he had contracted at Rochefort; but he survived that disease, escaped from prison, and was restored to France by Napoleon in 1800, where he lingered out his life an obscure pamphleteer in the imperial pay.† Before the expiry of his exile, Billaud Varennes beheld the arrival, in the hut next his own, of the illustrious Pichegru, whose vigour had been so instrumental in conducting him thither.

26. By these successive blows, the Jacobins were broken, but not subdued. By the fall of Robespierre, and the execution of his associates in the Municipality, they had lost the Commune; the closing of their place of debate had deprived them of their centre of operations; by the exile of so many members of the Convention, they were bereft of their ablest leaders. Still there remained to them the forces of the faubourgs, the inhabitants of which retained the arms which they had received at an early period of the revolutionary troubles; while their needy circumstances, the general suffering produced by the Revolution, and the universal exasperation felt at the high price of provisions, rendered them ready for the most desperate enterprises. In the *Annales Patriotiques* of 19th May 1795, it was stated—"It would be difficult to find a people upon the face of the globe so unhappy as that of Paris. Yesterday we received each a ration of two ounces of bread; that pittance, small as it is, has been diminished to-day. This measure has spread consternation

† Barère was employed in obscure situations by Napoleon, and was alive at Brussels, where he was living in great poverty, in 1831. It was one of his favourite positions at that time, "that the world could never be civilised till the punishment of death was utterly abolished, and that no human being had a right to take away the life of another." This was the man who said in 1793, "the Tree of Liberty cannot flourish if it is not watered by the blood of a king;" and "the dead alone do not reappear." So completely does a revolution unhinge the human mind, that no reliance can be placed, in its vicissitudes, on anything but the sense of duty which religion inspires. Before the Revolution he was the Marquis de Vieuxsaq, with an ample fortune. He died at Brussels on the 13th January 1841.—SIR ARTHUR BROOKE FALKNER'S *Travels in Germany*, i. 196.

among the people, who now murmur louder than ever. All our streets resound with the cries of those who are dying of famine. The failure of the revolt on 1st April did not discourage their leaders; they saw in it only a proof of the necessity of making a greater effort with more formidable forces. A general insurrection of the faubourgs was agreed on for the 20th May; above thirty thousand men, armed with pikes, were then to march against the Convention—a greater force than that which had proved victorious on many former occasions,—and never before had they been animated by so ferocious a spirit. Their rallying-cry was, “Bread, and the constitution of 1793.”

27. The misery at Paris at this time, in consequence of the famine which the Reign of Terror had brought upon France, and the general failure of agricultural exertion, in consequence of the forced requisitions and the law of the maximum, had now risen to the very highest pitch. A contemporary republican writer gives the following energetic picture of the public suffering: “The Convention had lost all its popularity, because it had evinced so little disposition to relieve the sufferings of the people, which had now become absolutely intolerable. The anarchists, the enemies of order, profited by this ferment, and did their utmost to augment it, because that class reaped no harvest but in the fields of misery. France, exhausted by every species of suffering, had lost even the power of uttering a complaint; and we had all arrived at such a point of depression, that death, if unattended by pain, would have been wished for even by the youngest human being, because it offered the prospect of repose, and every one panted for that blessing at any price. But it was ordained that many days, months, and years, should still continue in that state of horrible agitation, the true foretaste of the torments of hell.” The mobs which had, for some weeks preceding, assembled in the streets on account of the high price of provisions and universal suffering, prevented the Convention from being aware of the

approach of a great popular movement, or of the magnitude of the danger which threatened them.

28. No sooner, however, were they informed of it, on the day before the revolt, by the committees of government, than the leaders of the Convention took the most prompt measures to maintain their authority. They instantly declared their sittings permanent, voted all assemblages of the people seditious, named commanders of the armed force, and summoned the national guard of the sections by the sound of the tocsin to their defence. The succeeding night (19th May) was one of the most frightful which occurred during the whole course of the Revolution. From sunset, Paris was the theatre of unceasing perturbation. Seditious groups were formed on the quays, in the squares, on the Boulevards; a crowd of noisy discontented persons traversed every quarter, calling on the discontented, the famishing, the desperate, to revolt; bands of women went from door to door knocking aloud, raising alarming cries in the streets, deploring the fate of the “good Robespierre, whom the aristocrats had put to death,” and calling on the people to rise against their oppressors, march straight to the Tuileries, and install the true republicans in power. The générale and the tocsin sounded at the same time: to their incessant clang were soon joined hideous cries, fierce vociferations, mingled with the occasional discharge of muskets and pistols; the cannon of government sounded at intervals; and the deep-toned bell, placed lately on the summit of the great pavilion of the Tuileries, by its loud and measured toll called the national guard to the defence of the Convention.

29. Hesitation, as usual in presence of real danger, appeared on the following morning among the supporters of order. The Jacobins were already in arms; immense assemblages appeared round the Panthéon, in the Place of the Bastille, in that of Notre-Dame, in the Place de Grève, in the Place Royale. The whole city was in agitation: vast bodies of insurgents by daybreak surrounded the Convention, and by ten

o'clock every avenue to its hall was choked with a forest of pikes. The insurgents had adopted the most energetic measures to restore the democratic order of things. In the name of the "insurgent people, who had risen to obtain bread, and resume their rights," they established a provisional committee, which immediately abolished the existing government, proclaimed the democratic constitution of 1793; the dismissal of the members of administration, and their arrest; the liberation of the patriots in confinement; the instant convocation of the primary assemblies; the suspension of all authority not emanating from the people. They resolved to create a new Municipality, to serve as a centre of operations; to seize the telegraph, the barriers, the cannon of alarm, and the tocsin; and to invite all the forces, both regular and irregular, to join the banners of the people and march against the Convention.

30. Scarcely were the decrees of the Convention, to guard against these dangers, passed, when a furious multitude broke into the hall, crying aloud for bread and the constitution of 1793. The President Vernier behaved with a dignity befitting his situation. "Your cries," he said, "will not alter one iota of our measures; they will not hasten by one second the arrival of provisions: they will only retard them." A violent tumult drowned his voice; the insurgents broke open the inner doors with hatchets, and instantly a vociferous multitude filled the whole of the room. A severe struggle ensued between the national guard, intrusted with the defence of the Convention, and the furious rabble. Vernier was torn from the chair; it was immediately occupied by Boissy-d'Anglas, who, through the whole of that perilous day, evinced the most heroic firmness of mind. Several pikes, wielded by savage hands, were directed against his breast, and, but for the intrepidity of a bystander, would have proved fatal. Féraud, with generous devotion, interposed his body to receive the blows destined for the president; he was mortally wounded, dragged out by the populace, and be-

headed in the lobby. They instantly placed his head on a pike, and with savage cries re-entered the hall, bearing aloft in triumph the bloody trophy of their violence. Almost all the deputies fled in consternation; none remained excepting the friends of the revolt and Boissy-d'Anglas, who, with Roman constancy, filled the chair, and, regardless of all the threats of the multitude, unceasingly protested, in the name of the Convention, against the violence with which they were assailed. They presented to him the lifeless head of Féraud on the top of the pike, and waved it before his eyes; he turned aside with emotion from the horrid spectacle: they again presented it, and he bowed with reverence before the remains of fidelity and devotion. The multitude laughed loudly, and applauded long, at the sight of the bloody head. Cries of "Bread! bread!—Liberate all the patriots!" resounded for more than half an hour through the hall, with such vehemence that no other voice could be heard. He was at length torn from the chair by the efforts of his friends; and the mob, overawed by the grandeur of his conduct, permitted him to retire without molestation. Being now undisputed masters of the Convention, the insurgents, with the aid of their associates in it, proceeded without delay to assume the government. Amidst the gloom of twilight, they named a president, got possession of all the bureaux, and, in the midst of deafening applause, passed a series of resolutions declaratory of their intentions. The most important of these were, the restoration of the Jacobin club, the re-establishment of the democratic constitution, the recall of the exiled members, the dismissal of all the existing members of the government. A provisional administration and a commander of the armed force were named, and everything seemed to indicate a complete revolution.

31. But though the Convention was dissolved, the Committees still existed, and their firmness saved France. All the efforts of the insurgents to force their place of meeting were defeated by the vigour of a few companies of the

national guard, and a determined band of the *Troupe Dorée*, who guarded the avenues to that last asylum of order and humanity. As night approached, many of the mob retired to their homes, and the troops of the sections began to assemble in force round the Committees. Encouraged by the strength of their defenders, they even returned to the seat of government, and there ventured on an open attack on the insurgents. The grenadiers of the sections advanced with fixed bayonets, the pikemen of the faubourgs stood their ground, and a bloody strife ensued in the hall and on the benches of the Convention. The opposing cries, "*Vivent les Jacobins!*" "*Vive la Convention!*" resounded from the opposite sides of the room, and success was for a few minutes doubtful. At length the insurgents were forced back at the point of the bayonet, and a frightful mass of men and women, half of whom were intoxicated, were driven headlong, amidst frightful cries, out of the hall. At eleven o'clock Legendre made a sally, and speedily routed the surrounding multitude: they made a resistance as pusillanimous as their conduct had been violent; and the members who had fled resumed at midnight their places in the Convention. All that had been done by the rebel authority was immediately annulled; eight-and-twenty members who had supported their proceedings were put under arrest, and at five in the morning they were already five leagues from Paris. Such was the termination of this memorable revolt, which obtained the name of the insurrection of the 1st Prairial. On no former occasion had the people evinced such exasperation, or a spectacle so terrible been exhibited in the legislature. If cannon were not planted in battery against the Convention, as on the 31st May, yet the scenes in the interior of its hall were more bloody and appalling, and the victory of the populace for the time not less complete. The want of design and decision on the part of the insurgents alone made them lose the victory after they had gained it, and saved France from a return to the reign of blood.

32. But the faubourgs, though defeated, were not subdued. On the following day the tocsin sounded in every quarter of Paris at eight o'clock in the morning; the *général* beat to summon the national guard; and the Convention, little expecting to survive the day, assembled in their hall at nine. The insurgents quickly appeared in great strength; they advanced in still greater force against the Convention, and had already pointed their cannon against the place of its deliberation. The conduct of the President Legendre, on this trying occasion, was in the highest degree admirable. The sound of the approach of the artillery made several members start from their seats, and run towards the door. There new terrors appeared: the cannoneers of the Convention, as soon as they saw the guns of the faubourgs charged, went over to the mob, and both, united, pointed their pieces, with the matches lighted, against the Assembly. All seemed lost: a similar defection the other way had ruined Robespierre. But, in that extremity, the conduct of the President Legendre proved the salvation of the country. "*Representatives!*" cried he, "*remain at your posts; be steady. Nature has destined us all to death—a little sooner or later is of trifling moment; but an instant's vacillation would ruin you for ever.*" Awed by these words, they resumed their seats, and awaited in silence the enemies who surrounded the hall. Their defenders soon arrived. The *Jeunesse Dorée* appeared in strength: arms were distributed to thirty thousand men; the cavalry drew around them in imposing numbers: the sections *Lepelletier* and *La Butte-des-moulins* ranged themselves on the side of the Convention; cannon were planted, and platoons ready to discharge on both sides. Intimidated by a resistance they had not expected, the chiefs of the insurgents paused; and the Convention, taking advantage of their hesitation, entered into a negotiation with their leaders, who prevailed on the people to retire, after receiving the assurance that the supply of provisions for the capital should be attended to, and the laws of the constitution of

1793 enforced. The result of that day demonstrated that the physical force of the populace, however formidable, being deprived of the guidance of leaders of ability, could not contend with the permanent influence of the government.

83. Instructed by so many disasters, and such narrow escapes from utter ruin, the Convention resolved on the most decisive measures. Eleven of the most obnoxious members of the Mountain—viz., Rhul, Romme, Goujon, Duquesnoy, Duroy, Soubrani, Bourbotte, Peyssard, Forrestier, Albitte, and Prieur de la Marne, were delivered over to a military commission, or the ordinary tribunals, by whom they were all condemned, except the three last, who escaped. Three of them, Romme, Goujon, and Duquesnoy, stabbed themselves at the bar on receiving sentence, and expired in presence of the judges; several of the others mortally wounded themselves, and were led, still bleeding, to the scaffold. They all died with a stoical firmness, so often displayed, during those days of anarchy, by the victims of political, worse than any religious fanaticism. Barère, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Vadier, were ordered to be tried by the criminal tribunal of Charente-Inferieure; but before the decree arrived at Rochefort, they had all, except Barère, been transported or escaped.

84. At length the period had arrived when the faubourgs, whose revolts had so often proved fatal to the tranquillity of France, were to be finally subdued. The murderer of the deputy Féraud had been discovered, and condemned by a military commission. When the day of his punishment approached, the Convention, to prevent another revolt, ordered the disarming of the faubourgs. A band of the most intrepid of the Troupe Dorée imprudently advanced into that thickly-peopled quarter; and, after seizing some guns, found themselves surrounded by its immense population. They owed their safety to the humanity or prudence of the leaders of the revolt, who hesitated to imbrue their hands in the blood of the best families of Paris. But no sooner were they permitted to retire, than the na-

tional guard, thirty thousand strong, supported by four thousand troops of the line, surrounded the revolutionary quarter; the avenues leading to it were planted with cannon, and mortars disposed on conspicuous situations to terrify the inhabitants into submission. Alarmed at the prospect of a bombardment, by which their property would have been endangered, the master manufacturers and chiefs of the revolt had a conference, at which it was resolved to make an unconditional surrender. They submitted without restriction to the terms of the Convention. Their cannon were taken from them, the artillerymen disbanded; the revolutionary committees suppressed; the constitution of 1793 abolished; and the formidable pikes, which since the 14th July 1789 had so often struck terror into Paris, finally given up. Shortly after, the military force was taken out of the hands of the populace. The national guards were organised on a new footing; the workmen, the valets, the indigent citizens, were excluded from their ranks; and the new members, regularly organised by battalions and brigades, were subjected to the orders of the Military Committee. At the same time, in accordance with an earnest petition from the few remaining Catholics, they were permitted to make use of the churches, on condition of maintaining them at their own expense.

Thus TERMINATED THE REIGN OF THE MULTITUDE, six years after it had been first established by the storming of the Bastille. From the period of their being disarmed, the populace took no further share in the changes of government; these were brought about solely by the middle classes and the army. It is the *arming* of the people in troubled times which is the fatal step; for it at once renders the mob of the capital the masters of the state. After the populace were disarmed, the grand source of disorder and suffering was closed. The Revolution, considered as a movement of the people, was thereafter at an end; the subsequent struggles were merely the contests of other powers for the throne which they had made vacant.

The gradual relaxation of the extraordinary rigour of government erected by the Convention presents an interesting epoch in the history of the Revolution.

35. After the overthrow of Robespierre, the Convention endeavoured to retrace their steps towards the natural order of society; but they experienced the utmost difficulty in the attempt. To go on with the maximum, forced requisitions, and general distribution of food, was impossible; but how to relax these extreme measures was the question, when the general industry of the country was so grievously reduced, and the usual supplies so much straitened, both by the abstraction of agricultural labourers, the terror excited by the requisitionists, and the forced sales at a nominal and ruinous price. The first step towards a return to the natural state was an augmentation of the price fixed as a maximum by two-thirds, and alimation of the right of making forced requisitions. But these oppressive exactions were in fact abandoned by the reaction in the public feeling, and the cessation of terror, after the fall of the Dictatorial government. The assignats going on continually declining, the aversion of all the industrial classes to the maximum was constantly increasing, because the losses they sustained through the forced sales were thereby daily augmented; and the persons intrusted with the administration of the laws, being of a more moderate and humane character, were averse to have recourse to the sanguinary means which still remained at their disposal. Thus there was everywhere in France a general endeavour to elude the maximum, and the newly constituted authorities winked at frauds which they felt to be the necessary consequence of so unjust a law. No one, during the Reign of Terror, ventured openly to resist regulations which rendered the industrial and commercial classes tributary to the soldiers and the multitude; but when the danger of the guillotine was at an end, the reaction against them was irresistible.

36. Many months had not elapsed after the 9th Thermidor, before the total

abolition of the maximum and forced requisitions was demanded in the Convention. Public feeling revolted against their continuance, and they were put an end to almost by acclamation. The powers of the Committee of Subsistence and Provisions were greatly circumscribed; the right of making forced requisitions was continued only for a month, and its army of ten thousand employ  s restricted to a few hundred. At the same time, the free circulation of gold and silver, which had been arrested by the Revolutionary government, was again permitted. The inextricable question of the assignats next occupied the attention of the Convention, for the suffering produced by their depreciation had become absolutely intolerable to a large portion of the people. Being still a legal tender at par, all those who had money to receive lost eleven-twelfths of their property. The salaries of the public functionaries, and the payments to the public creditors, were to a certain degree augmented, but by no means in proportion to the depreciation of the paper. But this was a trifling remedy; the great evil still remained unmitigated in all payments between man and man over the whole country.

37. The only way of withdrawing the assignats from circulation, and in consequence enhancing their value, was by the sale of the national domains, when, according to the theory of their formation, they should be retired by government, and destroyed. But how were purchasers to be found? That was the eternal question which constantly recurred, and never could be answered. The same national convulsion which had confiscated two-thirds of the land of France belonging to the emigrants, the clergy, and the crown, had destroyed almost all the capital which could be employed in its purchase. Sales to any considerable extent were thus totally out of the question, the more especially as the estates thus brought all at once to sale, consisted in great part of sumptuous palaces, woods, parks, and other domains, in circumstances, of all others, the worst adapted for a division among the

industrial classes. It was not the capitals of a few shopkeepers and farmers which had escaped the general wreck that could produce any impression on such immense possessions. The difficulty, in truth, was inextricable. No sales to any extent went on; the assignats were continually increasing with the vast expenditure of government; and at length it was got over, as will appear in the sequel, by forced means, and the proclamation of a national bankruptcy of the very worst kind.

38. But the attention of the Convention was soon drawn to evils of a still more pressing kind. The abolition of the maximum, and of the forced requisitions, had deprived government of its violent means of feeding the citizens, while, in consequence of the shock which these tyrannical proceedings had given to industry, the usual sources of supply were almost dried up. The consequence was a most severe scarcity of every kind of provisions, which went on increasing during the whole of the winter of 1794-5, and at length, in March 1795, reached the most alarming height. To the natural evils of famine were superadded the horrors of a winter of uncommon severity, such as had not been experienced in Europe for a hundred years. The roads, covered with ice, soon became impassable for carriages; the canals were frozen up; and the means of subsistence to the metropolis seemed to be totally exhausted. In this extremity every family endeavoured to lay in stores for a few days, and the few convoys which approached Paris were besieged by crowds of famishing citizens, who proceeded twenty and thirty miles to anticipate the ordinary supplies. Nothing remained for government, who still adhered, though with weakened powers, to the system of distributing food to the people, but to diminish the rations daily issued; and on the report of Boissy-d'Anglas, the quantity served out from the public magazines was diminished to one-half, or a pound of bread a-day for each person above the working classes, and a pound and a half to those actually engaged in labour.

39. At this rate there was daily dis-

tributed, to the six hundred and thirty-six thousand inhabitants of the capital, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven casks of flour. But small as this quantity was, it was soon found necessary to reduce it still further; and at length, for several weeks, each citizen received only *two ounces* of black and coarse bread a-day. Small as this pittance was, it could be obtained only by soliciting tickets from the committees of government, and after waiting at the doors of the bakers from eleven at night till seven in the morning, during the rigour of an arctic winter. The citizens of Paris were for months exposed to the horrors of a state of siege; numbers perished of famine, and many owed their existence to the kindness of some friend in the country, and the introduction of the potato, which already began to assuage this artificial, as it has so often since done the most severe natural scarcities.

40. The abolition of the maximum, of the requisitions, and of all the forced methods of procuring supplies, produced, as might have been anticipated, a most violent reaction on the price of every article of consumption, and, by consequence, on the value of the assignats. Foreign commerce having begun to revive with the cessation of the Reign of Terror, sales being no longer forced, the assignat was brought into comparison with the currency of other countries, and its enormous inferiority precipitated still further its fall. The rapidity of its decline gave rise to numerous speculations on the Exchange of Paris; and the people, in the midst of the horrors of famine, were exasperated by the sight of fortunes made out of the misery which they endured. Government, to provide for the necessities of the inhabitants, had no other resource but to increase the issue of assignats for the purchase of provisions; three millions more of francs (£120,000,000) were issued for this necessary purpose, and the consequence was, that the paper money fell almost to nothing. Bread was exposed for sale at twenty-two francs the pound in assignats, and what formerly cost 100 francs was now raised to 4000. In the

course of the year the depreciation became such, that 28,000 francs in paper were exchanged for a louis d'or, and a dinner for five or six persons cost 60,000 francs in assignats. A kind of despair seized every mind at such prodigious and apparently interminable losses; and it was the force of this feeling which produced the great revolts already mentioned, which had so nearly proved fatal to the Thermidorians, and restored the whole forced system of the Reign of Terror.

41. The overthrow of this insurrection led to several laws which powerfully tended to diminish the destructive ascendancy of the people in the government. The national guards were reorganised on the footing on which they had been before the 10th August; the labouring and poorer classes were excluded, and the service was confined to the more substantial citizens. At Paris this important force was placed under the orders of the military committee. The government got quit at the same time of a burdensome and ruinous custom, which the Convention had borrowed from the Athenian democracy, of allowing every indigent citizen fifty sous a-day, while they were engaged at their respective sections—a direct premium on idleness, and a constant inducement to the turbulent and restless to assemble at these great centres of democratic power. The churches were restored to the anxious wishes of the Catholics, on the condition that they should maintain them themselves—the first symptom of a return to religious feeling in that infidel age.

42. All the evils, the necessary result of an excessive and forced paper circulation, went on increasing after the government, which had returned to moderate measures, was installed in power. Subsistence was constantly wanting in the great towns; the treasury was empty of all but assignats; the great bulk of the national domains remained unsold; the transactions, debts, and properties of individuals were involved in inextricable confusion. Sensible of the necessity of doing something for those who were paid in the

government paper, the Directory adopted a scale by which the assignats were taken as worth a fifth of their nominal value; but this was an inconsiderable relief, as they had fallen to a *hundred-and-fiftieth* part of the sum for which they had been originally issued. The consequence of this excessive depreciation in a paper which was still a legal tender was, that the whole debts of individuals were extinguished by a payment worth nothing; that the income of the fundholders was annihilated; and the state itself, compelled to receive its own paper in payment of the taxes, found the treasury filled with a mass of sterile assignats. But for the half of the land-tax, which was received in kind, the government would have been literally without the means of feeding either Paris or the armies. The excess of the paper circulation had rendered it valueless, and in effect reduced the transactions of men to barter.

43. Hitherto the reaction had been in favour of constitutional and moderate measures; but the last great victory over the Jacobins revived the hopes of the Royalists. The emigrants and the clergy had returned in great numbers since the repeal of the severe laws passed against them during the Reign of Terror, and contributed powerfully to incline the public mind to a moderate and constitutional monarchy. The horror excited by the sanguinary proceedings of the Jacobins was so strong and universal, that the reaction naturally was in favour of a royalist government. The recent successes of the Troupe Dorée, who formed the flower of the youth of Paris, had awakened in them a strong *esprit de corps*, and prepared the great and inert body of the people to follow a banner which had so uniformly led to victory. So strong was the feeling at that period, from recent and grievous experience of the danger of popular tumults, that, after the disarming of the faubourgs, several sections made a voluntary surrender of their artillery to the government. A large body of troops of the line, supported by a considerable train of artillery, was brought to Paris, and encamp-

ed in the plain of Sablons; and the galleries of the Convention were closed, except to persons having tickets of admission. The language of the deputations of the sections at its bar became openly hostile to the dominion of the people, and such as would a few months earlier have been a sure passport to the scaffold. "Experience," said the deputies of the section Lepelletier, "has taught us that the despotism of the people is as insupportable as the tyranny of kings." The Revolutionary Tribunal, at the same period, was abolished by a decree of the Convention. A journal of the day observed, "Such was the tranquil and bloodless end of the most atrocious institution of which, since the Council of Blood, established by the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, the history of tribunals, instruments of injustice, has preserved the remembrance."

44. During this revolution of public opinion, the Convention was engaged in the formation of a constitution. It is in the highest degree both curious and instructive to contemplate the altered doctrines which prevailed after the consequences of popular government had been experienced, and how generally men reverted to those principles which, in the commencement of the Revolution, were stigmatised as slavish and disgraceful. Boissy-d'Anglas was chosen to make a report upon the form of the constitution; his memoir contains much important truth, which preceding events had forced upon the observation of mankind. "Hitherto," said he, "the efforts of France have been solely directed to destroy; at present, when we are neither silenced by the oppression of tyrants, nor intimidated by the cries of demagogues, we must turn to our advantage the crimes of the monarchy, the errors of the Assembly, the horrors of the Decemviral tyranny, the calamities of anarchy. Absolute equality is a chimera; virtue, talents, physical or intellectual powers, are not equally distributed by nature. Property alone attaches the citizen to his country; all who are to have any share in the legislature should be possessed of some independent income.

All Frenchmen are citizens; but the state of domestic service, pauperism, or the non-payment of taxes, forbid the great majority from exercising their rights. The executive government requires a central position, a disposable force, a display calculated to strike the vulgar. The people should never be permitted to deliberate indiscriminately on public affairs; a populace constantly deliberating rapidly perishes by misery and disorder; the laws should never be submitted to the consideration of the multitude." Such were the principles ultimately adopted by the Revolutionary Assembly of France. In a few years, centuries of experience had been acquired.

45. If such was the language of the Convention, it may easily be conceived how much more powerful was the reaction among the middle classes of the people. The national guard, and the Jeunesse Dorée of several sections, had become open Royalists. They wore the green and black uniform which distinguished the Chouans of the western provinces; the Réveil du Peuple was beginning to awaken the dormant, not extinguished, loyalty of the French people. The name of *Terrorist* had become, in many places, the signal for proscriptions as perilous as that of *Aristocrat* had formerly been. In the south, especially, the reaction was terrible. Bands, bearing the names of the "Companies of Jesus," and the "Companies of the Sun," traversed the country, executing the most dreadful reprisals upon the revolutionary party. At Lyons, Aix, Tarascon, and Marseilles, they massacred the prisoners without either trial or discrimination; the 2d of September was repeated, with all its horrors, in most of the prisons of the south of France. At Lyons, after the first massacre of the Terrorists, they pursued the wretches through the streets, and when any one was seized, he was instantly thrown into the Rhone; at Tarascon, the captives were cast headlong from the top of a lofty rock into that rapid stream. One prison at Lyons was set on fire by the infuriated mob, and the unhappy inmates all perished in the flames. The people, exasperated

by the blood which had been shed by the revolutionary party, were insatiable in their vengeance; they invoked the name of a parent, brother, or sister, when retaliating on their oppressors; and, while committing murder themselves, exclaimed, with every stroke, "Die, assassins!" History must equally condemn such horrors by whomsoever committed; but it must reserve its severest censure for those by whom they were *first* perpetrated.

46. Many innocent persons perished, as in all popular tumults, during those bloody days. The two younger sons of the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Montpensier, and the Count Beaujoulais, were confined in the Fort of St John at Marseilles, where they had been forgotten during the Reign of Terror. On the 6th June, a terrible noise round the fort announced the approach of the frantic multitude. The cries of the victims in the adjoining cells too soon informed them of the danger which they ran; Royalists and Jacobins were indiscriminately murdered by the bloody assassins. Isnard and Cardroi at length put a stop to the massacres, but not before eighty persons had been murdered. The former, though he strove to moderate the savage measures of the Royalists, increased their fury by the fearful energy of his language. "We want arms," said the young men who were marching against the Jacobins of Toulon. "Take," said he, "the bones of your fathers to march against their murderers." The fate of these young princes was in the highest degree interesting. Some months afterwards they formed a plan of escape; but the Duke de Montpensier, in descending the wall of the fort, broke his leg, was seized, and reconducted to prison. He consoled himself for his failure by the thoughts that his brother had succeeded, when he beheld him re-enter the cell, and fall upon his neck. Escaped from danger, and on the point of embarking on board a vessel destined for the United States, he had heard of the misfortune of his brother, and, unable to endure freedom without him, he had returned to prison to share his fate. They were both subsequently liberated,

and reached America; but they soon died, the victims of a long and severe captivity of four years. During the predominance of these principles, upwards of eighty Jacobins were denounced in the Convention, and escaped execution only by secreting themselves in different parts of France. The only secure asylum which they found was in the houses of the Royalists whom, during the days of their power, they had saved from the scaffold. Not one was betrayed by those to whom they fled. So predominant was the influence of the Girondists, that Louvet obtained a decree, ordering an expiatory fête for the victims of 31st May. None of the Thermidorians ventured to resist the proposal, though many amongst them had contributed in no inconsiderable degree to their fate.

47. About the same time, the infant King of France, Louis XVII., expired. The 9th Thermidor came too late to save the life of this unfortunate prince. His savage jailer, Simon, was indeed beheaded, and a less cruel tyrant substituted in his place; but the temper of the times would not at first admit of any decided measures of indulgence in favour of the heir to the throne. The barbarous treatment he had experienced from Simon had alienated his reason, but not extinguished his feelings of gratitude. On one occasion, that inhuman wretch had seized him by the hair, and threatened to dash his head against the wall; the surgeon, Naulin, interfered to prevent him, and the unhappy child next day presented him with two pears, which had been given him for his supper the preceding evening, lamenting, at the same time, that he had no other means of testifying his gratitude. Simon and Hébert had put him to the torture, to extract from him an avowal of crimes connected with his mother, which he was too young to understand; after that cruel day, he almost always preserved silence, lest his words should prove fatal to some of his relations. This resolution, and the closeness of his confinement, soon preyed upon his health. In February 1795 he was seized with a fever, and visited by three members of the Com-

mittee of General Salvation: they found him sitting at a little table, making castles of cards. They addressed to him words of kindness, but could not obtain any answer. In May, the state of his health became so alarming, that the celebrated surgeon Desault was directed by the Convention to visit him; his generous attentions assuaged the sufferings of his latter days, but could not prolong his life: he soon after died in prison. The public sympathy was so strongly excited by this event, that it induced the Convention to consent to the freedom of the remaining child of Louis XVI. On the 18th of June, the Duchess d'Angoulême was liberated from the Temple, and exchanged for the four Commissioners whom Dumourier had delivered up to the Austrians. She had owed her life, during the ascendancy of Robespierre, to a project which he was revolving in his mind, of marrying that unhappy princess, and thus uniting in his person the Revolutionary and Royalist parties.*

48. The fate of Lafayette, Latour Maubourg, and other eminent men who were detained in the Austrian prisons, since their defection from the armies of France, at this time excited the most ardent sympathy both in France and Great Britain. They had been rigorously guarded since their captivity in the fortress of Olmutz; and the humane in every part of the world beheld with regret men who had voluntarily delivered themselves up, to avoid the excesses of a sanguinary faction, treated with more severity than prisoners of war. Mr Fox in vain endeavoured to induce the British government to interfere in their behalf; the reply of Mr Pitt in the House of Commons equalled the speech of his eloquent rival, and nothing followed from the attempt. The wife and daughters of Lafayette, finding all attempts at his deliverance ineffectual, generously resolved to share

his captivity; and they remained in confinement with him at Olmutz, till the victories of Buonaparte in 1796 compelled the Austrian government to consent to their liberation. His imprisonment, however tedious, was probably the means of saving his life; it is hardly possible that in France he could have survived the Reign of Terror, or escaped the multitude which he had roused to revolution, and to whom he had long been the object of execration.

49. Meanwhile, the Convention proceeded rapidly with the formation of the new constitution. This was the *third* which had been imposed upon the French people during the space of a few years—a sufficient proof of the danger of incautiously overturning long-established institutions. But the constitution of 1795 was very different from those which had preceded it, and gave striking proof of the altered condition of the public mind on the state of political affairs. Experience had now taught all classes that the chimera of perfect equality could not be attained; that the mass of the people are unfit for the exercise of political rights; that the contests of factions terminate, if the people are victorious, in the supremacy of the most depraved. The constitution which was framed under the influence of these sentiments differed widely both from that struck out during the glowing fervour of 1789, and that conceived amid the democratic transports of 1793. The ruinous error was now acknowledged of uniting the whole legislative powers in one Assembly, and enacting the most important laws without the intervention of any time to deliberate on their tendency, or recover from the excitement under which they may have originated. Guided by experience, France reversed its former judgment on the union of the orders in 1789, which had brought about the Revolution. The legislative power, therefore, was divided between two Councils, that of the *Five Hundred* and that of the *Ancients*. The Council of Five Hundred was intrusted with the sole right of originating laws; that of the *Ancients* with the power of

* "During these times this young unfortunate owed her safety to the ambition of Robespierre; and if during the Reign of Terror she did not follow the other members of her family to the scaffold, it was because that monster had views upon her, and designed to espouse her, with a view to the confirmation of his power."—*Deux Amis*, xiv. 173.

passing or rejecting them; and to insure the prudent discharge of this duty, no person could be a member of it till he had reached the age of forty years. No bill could pass till after it had been three times read, with an interval between each reading of at least five days.

50. The executive power, instead of being vested as heretofore in two committees, was lodged in the hands of Five Directors, nominated by the Council of Five Hundred, approved by that of the Ancients. They were liable to be impeached for their misconduct by the Councils. Each individual was by rotation to be president during three months; and every year a fifth new Director was to be chosen, in lieu of one who was bound to retire. The Directory thus constituted had the entire disposal of the army and finances, the appointment of public functionaries, and the management of all public negotiations. They were lodged during the period of their official duty in the palace of the Luxembourg, and attended by a guard of honour. The privilege of electing members for the legislature was taken away from the great body of the people, and confined to the colleges of delegates. Their meetings were called the *Primary Assemblies*; and, in order to insure the influence of the middle ranks, the persons elected by the Primary Assemblies were themselves the electors of the members of the legislature. All popular societies were interdicted, and the press declared absolutely free.

51. It is of importance to recollect that this constitution, so cautiously framed to exclude the direct influence of the people, and curb the excess of popular licentiousness, was the voluntary work of the very Convention which had come into power under the democratic constitution of 1793, and immediately after the 10th August; which had voted the death of the king, the condemnation of the Girondists, and the execution of Danton; which had supported the bloody excesses of the Decemvirs, and survived the horrors of the reign of Robespierre. Let it no longer be said, therefore, that the evils of popular rule are imaginary dangers,

contradicted by the experience of mankind. The checks thus imposed upon the power of the people were the work of their own delegates, chosen by universal suffrage during a period of unexampled public excitation, whose proceedings had been marked by a more violent love of freedom than any that ever existed from the beginning of the world. Nothing can speak so strongly in favour of the necessity of controlling the people as the work of the representatives whom they had themselves chosen, without exception, under the influence of the most vehement excitement, to confirm their power.

52. The formation of this constitution, and its discussion in the assemblies of the people, to which it was submitted for consideration, excited the most violent agitation throughout France. Paris, as usual, took the lead. Its forty-eight sections were incessantly assembled, and the public effervescence resembled that of 1789. This was brought to its height by a decree of the Convention, declaring that *two-thirds* of the present legislature should form a part of the new legislature, and that the electors should only fill up the remaining part. The citizens beheld with horror so large a proportion of a body, whose proceedings had deluged France with blood, still destined to reign over them. To accept the constitution, and reject this decree, seemed the only way of getting free from their domination. The Thermidorian party had been entirely excluded from the Committee of Eleven, to whom the formation of the new constitution was intrusted, and in revenge they joined the assemblies of those who sought to counteract the ambition of the Convention. The focus of the effervescence was the section Lepelletier, formerly known by the name of that of the *Filles St Thomas*, the richest and most powerful in Paris, which, through all the changes of the Revolution, had steadily adhered to Royalist principles.

53. The Royalist Committee of Paris, of which Le Matre was the known agent, which had still existed through all the horrors of the Revolution, finding mat-

ters brought to this crisis, coalesced with the journals and the leaders of the sections. They openly accused the Convention of attempting to perpetuate its power, and of aiming at usurping the sovereignty of the people. The orators of the sections said at its bar, "Deserve our choice, do not seek to command it; you have exercised an authority without bounds; you have united in yourselves all the powers—those of making laws, of revising them, of changing them, of executing them. Recollect how fatal military despotism was to the Roman republic." The press of Paris teemed with pamphlets, inveighing against the ambitious views of the legislature; and the efforts of the sections were incessant to defeat their projects. The agitation of 1789 was renewed, but it was all now on the other side: the object now was, not to restrain the tyranny of the court, but to repress the ambition of the delegates of the people.

54. "Will the Convention," said the Royalist orators, "never be satisfied? Is a reign of three years, fraught with more crimes than the whole annals of twenty other nations, not sufficient for those who rose into power under the auspices of the 10th August and the 2d September? Is that power fit to repose under the shadow of the laws, which has only lived in tempests? Let us not be deceived by the 9th Thermidor; the bay of Quiberon, where Tallien bore so conspicuous a part, may show us that the thirst for blood is not extinguished, even among those who overthrew Robespierre. The Convention has done nothing but destroy; shall we now intrust it with the work of conservation? What reliance can be placed on the monstrous coalition between the proscribers and the proscribed? Irreconcilable enemies to each other, they have only entered into this semblance of alliance in order to resist those who hate them—that is, every man in France. It is we ourselves who have forced upon them those acts of tardy humanity on which they now rely as a veil to their monstrous proceedings. But for our warm representations, the members *hors la loi* would still have been wan-

dering in exile, the seventy-three deputies still languishing in prison. Who but ourselves formed the faithful guard which saved them from the terrible faubourgs, to whom they had basely yielded their best members on the 31st May? They now call upon us to select among its ranks those who should continue members, and form the two-thirds of the new Assembly. Can two-thirds of the Convention be found who are not stained with blood? Can we ever forget that many of its basest acts passed *unanimously*, and that a majority of three hundred and sixty-one concurred in a vote which will be an eternal subject of mourning to France? Shall we admit a majority of regicides into the new Assembly, intrust our liberty to cowards, our fortunes to the authors of so many acts of rapine, our lives to murderers? The Convention is only strong because it mixes up its crimes with the glories of our armies. Let us separate them; let us leave the Convention its sins, and our soldiers their triumphs, and the world will speedily do justice to both."

55. Such discourses, incessantly repeated from the tribunes of forty-eight sections, violently shook the public mind in the capital. To give greater publicity to their opinions, the orators repeated the same sentiments in addresses at the bar of the Convention, which were immediately circulated with rapidity through the departments. The effervescence in the south was at its height; many important cities and departments seemed already disposed to imitate the sections of the metropolis. The towns of Dreux and Chartres warmly seconded their wishes; the sections of Orleans sent the following message—"Primary assemblies of Paris, Orleans is at your side; it advances on the same line; let your cry be resistance to oppression, hatred to usurpers, and we will second you." The national guard of Paris shared in the general excitement. The bands of the Jeunesse Dorée had inspired its members with part of their own exultation of feeling, and diminished much of their wonted timidity. Resistance to the tyrants was openly spoken of; the Convention com-

pared to the Long Parliament which shed the blood of Charles I.; and the assistance of a Monk ardently looked for, to consummate the work of restoration.

56. Surrounded by so many dangers, the Convention did not abate of its former energy. They had lost the Jacobins by their proscriptions, the Royalists by their ambition. What remained? THE ARMY: and this terrible engine they resolved to employ, as the only means of prolonging their power. They lost no time in submitting the constitution to the soldiers, and by them it was unanimously adopted. Military men, accustomed to obey, and to take the lead from others, usually, except in periods of uncommon excitement, adopt any constitution which is recommended to them by their officers. The officers, all raised during the fervour of 1793, and in great part strangers to the horrors which had alienated so large a part of the population of Paris from the Revolution, eagerly supported a constitution which promised to continue the régime under which they had risen to the stations they now occupied. A body of five thousand regular troops was assembled in the neighbourhood of Paris, and their adhesion to the constitution eagerly announced to the citizens. The Convention called to their support the Prætorian guards; they little thought how soon they were to receive from them a master.

57. It soon appeared that not only the armies, but a large majority of the departments, had accepted the constitution. The inhabitants of Paris, however, accustomed to take the lead in all public measures, were not discouraged; the section Lepelletier unanimously passed a resolution, "That the powers of every constituted authority ceased in presence of the assembled people;" and a provisional government, under the name of a Central Committee, was established under the auspices of its leaders. A majority of the sections adopted their resolution, which was immediately annulled by the Convention; and their decree was, in its turn, reversed by the Assemblies of the Electors. The contest now became open

between the sections and the legislature; the former separated the constitution from the decrees ordaining the re-election of two-thirds of the old Assembly: they accepted the former, and rejected the latter. On the 3d October (11 Vendémiaire), it was resolved by the sections, that the electors chosen by the people should be assembled at the Théâtre Français, under protection of the national guard; and on that day they were conducted there by an armed force of chasseurs and grenadiers. The danger of an insurrection against a government having at its command the military force of France, was apparent; but the enthusiasm of the moment overbalanced all other considerations.

58. On the one side it was urged, "Are we about to consecrate, by our example, that odious principle of insurrection which so many bloody days have rendered hateful? Our enemies alone are skilled in revolts; the art of exciting them is unknown to us. The multitude is indifferent to our cause; deprived of their aid, how can we face the government? If they join our ranks, how shall we restrain their sanguinary excesses? Should we prove victorious, what dynasty shall we establish? What chiefs can we present to the armies? Is there not too much reason to fear that success would only revive divisions now happily forgotten, and give our enemies the means of profiting by our discord?" But to this it was replied, "Honour forbids us to recede; duty calls upon us to restore freedom to our country, his throne to our monarch. We may now, by seizing the decisive moment, accomplish that which former patriots sought in vain to achieve. The 9th Thermidor only destroyed a tyrant; now tyranny itself is to be overthrown. If our names are now obscure, they will no longer remain so; we shall acquire a glory of which even the brave Vendéans shall be envious. Let us dare: that is the watchword in revolutions—may it for once be employed on the side of order and freedom. The Convention will never forgive our outrages; the revolutionary tyranny, curbed for more than a year by our exertions, will rise up with renewed vigour for our de-

struction, if we do not anticipate its vengeance by delivering ourselves." Moved by these considerations, the sections unanimously resolved upon resistance. The national guard amounted to above thirty thousand men—but it was totally destitute of artillery, the sections having, in the belief that they were no longer required, delivered up the pieces with which they had been furnished in 1789, upon the final disarming of the insurgent faubourgs. Their want was now severely felt, as the Convention had fifty pieces at their command, stationed at Sablons near Paris, whose terrible efficacy had been abundantly proved on the 10th August; and the cannoners who were to serve them were the same who had broken the lines of Prince Cobourg. The national guard hoped, by a rapid advance, to capture this formidable train of artillery, and then the victory was secure.

59. The leaders of the Convention, on their side, were not idle. In the evening of the 3d October (11 Vendémiaire) a decree was passed, ordering the immediate dissolution of the electoral bodies in Paris, and embodying into a regiment fifteen hundred of the Jacobins, many of whom were liberated from the prisons for that especial purpose. These measures brought matters to a crisis between the sections and the government. This decree was openly resisted, and the national guard having assembled in force to protect the electors at the Théâtre Français, the Convention ordered the military to disperse them. General Menou was appointed commander of the armed force, and he advanced with the troops of the line to surround the Convent of the Filles St Thomas, the centre of the insurrection, where the section Lepelletier was assembled. Menou, however, had not the decision requisite for success in civil contests. Instead of attacking the insurgents, he entered into a negotiation with them, and retired in the evening without having effected anything. His failure gave all the advantages of a victory to the sections; the national guard mustered in greater strength than ever, and resolved to attack the

Convention at its place of assembly on the following day. Informed of this failure, and the dangerous excitement which it had produced in Paris, the Convention, at eleven at night, dismissed General Menou, and gave the command of the armed force, with unlimited powers, to General Baras. He immediately demanded the assistance, as second in command, of a young officer of artillery, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon and in the war in the Maritime Alps—NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

60. This young officer was immediately introduced to the Committee. His manner was timid and embarrassed; the career of public life was as yet new; but his clear and distinct opinions, the energy and force of his language, already indicated the powers of his mind. By his advice, the powerful train of artillery in the plain of Sablons, consisting of fifty pieces, was immediately brought by a lieutenant, afterwards well known in military annals, named MURAT, to the capital, and disposed in such a position as to command all the avenues to the Convention. Early on the following morning, the neighbourhood of the Tuileries resembled a great intrenched camp. The line of defence extended from the Pont Neuf, along the quays of the river to the Pont Louis XVI.; the Place du Carrousel and the Louvre were filled with cannon, and the entrances of all the streets which open into the Rue St Honoré strongly guarded. In this position the commanders of the Convention awaited the attack of the insurgents. Buonaparte was indefatigable in his exertions to inspire the troops with confidence: he visited every post, inspected every battery, and spoke to the men with that decision and confidence which is so often the prelude to victory.

61. The action was soon commenced. Above thirty thousand men, under Generals Danican and Duhoux, surrounded the little army of six thousand, who, with this powerful artillery, defended the seat of the legislature. The combat began in the Rue St Honoré at half-

past four; the grenadiers, placed in the Church of St Roch, opened a fire of musketry on the cannoneers of the Convention, who replied by a discharge of grape-shot, which swept destruction through the serried ranks of the national guard who occupied the Rue St Honoré. Though the insurgents fought with the most determined bravery, and the fire from the Church of St Roch was well sustained, nothing could resist the murderous grape-shot of the regular soldiers. Many of the cannoneers fell at their guns, but the fire of their pieces was not diminished. In a few minutes the Rue St Honoré was deserted, and the flying columns carried confusion into the ranks of the reserve, who were formed near the Church of the Filles St Thomas. General Danican galloped off at the first discharge, and never appeared again during the day. Meanwhile the Pont Neuf was carried by the insurgents, and a new column, ten thousand strong, advanced along the opposite quay to the Tuilleries, to attack the Pont Royal. Buonaparte allowed them to advance within twenty yards of his batteries, and then opened his fire; the insurgents stood three discharges without flinching; but, not having resolution enough to rush upon the cannon after they were fired, they were ultimately driven back in disorder, and by seven o'clock the victory of the Convention was complete at all points. At nine, the troops of the line carried the posts of the national guard in the Palais Royal, and on the following morning the section Lepelletier was disarmed, and the insurgents everywhere submitted.

62. Such was the result of the LAST INSURRECTION of the people in the French Revolution; all the subsequent changes were effected by the government or the armies, without their interference. The insurgents, on this occasion, were not the rabble or the assassins who had so long stained its history with blood; they were the flower of the citizens of Paris, comprising all that the Revolution had left that was generous, or elevated, or noble in the capital. They were overthrown, not by the superior numbers or courage of

their adversaries, but by the terrible effect of their artillery, by the power of military discipline, and the genius of that youthful conqueror before whom all the armies of Europe were destined to fall. The moral strength of the nation was all on their side; but, in revolutions, it is seldom that moral strength proves ultimately victorious; and the examples of Cæsar and Cromwell are not required to show that the natural termination of civil strife is military despotism.

63. The Convention made a generous use of their victory. The Girondists, who exercised an almost unlimited sway over its members, put in practice those maxims of clemency which they had so often recommended to others; the officers who had gained the victory felt a strong repugnance to their laurels being stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. Few executions followed this decisive victory: M. Lafond, one of the military chiefs of the revolt, obstinately resisting the means of evasion which were suggested to him by the court, was alone condemned, and died with a firmness worthy of the cause for which he suffered. Most of the accused persons were allowed time to escape, and sentence of outlawry was merely recorded against them; many returned shortly after to Paris, and resumed their place in public affairs. The clemency of Buonaparte was early conspicuous; his counsels, after the victory, were all on the side of mercy, and his intercession saved General Menou from a military commission.

64. In the formation of the Councils of Five Hundred and of the Ancients, the Convention made no attempt to constrain the public wishes. The third of the legislature, who had been newly elected, were almost all on the side of the insurgents, and even included several Royalists; and a proposal was in consequence made by Tallien, that the election of that third should be annulled, and another appeal made to the people. Thibaudeau, with equal firmness and eloquence, resisted the proposal, which was rejected by the Convention. They merely took the precaution, to prevent a return to royalty, to name for the

Directors five persons who had voted for the death of the King—Larévillière-Lepaux, Rewbell, Letourneur, Barras, and Carnot. Having thus settled the new government, they published a general amnesty, changed the name of the Place de la Révolution into that of Place de la Concorde, and declared their sittings terminated. The last days of an Assembly stained with so much blood were gilded by an act of clemency, of which, Thibaudeau justly said, the annals of kings furnished few examples.

65. The Convention sat for more than three years—from the 21st September 1791 to the 26th October 1795. During that long and terrible period, its precincts were rather the field on which faction strove for ascendancy than the theatre on which legislative wisdom exerted its influence. The destruction of human life which took place during its government, in civil dissension, was unparalleled: it amounted to above a MILLION of human beings! All the parties which divided France there endeavoured to establish their power, and all perished in the attempt. The Girondists attempted it, and perished; the Mountain attempted it, and perished; the Municipality attempted it, and perished; Robespierre attempted it, and perished; the Royalists attempted it, and perished. In revolutions it is easy to destroy; the difficulty is to establish and secure. All the experience of years of suffering, fraught with centuries of instruction—all the wisdom of age, all the talent of youth, were unable to form one stable government. A few years, often a few months, were sufficient to overturn the most apparently stable institutions. A fabric, seemingly framed for permanent duration, disappeared almost before its authors had consummated their work. The gales of popular favour, ever fickle and changeable, deserted each successive faction as it rose into power; and the ardent part of the nation, impatient of control, deemed any approach to regular government insupportable tyranny. The lower classes, incapable of rational thought, gave their support to the different parties only as long as they continued to inveigh against their su-

periors; when they became those superiors themselves, they passed over to their enemies.

66. Human institutions are not like the palace of the architect, framed according to fixed rules, capable of erection in any situation, and certain in the effect to be produced. They resemble rather the trees of the forest, slow of growth, tardy of development, readily susceptible of destruction. An instant will destroy what it has taken centuries to produce; centuries must again elapse before, in the same situation, a similar production can be formed. Transplantation, difficult in the vegetable, is impossible in the moral world; the seedling must be nourished in the soil, injured to the climate, hardened by the winds. Many examples are to be found of institutions being suddenly imposed upon a people—none of those so formed having any duration. To be adapted to their character and habits, they must have grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength.

67. The progress of improvement is irresistible. Feudal tyranny must give way in an age of increasing opulence, and the human mind cannot be for ever enchained by the fetters of superstition. No efforts of power could have prevented a change in the government of France; but they might have altered its character and checked its horrors. Nature has ordained that mankind should, when they are fit for it, be free; but she has not ordained that they should reach this freedom steeped in blood. Although, therefore, the overthrow of the despotic government and modification of the power of the privileged orders of France was inevitable, yet the dreadful atrocities with which their fall was attended might have been averted by human wisdom. The life of the monarch might have been saved instead of sacrificed; the constitution modified, without being subverted; the aristocracy purified, without being destroyed. Timely concession from the crown, perhaps, might have altered the character of the French Revolution. Had Louis, in the commencement of the troubles, yielded the great and reasonable demands of the people, and the nobility

permitted him to carry his intentions into effect—had he been allowed to grant them equality of taxation, the power of voting subsidies, freedom from arrest, and periodical parliaments—the agitation of the moment might have been allayed, and an immediate collision between the throne and the people prevented. At a subsequent period, indeed, increasing demands, and the want of more extended privileges, might have arisen; but these discontents, being turned into a regular and legal channel, would probably have found vent without destroying the state. When the floods are out, safety is to be found only in providing early and effectual means for letting off the superfluous waters, and, at the same time, strengthening the barriers against their further encroachment.

68. But although the gradual concession of power and the redress of all *real* grievances, before the Revolution, would have been not less politic than just, nothing can be clearer than that the sudden and vast accession of importance conferred by M. Necker on the *Tiers Etat*, by the duplication of their numbers, without any decision as to the voting by head or by order, was to the last degree prejudicial, and was, in fact, the immediate cause of the Revolution. Such a sudden addition, like the instantaneous emancipation of slaves, cannot but prove destructive, not only to the higher classes, but to the lower. The powers of freedom can only be borne by those who have gradually become habituated to them; those who acquire them suddenly, by their intemperate use speedily fall under a worse despotism than that from which they revolted. By the consequences of this sudden and uncalled-for innovation, the commons of France threw off the beneficent reign of a reforming monarch, fell under the iron grasp of the Committee of Public Salvation, were constrained to tremble under the bloody sway of Robespierre, and fawn upon the military sceptre of Napoleon.

69. No lesson is more strongly impressed upon the mind, by the progress of the French Revolution, than the disastrous consequences which followed

the desertion of their country by the higher orders, and the wonderful effects which might have resulted from a determined resistance on their part to the first actual outrages of the people. Nearly a hundred thousand emigrants fled from France, at a time when a few hundred resolute men might have saved the monarchy from destruction. Lafayette, with five battalions of the national guard, vanquished the Jacobins in the Champ de Mars in the most fervent period of the Revolution: had he marched against their club, and been vigorously supported, the Reign of Terror would have been prevented. Five hundred horse would have enabled the Swiss Guard to have saved the throne on the 10th August, and subdue an insurrection which deluged the kingdom with blood. Three thousand of the troops of the sections overthrew Robespierre at the zenith of his power; a body of undisciplined young men chased the Jacobins from the streets, and rooted them out of their den of wickedness; Buonaparte, with six thousand regular soldiers, vanquished the national guard of Paris, and crushed an insurrection headed by the whole moral strength of France. These examples may convince us what can be accomplished by a small body of resolute men in civil convulsions: their physical power is almost irresistible; their moral influence commands success. One-tenth part of the emigrants who fled from France, if properly headed and disciplined, and directed by a courageous monarch on the throne, would have been sufficient to have curbed the fury of the populace in Paris, crushed the ambition of the reckless, and prevented the Reign of Terror.

70. No doubt can now exist that the interference of the Allies augmented the horrors and added to the duration of the Revolution. All its bloodiest excesses were committed during, or after, an alarming but unsuccessful invasion of the allied forces. The massacres of September 2d were perpetrated when the public mind was excited to the highest degree, by the near approach of the Duke of Brunswick; and the worst days of the government of Robespierre were immediately after the defection of Du-

mourier; and the battle of Nerwinde threatened the rule of the Jacobins with destruction. Nothing but a sense of public danger could have united the factions who then strove with so much exasperation against each other; the peril of France alone could have induced the people to submit to the sanguinary rule which so long desolated its plains. The Jacobins maintained their ascendancy by constantly representing their cause as that of national independence, by stigmatising their enemies as the enemies of the country; and the patriots wept and suffered in silence, lest by resistance they should weaken the state, and cause France to be erased from among the nations.

71. In combating a revolution, one of two courses must be followed—either to advance with vigour, and crush the hydra in its cradle, or to leave the factions to contend with each other, and trust for safety to the reaction which crime and suffering necessarily produce. The suppression of the Spanish Revolution by the Duke d'Angoulême, in 1823, is an example of the success of the first system: the bloodless restoration of the English monarchs, in 1660, a proof of the wisdom of the second. To advance with menaces, and recoil with shame; to awaken resistance and not extinguish opposition; to threaten and not execute, is the most ruinous course that can possibly be adopted. It is to unite faction by community of danger; to convert revolutionary energy into military power; to strengthen the hands of crime by giving it the support of virtue. Ignorance of the new element which was acting in human affairs, may extenuate the fatal errors committed by the European powers in the first years of the Revolutionary war; no excuse will hereafter remain for a repetition of the mistake.

72. But it is not with impunity that such sins as disgraced the Revolution can be committed by any people. The actors in the bloody tragedy almost all destroyed each other; their crimes led to their natural and condign punishment, in rendering them the first victims of the passions which they had unchained. But a signal and awful retribution was also due to the nation

which had suffered these iniquities, which had permitted such torrents of innocent blood to flow, and spread the bitterness of domestic suffering to such an unparalleled extent throughout the land. These crimes were registered in the book of fate; the anguish they had brought on the others was speedily felt by themselves; the tears they had caused to flow were washed out in the torrents which fell from guilty eyes.* France was decimated for her cruelty; for twenty years the flower of her youth was marched away by a relentless power to the harvest of death; the snows of Russia revenged the guillotine of Paris. Allured by the phantom of military glory, they fell down and worshipped the power which was consuming them; they followed it to the verge of destruction, till the mask of the spectre fell, and the ghastly features of death appeared.

73. This dreadful punishment also was the immediate effect of the atrocities which it chastised. In the absence of all the enjoyments of domestic life, in the destruction of every pacific employment, one only career, that of violence, remained. From necessity, as well as inclination, every man took to arms: the sufferings of the state swelled the ranks on the frontier, and France became a great military power, from the causes which it was thought would have led to its destruction. The natural consequence of this was the establishment of military despotism, and the prosecution of the insane career of conquest by a victorious chieftain. France only awoke from her dream of ambition when her youth was mowed down, her armies destroyed, her conquests riven from her, and her glory lost. Both the allied powers and the French people suffered in these disastrous conflicts, because both deserved to suffer: the former for their ambitious projects against the territory of the Republic, and total oblivion of the moral objects of the contest; the latter for their unparalleled internal cruelty, and universal external oppression.

74. Finally, the history of these mel-

* "There is in the misfortunes of France enough," says Savary, "to make her sons shed tears of blood."—SAVARY, iv. 382.

ancholy periods affords the strongest evidence of the incessant operation of the principles destined for the preservation and extension of social happiness, even in the darkest periods of human existence. Since the fall of the Roman empire, no such calamitous era had arisen as that which immediately followed the 10th of August; none in which innocence so generally suffered, and vice so long triumphed; in which impiety was so openly professed, and profligacy so generally indulged; in which blood flowed in such ceaseless torrents, and anguish embittered such a multitude of hearts. Yet, even in those disastrous times, the benevolent laws of nature were incessantly acting; this anguish expiated the sins of former times; this blood tamed the fierceness of present discord. In the stern school

of adversity wisdom was learned, and error forgotten; speculation ceased to blind its votaries, and ambition to mislead by the language of virtue. Years of suffering conferred centuries of experience; the latest posterity will, it is to be hoped, in that country at least, reap the fruits of the Reign of Terror. Like all human things, the government of France may undergo changes in the lapse of time; different institutions may be required, and new dynasties called to the throne; but no bloody convulsion similar to that which once tore its bosom will again take place; the higher ranks will not a second time be massacred by the lower—ere another French Revolution of the same character as that which has been portrayed can ensue, the age in which it occurs must be ignorant of the first.

CHAPTER XX.

RISE OF NAPOLEON, AND CAMPAIGN OF 1796 IN ITALY.

1. NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 5th February 1768.* The Duke of Wellington was born in the year after, which Napoleon subsequently assumed as that of his nativity, in order to constitute him-

self a French citizen. "Providence," said Louis XVIII., "owed us that counterpoise." His family, though noble, had not been distinguished, and had suffered severely from misfortune. He was too great a man to attempt to de-

* He entered the world on 5th February 1768, and subsequently gave out that he was born in August 1769, as, in the interim, Corsica had been incorporated with the French monarchy.—ODELBEN, i. 230, and *Histoire de France*, par M. SALGUES, i. 67. The record of his marriage with Josephine, which still exists in Paris, gives his birth as on 5th February 1768. It is as follows: "2d Arrondissement of Paris. Act of marriage between Napoléon Bonaparte, general-in-chief of the Army of the Interior, aged twenty-eight years, born at Ajaccio, department of Corsica, domiciled at Paris in the Rue d'Antin, son of Charles Bonaparte, landowner, and of Letizia Ramolini, his wife, — and Marie Joseph Rose de Tascher, aged twenty-eight years, born at Martinique, in the West India Islands, domiciled at Paris in the Rue de Clautérine, daughter of Joseph Gaspard de Tascher, captain of dragoons, and of Rosa

Claire des Vergers de Sanoia, his wife. I, Charles Théodore François Leclerc, public officer in the *Etat civil* of the second Arrondissement of Paris, after having read in the presence of the parties and witnesses — 1st, the certificate of the birth of Napoléon Bonaparte, general, which declares that he was born on the 5th of February 1768, in lawful wedlock, by Charles Bonaparte and Letizia Ramolini." †—The register bears the signatures, "Tallien, M. J. R. Tascher, P. Barras, Le Manois le jeune, Napoléon Bonaparte, Charles Leclerc, officer public."—See the whole extract in SALGUES, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, i. 66, 67.

† This official act, signed by Napoleon himself on an occasion when no one but a very young man represents himself as "older" than he really is, and when his interest lay the other way, as Corsica was not incorporated with France till June 1796, decides the matter.

rive distinction from any adventitious advantages which did not really belong to him, and could afford to discard all the lustre of patrician descent. When the Emperor of Austria endeavoured, after he became his son-in-law, to trace his connection with some of the obscure Dukes of Treviso, he answered that he was the Rudolph of Hapsburg of his family; and when the genealogists were engaged in deducing his descent from an ancient line of Gothic princes, he cut short their labours by declaring that his patent of nobility dated from the battle of Montenotte.

2. His mother, as in the case of many other eminent men of whom history has preserved a record, was distinguished by great beauty, and no common firmness and intrepidity of mind. She shared in the fatigues and dangers of her husband during the civil dissensions which distracted the island at the time of Napoleon's birth, and had recently before been engaged in some expeditions on horseback with him. His father died at the age of thirty-eight, of a cancer in the stomach, a complaint hereditary in his family, which also proved fatal to Napoleon himself; but the want of paternal care was more than supplied by his mother, to whose early education and solicitude he, in after life, mainly ascribed his elevation.* Though left a widow in the prime of life, she had already borne thirteen children, of whom five sons and three daughters survived their father. She lived to see one of them wearing the crown of Charlemagne, and another seated on the throne of Charles V. On the day of his birth she had been at church, and was seized with her pains during high mass. She was brought home hastily, and, as there was not time to prepare a bed, was laid upon a couch covered with tapestry representing the heroes of the Iliad, and there the future conqueror was brought into the world.

3. In the years of infancy he exhibited nothing remarkable, excepting

* "My opinion," said Napoleon, "is, that the future good or bad conduct of a child depends entirely on the mother."—O'MEARA, *ii.* 100.

irritability and turbulence of temper. But these qualities, as well as the decision with which they were accompanied, were so powerfully developed that they gave him the entire command of his eldest brother Joseph, a boy of a mild and unassuming character, who was constantly beaten, pinched, or tormented by the future Emperor. But even at that early period it was observed that he never wept when chastised; and on one occasion, when he was only seven years of age, having been suspected unjustly of a fault, and punished when innocent, he endured the pain, and subsisted in disgrace for three days on the coarsest food, rather than betray his companion, who was really in fault. Though his anger was violent, it was generally of short endurance, and his smile from the first was like a beam of the sun emerging from the clouds. But, nevertheless, he gave no indications of extraordinary capacity at that early age; and his mother was frequently heard to declare that, of all her children, he was the one whom she would least have expected to have attained any extraordinary eminence. This is often observed of those destined for ultimate greatness; and the reason is, that they are reflecting rather than quick, and that their attention is fixed on things, which render a man eminent, rather than words, which make a schoolboy distinguished.

4. The winter residence of his father was usually at Ajaccio, the place of his birth, where there is still preserved a cannon, weighing about thirty pounds, the early plaything of Napoleon. But in summer the family retired to a dilapidated villa near the isle Sanguinière, once the residence of a relation of his mother's, situated in a romantic spot on the sea-shore. The house is approached by an avenue, overhung by the cactus and acacia, and other shrubs which grow luxuriantly in that southern climate. It has a garden and a lawn, showing vestiges of neglected beauty, and surrounded by a shrubbery permitted to run to wilderness. There, enclosed by the cactus, the clematis, and the wild olive, is a singular and isolated granite rock, beneath which

the remains of a small summer-house are still visible, the entrance to which is nearly closed by a luxuriant fig-tree. This was the favourite retreat of the young Napoleon, who early showed a love of solitary meditation, during the periods when the vacations at school permitted him to return home. We might suppose that there were perhaps formed those visions of ambition and high resolves, for which the limits of the world were ere long felt to be insufficient, did we not know that childhood can hardly anticipate the destiny of maturer years; and that, in Cromwell's words, a man never rises so high as when he does not know where his course is to terminate.

5. At an early age he was sent to the Military School, first of Angers, and latterly of Brienne. It is remarkable that the Duke of Wellington also learned the rudiments of the art of war at the first of these seminaries. His character there underwent a rapid alteration. He became thoughtful, studious, contemplative, and diligent in the extreme. His proficiency, especially in mathematics, was soon remarkable; but the quickness of his temper, though subdued, was not extinguished. On one occasion, having been subjected to a degrading punishment by his master—that of dining on his knees at the gate of the refectory—the mortification he experienced was so excessive that it produced a violent vomiting, and a universal tremor of the nerves. But in the games of his companions he was inferior to none in spirit and agility, and already began to evince, in a decided predilection for military pursuits, the native basis of his mind. During the winter of 1783-4, so remarkable for its severity even in southern latitudes, the ordinary amusements of the boys without doors were completely stopped. Napoleon proposed to his companions to beguile the weary hours by forming intrenchments and bastions of snow, with parapets, ravelins, and horn-works. The little army was divided into two parties, one of which was intrusted with the attack, the other with the defence of the works; and the mimic war was continued for several weeks, during

which fractures and wounds were received on both sides. On another occasion, the wife of the porter of the school, well known to the boys for the fruit which she sold, having presented herself at the door of their theatre to be allowed to see the *Death of Cæsar*, which was to be played by the youths, and been refused an entrance, the sergeant at the door, induced by the vehemence of her manner, reported the matter to the young Napoleon, who was the boy in command on the occasion. "Remove that woman, who brings here the license of camps," said the future ruler of the Revolution.

6. It was the fortune of the school at Brienne at this time to possess among its scholars, besides Napoleon, another boy, who rose to the highest eminence in the Revolution, PICHEGRU, afterwards conqueror of Holland. He was several years older than Napoleon, and instructed him in the elements of mathematics, and the first four rules of arithmetic. Pichegru early perceived the firm character of his little pupil; and when, many years afterwards, he had embraced the Royalist party, and it was proposed to him to sound Napoleon, then in the command of the army of Italy, he replied—"Don't waste time upon him: I have known him from his infancy; his character is inflexible; he has taken his side, and will never swerve from it." The fate of these two illustrious men afterward rose in painful contrast to each other: Pichegru was strangled in a dungeon, when Napoleon was ascending the throne of France.

7. The speculations of Napoleon at this time were more devoted to political than military subjects. His habits were thoughtful and solitary; and his conversation, even at that early age, was so remarkable for its reflection and energy that it attracted the notice of the Abbé Raynal, with whom he frequently lived during vacations, and who discoursed with him on government, legislation, and the relations of commerce. He was distinguished by his Italian complexion, his piercing look, and the decided style of his expression—a peculiarity frequently inducing a vehemence of manner, which rendered

him not generally popular with his schoolfellows. The moment their play-time arrived, he flew to the library of the school, where he read with avidity the historical works of the ancients, particularly Polybius, Plutarch, and Arrian. His companions disliked him, on account of his not joining their games at these hours, and frequently rallied him on his name and Corsican birth. He often said to Bourrienne, his earliest friend, with much bitterness—"I hate these French—I will do them all the mischief in my power." Notwithstanding this, his animosity had nothing ungenerous in it; and when he was intrusted, in his turn, with the enforcing of any regulation which was infringed, he preferred going to prison to informing against the young delinquents.

8. Though his progress at school was respectable, it was not remarkable; and the notes transmitted to government in 1784 exhibited many other young men much more distinguished for their early proficiency. But from the very first he gave decided marks of the inflexibility of his temper. In the private instructions communicated to government by the masters of the establishment, he was characterised as of a "domineering, imperious, and headstrong disposition." During the vacations of school, he returned in general to Corsica, where he gave vent to the ardour of his mind in traversing the mountains and valleys of that romantic island, and listening to the tales of feudal strife and family revenge by which its inhabitants are so remarkably distinguished. The celebrated Paoli, the hero of Corsica, accompanied him in some of these excursions, and explained to him on the road the actions which he had fought, and the positions which he had occupied, during his struggle for the independence of the island. The energy and decision of his young companion at this period made a great impression on that illustrious man. "Oh! Napoleon," said he, "you do not resemble the moderns—you belong to the heroes of Plutarch."

9. At the age of fourteen, he was sent from the school of Brienne to the

Ecole Militaire at Paris, for the completion of his military studies. He had not been long there, when he was so much struck with the luxurious habits in which the young men were then brought up at that seminary, that he addressed an energetic memorial to the governor on the subject, strongly urging that, instead of having footmen and grooms to wait upon their orders, they should be taught to do everything for themselves, and be inured to the hardships and privations which awaited them in real warfare. In the year 1785, at the age of seventeen, he received a commission in a regiment of artillery, and was soon promoted to the rank of first lieutenant, in a corps quartered at Valence. Shortly after, he gave a proof of the varied subjects which occupied his mind, by writing a History of Corsica, and an Essay for a prize, proposed by the Abbé Raynal, on the "Institutions most likely to contribute to Public Happiness." The premium was adjudged to the young soldier. These productions, as might have been expected, were distinguished by the revolutionary doctrines then generally prevalent, and were very different from his maturer speculations. The essay was recovered by Talleyrand after Napoleon was on the throne; but the moment the Emperor saw it he committed it to the flames.

10. At this period, Napoleon was generally disliked by his companions: he was considered as proud, haughty, and irascible; but with the few whose conversation he valued, and whose friendship he chose to cultivate, he was already a favourite, and high expectations began to be formed of the future eminence to which he might rise. His powers of reasoning were especially remarkable; his expressions lucid and energetic; his knowledge and information immense, considering his years and the opportunities of study which he had enjoyed. Logical accuracy was the great characteristic of his mind; and his subsequent compositions have abundantly proved that, if he had not become the first conqueror he would have been one of the greatest writers, as he assuredly was one of

the most profound thinkers, of modern times.

11. His figure, always diminutive, was at that period thin and meagre in the highest degree—a circumstance which, with his sallow and lank visage, rendered his appearance somewhat ridiculous when he first assumed the military dress. Mademoiselle Permon, afterwards Duchess of Abrantes, one of his earliest female acquaintances, and who afterwards became one of the most brilliant wits of the imperial court, mentions that he came to their house on the day on which he first put on his uniform, in the highest spirits, as is usual with young men on such an occasion; but her sister, who had just left her boarding-school, was so struck with his comical appearance, in the enormous boots which were at that period worn by the artillery, which he had entered, that she immediately burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, saying he resembled nothing so much as Puss in Boots. The stroke told; the libel was too true not to be felt; but Napoleon soon recovered his good humour, and, a few days afterwards, presented her with an elegantly bound copy of Puss in Boots, as a proof that he retained no rancour on account of her raillery.

12. When the Revolution broke out, he adhered, like almost all the young officers of subaltern rank, to the popular side, and continued a warm patriot during the whole time of the Constituent Assembly. But, on the appointment of the Legislative Assembly, he has himself declared that his sentiments underwent a rapid change; and he soon imbibed, under the Reign of Terror, that profound hatred of the Jacobins which his subsequent life so strongly evinced, and which he never, even for the purposes of ambition, made any attempt to disguise. It was his fortune to witness both the mob which inundated the Tuileries on the 20th June, and that which overturned the throne on the 10th August; and on both occasions he strongly expressed his sense of the ruinous consequences likely to arise from the want of resolution in the government. No man knew

better the consequences of yielding to popular clamour, or how rapidly it is checked by proper firmness in the depositaries of power. From the weakness shown on the 20th June, he predicted the disastrous effects which so speedily followed on the next great revolt of the populace. When he saw the monarch, in obedience to the rabble, put on the red cap, his indignation knew no bounds. "How on earth," he exclaimed, "could they let those wretches enter the palace! They should have cut down four or five hundred with grape-shot, and the rest would speedily have taken to flight."

13. The first military exploit of Napoleon was in his native country. The disturbances in Corsica having led the revolutionary forces into that island, he was despatched from Bastia, in spring 1793, to surprise his native city of Ajaccio, and succeeded in making himself master of a tower called the Torre di Capitello, in its vicinity, where he was shortly afterwards besieged, and compelled to evacuate it. Thus, like Frederick of Prussia, and Wellington, his first essay in arms proved unfortunate. His talents, and the high character which he had received from the masters of the Military Academy, ere long, however, led to a more important employment. At the siege of Toulon, the artillery, after the operations had advanced a considerable length, was intrusted to his direction, and he soon communicated a new impulse to the hitherto languishing progress of the siege. By his advice, the attack was changed from the body of the place to the forts on the *Hauteur de Grasse*, and on the Mountain of Faron, which proved so successful, that the siege, which before his arrival was on the point of being abandoned in despair, was speedily crowned with complete success. During this operation, he was first struck by the firmness and intrepidity of a young corporal of artillery, whom he immediately recommended for promotion. Having occasion to send a despatch from the trenches, he called for some person who could write, that he might dictate the order. A young soldier stepped from the ranks, and, rest-

ing the paper on the breastwork, began to write as he dictated, when a shot from the enemy's batteries struck the ground close to him, and covered the paper with earth. "Thank you," said the soldier; "we shall have no occasion for sand on this page." Napoleon asked him what he could do for him. "Everything," replied the young private, blushing with emotion, and touching his left shoulder with his hand—"you can turn this worsted into an epaulet." A few days after, Napoleon sent for the same soldier to order him to reconnoitre in the enemy's trenches, and recommended that he should disguise himself, for fear of his being discovered. "Never," replied he. "Do you take me for a spy? I will go in my uniform, though I should never return." And, in effect, he set out instantly, dressed as he was, and had the good fortune to come back unhurt. Napoleon immediately recommended him for promotion, and never lost sight of his courageous secretary. He was JUNOT, afterwards Marshal of France, and Duke of Abrantes. So strongly did Napoleon's character impress Junot at that time, that he quitted his regiment to devote himself to his fortunes as aide-de-camp, and wrote to his father in 1794, in answer to his inquiries, what sort of young man he was to whom he had attached himself.—"He is one of those men of whom nature is sparing, and whom she does not throw upon the earth but with centuries between them."

14. On another occasion, an artilleryman having been shot while loading a gun, he took up the dead man's ramrod, and with his own hands served the piece for a considerable time. He first took notice, at the same siege, of another soldier, named DUROC, whom he never afterwards lost sight of, made Marshal of the Palace, and ever treated with the most unlimited confidence, till he was killed by his side the day after the battle of Bautzen. Duroc loved Napoleon for himself, and possessed, perhaps, a larger share of his confidence than any of his other generals; and none knew so well, in after years, how to let the first ebullitions of the imperial wrath escape without pro-

ducing fatal effects, and allowing the better judgment of his sovereign to resume its sway in cooler moments. The reputation which Napoleon acquired from the successful issue of this siege was very great. All the generals, representatives, and soldiers, who had heard the advice which he gave at the councils, three months before the capture of the town, and witnessed his activity at the works, anticipated a future career of glory to the young officer. Dugommier wrote to the Committee of Public Salvation in these words,— "Reward and promote that young man; for, if you are ungrateful towards him, he will raise himself alone."

15. This success procured for Napoleon the command of the artillery of the army of Italy during the campaign of 1794. Dumorbion, who was advanced in years, submitted all the operations to a council of younger officers, among whom Napoleon and Massena soon acquired a decided lead; and the former, from the force of superior talents, gradually came to direct the whole operations of the campaign. It was his ability which procured for the French armies the capture of Saorgio, the Col de Tende, and all the higher chain of the Maritime Alps. These successes awakened in his ardent mind those lofty visions of ambition which he was so soon destined to realise. One night, in June 1794, he spent on the summit of the Col de Tende, from whence at sunrise he beheld with delight the blue plains of Italy, already to his prophetic eye the theatre of glorious achievement.

16. In July 1794, Napoleon was sent by the commissioners of the Convention to Genoa, upon a secret mission, in which he was connected with Robespierre's brother, then intrusted with the supreme command at Toulon. This mission saved his life. The younger Robespierre, for whom, at that period, he had conceived the highest admiration, earnestly entreated Napoleon, instead of going, to accompany him to Paris, whither he was returning to support his brother; but he was inflexible in his refusal. Had he yielded, he would infallibly have shared the fate of both; and the

destinies of Europe might have been changed. The situation he was offered was that of Henriot, commander of the national guard, of whose capacity the Committee of Public Salvation had become somewhat doubtful. It was brilliant enough however, in those days, to awaken the ambition of his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, who urged him to close with the offer. "No," said Napoleon, "I will not accept it: this is not a time to play the enthusiast; it is no easy matter to save your head at Paris. Robespierre the younger is an honourable man, but his brother is no trifier; if I went to Paris, I should be obliged to serve him. Me serve such a man! Never. I am not ignorant of the service I might be of in replacing that imbecile commander of the national guard of Paris, but I do not choose to do so; this is not the time for engaging in such an undertaking. What could I do in that huge galley! At present there is no honourable place for one but the army; but have patience—the time is coming when I shall rule Paris."

17. As it was, Napoleon was exposed, from his connection with these leaders, to no inconsiderable dangers even on his Italian mission. Within a month after, he was, in consequence of the fall of Robespierre, with whom he had been in close correspondence, arrested by the new commissioners whom the Thermidorian party sent out to the army of Italy, and made a narrow escape with his life. He addressed, upon his seizure, an energetic remonstrance to the commissioners, remarkable for the strong sense, condensed thought, and powerful expression which it contains; while his friend Junot was so penetrated with grief at his misfortune, that he wrote to them, protesting his innocence, and imploring to be allowed to share his captivity. These applications were attended with complete success; a fortnight afterwards, he was provisionally set at liberty, and immediately returned to Paris. He was there offered a command in La Vendée; and, having declined it, he was deprived of his rank as a general officer, and reduced to private life.

18. The period which now intervened from the dismissal of Napoleon to the attack of the sections on the Convention in October 1795, he has himself described as the happiest in his life. Living almost without money, on the bounty of his friends, in coffeehouses and theatres, his ardent imagination dwelt incessantly on the future; and visions floated across his mind, tinged with those bright colours in which the eye of youthful genius arrays the path of life—a striking proof of the dependence of happiness on the mind itself, and the slight influence which even the greatest external success has in replenishing the secret fountains from which the joys or sorrows of existence are drawn. During these days of visionary romance he dwelt with peculiar pleasure on the idea, which had even then become a favourite one, of repairing to Constantinople, and offering his services to the Grand Signior, under the impression that things were too stable in the Western World, and that it was in the East alone that those great revolutions were to be effected which at once immortalise the names of their authors. He even went so far as to prepare, and address to the French government, a memorial, in which he offered, with a few officers who were willing to follow his fortunes, to go to Turkey, to organise its forces against Russia—a proposal which, if acceded to, might perhaps have changed the fate of the world. This impression never forsook him through life; it was, even more than the destruction of British commerce, the secret motive of the expedition to Moscow: even after all the glories of his subsequent career, he looked back with regret to these early visions, and, when speaking of Sir Sidney Smith and the check at Acre, repeatedly said—"That man made me miss my destiny."

19. So low, however, were the fortunes of the future emperor fallen at that period, that he was frequently indebted to his friends for a meal, which he could not afford to purchase himself. At one time, his fortune being reduced to *five francs*, he went out to the quays of Paris, intending to throw

himself into the river; from which he was only diverted by the generosity of a friend, who, in the midst of his anguish, presented him with a large sum of money.* His brother Lucien and he brought the black bread received in their rations to Madame Bourrienne, and received in exchange loaves of white flour, which she had clandestinely, and at the hazard of her life, received during the law of the maximum from a neighbouring confectioner. At this period she lodged in a new house in the Rue des Marais. Napoleon was very anxious to hire, with the assistance of his uncle, afterwards Cardinal Fesch, the one opposite. "With that house," said he, "the society of yourself, a few friends, and a cabriolet, I should be the happiest of men." In those days Napoleon wore the grey great-coat, which has since become more celebrated than the white plume of Henry IV.; he had no gloves, for, as he said himself, they were a useless expense; his boots, ill made, were seldom blackened; his yellow visage, meagre countenance, and severe physiognomy, gave as little indication of his future appearance as his fortunes did of his future destiny. Salicetti had been the author of his arrest. "He did me all the mischief in his power," said Napoleon, "but *my star* would not permit him to prevail,"—so early had the idea of a brilliant destiny taken possession of his mind. He afterwards made a generous return to his enemy: Salicetti was ordered to be arrested by the Convention after the condemnation of Romme and the Jacobin conspirators, and he was concealed in the house of the mother of the future Duchess of Abrantes. Napoleon learned the secret in consequence of a love-intrigue between his valet and their maid; but he concealed his knowledge, facilitated his enemy's escape, and sent a letter to him on the road, informing him of the return he had made for his malevolence.

20. But another destiny awaited the young soldier. The approaching conflict

of the Convention with the Sections was the first circumstance which raised him from the obscurity into which he had recently fallen. His great abilities being known to several persons of influence in the government, especially Carnot, he was, on the first appearance of the approaching struggle, taken into the confidence of the Committee of Public Salvation, and had been consulted by them for some months before the contest began. When the attack by Menou on the section Lepelletier failed, Napoleon was sent for. He found the Convention in the utmost agitation; and measures of accommodation with the insurgents were already talked of, when his firmness and decision saved the government. He painted in such vivid colours the extreme peril of sharing the supreme authority between the military commander and three commissioners of the Convention, that the Committee agreed to appoint Barras commander-in-chief, and Napoleon second in command. No sooner was this done than he despatched at midnight a chef-d'escadron, named Murat, with three hundred horse, to seize the park of artillery lying at Sablons. He arrived a few minutes before the troops of the Sections, who came to obtain them for the insurgents; and, by this decisive step, put at the disposal of government those formidable batteries, which next day spread death through the ranks of the national guard, and at one blow extinguished the revolt. Barras declared in his report, that it was to Napoleon's skilful disposition of the posts round the Tuileries that the success of the day was owing; but he himself never ceased to lament, that his first success in separate command should have been gained in civil dissension; and often said, in after times, that he would give many years of his life to tear that page from his history.

21. Though not gifted with the powers of popular oratory, Napoleon was not destitute of that ready talent which catches the idea most likely to divert the populace, and frequently disarms them even in the moment of their greatest irritation. When in command in Paris, after the suppression of the

* Demasis was this generous friend: he gave him 80,000 francs in gold, with which he relieved the distresses of his family.—MONTHELOM, *Captivité de Ste Hélène*, ii. 33, 34.

revolt, he was frequently brought into collision with the people in a state of the utmost excitement; and on these occasions his presence of mind was as conspicuous as his humanity was admirable. Above a hundred families, during the dreadful famine which followed the suppression of the revolt of the sections in the winter 1795-6, were saved from death by his beneficence. On one occasion, he was trying to appease a mob in a state of extreme irritation, when a fat woman, bursting from the throng, exclaimed, "These wearers of epaulets, provided they fill their own skins, care not though the poor die of famine."—"My good woman," said Napoleon, who at that time was exceedingly thin, "look at me, and say which of us has fed the best." This at once turned the laugh on his side, and he continued his route without interruption.

22. JOACHIM MURAT, who was, by a singular coincidence, thus associated with Napoleon in his first important command, was born on 25th March 1771, at La Bastede, near Cahors, in Languedoc, where his father was an innkeeper. His bold and turbulent disposition early gave him a distaste for letters; he was soon taken from school, where he was making no progress; and the future King of Naples began life as an assistant to the waiter in his father's hotel. He afterwards enlisted in the Chasseurs of Ardennes; but, having fallen into a scrape, he deserted his regiment, and repaired to Paris, where he got employment again as a waiter at a humble restaurateur's. There his activity, address, and elegant figure, having attracted notice, he was offered a situation, in 1792, in the constitutional guard of Louis XVI. On its being disbanded, he was appointed sub-lieutenant in the eleventh regiment of Chasseurs-à-cheval of the line, and soon made himself remarkable by the daring of his character, and the ultra-revolutionary sentiments which he uttered—qualities which, in those days of democratic turmoil, procured for him rapid advancement. He was already lieutenant-colonel, in command of his regiment at Abbeville, when, on the assassination of Marat, in 1793, by Charlotte

Corday, he wrote to the Jacobin Club, that he intended, from admiration of the illustrious deceased, to change his name to Marat. His extreme principles were so well known that, after the 9th Thermidor, during the reaction against the Reign of Terror, he was deprived of his command, and came to Paris, where, like Napoleon, he lived an idle life, dreaming away the time in great poverty in coffeehouses. This continued till the revolt of the sections, when he volunteered his services to the government, and powerfully contributed, by the prompt seizure of the artillery at Sablons, to the decisive success which they obtained.

23. The sketch of this celebrated man given by the master-hand of Napoleon, will serve at once to furnish a key to his actions, and prepare the reader to follow his achievements with interest. "Murat," said he, "was a most singular character. He loved, I may rather say, adored me: with me, he was my right arm; without me, he was nothing. Order Murat to attack and destroy four or five thousand men in such a direction, it was done in a moment; leave him to himself, he was an imbecile without judgment. In battle he was, perhaps, the bravest man in the world; his boiling courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, covered with plumes and glittering with gold; how he escaped was a miracle, for, from being so distinguished a mark, every one fired at him. The Cossacks admired him on account of his excessive bravery. Every day Murat was engaged in single combat with some of them, and returned with his sabre dripping with the blood of those he had slain. He was a Paladin in the field; but in the cabinet destitute of either decision or judgment."

24. The next event in Napoleon's career was not less important on his ultimate fortunes. On occasion of the general disarming of the inhabitants of Paris, after the overthrow of the sections, a boy of ten years of age came to request from Napoleon, who was appointed General of the Interior after this success, that his father's sword, which had been delivered up, should be restored to him. His name was EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS;

and Napoleon was so much struck by his appearance, and the earnestness with which he enforced his request, that he was induced not only to comply with the request, but to visit his mother, the Countess Josephine Beauharnais. Her husband, Count Alexander Beauharnais, had been one of the most elegant dancers of his day, and from that accomplishment was frequently honoured with the hand of Marie Antoinette at the court balls at Versailles. Napoleon, whose inclination already began to revert to the manners of the old regime, used to look around, during his evening visits to the countess his widow, if the windows were closed, and say, "Now let us talk of the old court; let us make a tour to Versailles." From thence arose the intimacy which led to his marriage with that lady, and ultimately placed her on the throne of France.

25. Her history had been very remarkable. She was born in the West Indies; and it had early been prophesied, by an old negress, that she should lose her first husband, be extremely unfortunate, but that she should afterwards be greater than a queen.* This prophecy,

* The author heard this prophecy in 1801, long before Napoleon's elevation to the throne, from the late Countess of Bath, and the late Countess of Ancrum, who were educated in the same convent with Josephine, and had repeatedly heard her mention the circumstance in early youth.

† Josephine herself narrated this extraordinary passage in her life in the following terms:—

"One morning the jailer entered the chamber where I slept with the Duchess d'Aiguillon and two other ladies, and told me he was going to take my mattress to give it to another prisoner. 'Why,' said Madame d'Aiguillon eagerly, 'will not Madame de Beauharnais obtain a better one?'—'No, no,' replied he, with a fiendish smile, 'she will have no need of one; for she is about to be led to the Condergerie, and thence to the guillotine.'

"At these words my companions in misfortune uttered piercing shrieks. I consoled them as well as I could; and at length, worn out with their eternal lamentations, I told them that their grief was utterly unreasonable; that not only I should not die, but live to be Queen of France. 'Why, then, do you not name your maids of honour?' said Madame d'Aiguillon, irritated at such expressions at such a moment. 'Very true,' said I; 'I did not think of that;—well, my dear, I make you one of them.' Upon this, the tears of these ladies fell apace, for they never

the authenticity of which is placed beyond a doubt, was fulfilled in the most singular manner. Her first husband, Count Alexander Beauharnais, a general in the army on the Rhine, had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror, solely on account of his belonging to the nobility; and she herself, who was also imprisoned at the same time, was only saved from impending death by the fall of Robespierre. So strongly was the prophecy impressed on her mind, that, while lying in the dungeons of the Condergerie, expecting every hour to be summoned to the Revolutionary Tribunal, she mentioned it to her fellow-prisoners, and, to amuse them, named some of them as ladies of the bed-chamber; a jest which she afterwards lived to realise to one of their number.†

26. Josephine possessed all the qualities fitted to excite admiration. Graceful in her manners, affectionate in her disposition, easy in temper, elegant in appearance, she was qualified both to awaken the love and form the happiness of the young general whose fate was now united with her own. She

doubted I was mad. But the truth was, I was not gifted with any extraordinary courage, but internally persuaded of the truth of the oracle.

"Madame d'Aiguillon soon after became unwell, and I drew her towards the window, which I opened, to admit through the bars a little fresh air: I there perceived a poor woman who knew us, and who was making a number of signs, which at first I could not understand. She constantly held up her gown (*robe*); and seeing that she had some object in view, I called out '*robe*,' to which she answered 'yes.' She then lifted up a stone and put it in her lap, which she lifted up a second time; I called out '*pierre*,' upon which she evinced the greatest joy at perceiving that her signs were understood. Joining, then, the stone to her robe, she eagerly imitated the motion of cutting off the head, and immediately began to dance, and evince the most extravagant joy. This singular pantomime awakened in our minds a vague hope that possibly Robespierre might be no more.

"At this moment, when we were vacillating between hope and fear, we heard a great noise in the corridor, and the terrible voice of our jailer, who said to his dog, giving him at the same time a kick, 'Get on, you cursed Robespierre!' That coarse phrase at once taught us that we had nothing to fear, and that France was saved."—*Mém. de Joséphine*, i. 252, 253.

was never possessed of regular beauty, and, when united to Napoleon, was past her first youth, being above thirty years of age. But she was grace personified; her taste in dress was exquisite, and no one made so much of the physical advantages which yet remained to her. Her influence in subsequent times, when placed on the throne, was never exerted but for the purposes of humanity; her failings, for she had some, were redeemed by the readiness with which she gave ear to the tale of suffering. Napoleon himself said, after he had tasted of all the greatness of the world, that the chief happiness he had known in life had flowed from her affection.* These good and amiable qualities were not without a mixture of feminine passions and weakness. She was passionately fond of dress—a failing which, when her husband rose to greatness, led her into excessive extravagance; and her carelessness and ease of temper during her widowhood, had led her frequently into doubtful society and habits, during the profligacy which followed the Reign of Terror. After her marriage with Napoleon had fixed her destinies in an exalted station, she still retained the levity of manner and spirit of coquetry which she had then acquired, and sometimes, though without any real foundation at that time, excited furious fits of jealousy in his breast.

27. In the first instance, however, motives of ambition combined with a softer feeling to fix Napoleon's choice. Madame Beauharnais had formed an intimacy in prison with Madame de Fontenay, the eloquent and beautiful mistress of Tallien, who afterwards became his wife; and the former was, during those days of universal dissoluteness of manners, a great favourite of Barras, at that period the leading character of the Directory. With his usual volatility,

* "Josephine," said Napoleon, "was grace personified. Everything she did was with a grace and delicacy peculiar to herself. I never saw her act inelegantly the whole time we lived together. Her toilet was a perfect arsenal; and she effectually defended herself against the assaults of time."—O'MEARA, ii. 101. Being some years older than her husband, she took this method, like many others of her sex, of concealing the advances of time—"annos celans elegantid."

however, he was not sorry of an opportunity of establishing her in marriage with the young general, after the first novelty of the intimacy was over. His influence, after the fall of Robespierre, promised to be of essential importance to the rising officer. Napoleon married her on the 9th March 1796; he himself being in his twenty-eighth year, and she several years older. At the same time he laid before the Directory a plan for the Italian campaign, so remarkable for its originality and genius as to attract the special notice of the illustrious Carnot, then minister-at-war. The united influence of these two Directors, and the magnitude of the obligation which Napoleon had conferred upon them by his decisive victory over the sections, prevailed. With Josephine he received the command of the Italian armies, and, twelve days after, set out for the Alps—taking with him two thousand *louis*—or for the service of the campaign, the whole specie which the treasury could furnish. The instructions of the Directory were, to do all in his power to revolutionise Piedmont, and so intimidate the other Italian powers; to violate the neutrality of Genoa; seize the forts of Savona; compel the senate of Genoa to furnish him with pecuniary supplies, and to surrender the keys of Gavi, a fortress perched on a rocky height, commanding the pass of the Bochetta. In case of refusal, he was directed to carry it by assault. His powers were limited to military operations, and the Directory reserved to themselves the exclusive right of concluding treaties of peace or truce—a limitation which was speedily disregarded by the enterprising genius of the young conqueror.

28. ITALY,

— "Il bel paese
Che l'Appennin parto, et il mar circonda, et
l'Alpe,"*

is divided by nature into three great districts, essentially different from each other, and yet distinguished by indelible features from every other country

* — "The beautiful land
Which the Apennine divides, and the sea
surrounds, and the Alps."

in Europe. The first contains the noble plain, watered by the Po, which stretches from the southern base of the Alps to the northern declivity of the Apennines, and extends from Coni on the west to the Adriatic on the east. This noble plain, which is three hundred miles in length by a hundred and twenty in breadth, is, beyond all question, the richest and most fertile in Europe. On the west it is sheltered by a vast semicircle of mountains, which there unite the Alps and Apennines, and are surmounted by glittering piles of ice and snow, forming the majestic barrier between France and Italy. In those inexhaustible reservoirs, which the heat of summer converts into perennial fountains of living water, the Po takes its rise; and that classic stream, rapidly fed by the confluence of the torrents which descend through every cleft and valley in the vast circumference, is already a great river when it sweeps under the ramparts of Turin. This immense surface, formerly submerged over its whole extent by water, is a perfect level; you may travel two hundred miles in a straight line in it without coming to a natural eminence ten feet high. Towards its western end, the soil, chiefly composed of the debris brought down from the adjacent mountains, is for the most part sandy or gravelly; but it becomes richer as you advance with the course of the Po to the eastward, and the plain from Lodi to Ferrara is composed of the finest alluvial soil, generally thirty-five or forty feet in thickness. This magnificent expanse, the garden of Europe, is watered by numerous rivers, the Tessino, the Adda, the Adige, the Tagliamento, and the Piave, which, descending from the snowy summits of the Alps, fall perpendicularly into the line of the Po; while the Taro and other lesser streams, flowing on the southern side into the same river, from the lower ridges of the Apennines, afford equally to all parts of the plain the means of extensive irrigation—the only requisite in that favoured region for the production of the richest pastures and most luxuriant harvests.

29. It is hard to say whether the cultivation of the soil, the riches of nature, or the structures of human industry, in this beautiful region, are most to be admired. An unrivalled system of agriculture, from which every nation in Europe might take a lesson, has been long established over its whole surface, and two, sometimes three, successive crops annually reward the labours of the husbandman. Indian corn is produced in abundance, and, by its return—quadruple that of wheat—affords subsistence for a numerous and dense population. Rice is cultivated to a great extent in the marshy districts; and an incomparable system of irrigation, diffused over the whole, conveys the waters of the Alps by an endless series of little canals, like the veins and arteries in the human body, to every field, and in some places to every ridge, in the grass-lands. It is in these rich meadows, stretching round Lodi, and from thence to Verona, that the celebrated Parmesan cheese, known over all Europe for the richness of its flavour, is made. The vine and the olive thrive on the sunny slopes which ascend from this plain to the ridges of the Alps; and a woody zone of never-failing beauty lies between the desolation of the mountain and the fertility of the plain. But the climate is severe in winter, and the orange and citron are chilled by the blasts which descend from the frozen glaciers. The cities of this district, both in ancient and modern times, have been worthy, alike in grandeur and opulence, of the luxuriant plain by which they are surrounded. Mantua boasts of the residence of Virgil, Padua of having been the birthplace of Livy, Arqua of the tomb of Petrarch. Leonarda da Vinci, Titian, Canova, have adorned these cities by their works, or immortalised them by their birth; and the stately edifices of Turin, Milan, Bologna, Parma, Verona, and Venice, still attract the learned and ardent from every part of Europe, though their political independence has been extinguished, and their literary celebrity consists rather in the recollection of past than the greatness of present genius.

30. The second region, totally different in character from the former, extends over all the ramifications and declivities of the Apennines, that vast range which, branching off from the Alps in the neighbourhood of Genoa, runs down the whole centre of Italy south of the plain of Lombardy, from the frontiers of Provence to the extremity of Calabria. This great chain, in its central and highest parts, rises to the height of more than seven thousand feet above the sea; but in general the elevation is less considerable, and seldom reaches in the centre of the ridge above six thousand feet. It is not one simple central ridge of mountains, having a broad belt of level country on either side between it and the sea; nor is it a chain rising abruptly, like the Andes in South America, from the ocean on one side, so as to leave space for an ample extent of plain on the other, in which the rivers, descending from its summits, may become great and navigable. It is, like all the other chains which branch off from the great stony girdle of the Old World, a huge backbone, thickly set with spines of unequal length, some running parallel to each other, others twisted and interlaced in the strangest imaginable manner. As if to complete the disorder in those spots where the spines of the Apennines, being contorted, run parallel to their own central chain, and thus leave a level plain between their base and the sea, volcanic agency has broken in, and filled up the space thus left with clusters of hills or lofty mountains of its own formation, as is the case with the Alban Mount near Rome, and Vesuvius in the neighbourhood of Naples. Generally speaking, then, Italy, to the south of the plain of Lombardy, is composed of an infinite variety of valleys pent in between high and steep hills, each forming a country to itself, and separated by rugged natural barriers from the others.

31. If the climate of the country were more rigorous, this rugged and woody region, spreading, as it does, over three-fourths of its whole extent, would for the most part be composed, like the Dovrefelt of Norway, or the Grampian

ans of Scotland, of cold and cheerless hills, tenanted only by the roe and the heath-fowl. But, under the blue heavens and delightful sun of Italy, the case is very different. Vegetable productions, capable of yielding ample food for man, and in far greater variety than in the plain, are reared with ease in every part of the varied ascent, from the base to the summit of the mountains. The olive, the vine, the fig-tree, the pomegranate, the sweet chestnut, the peach and nectarine, with all the fruits of northern climates, flourish in the utmost luxuriance on the sunny slopes of Tuscany, and in the Roman States; while in Naples and Calabria, in addition to these, are to be found the orange-tree, the citron, the prickly pear, the prickly cactus, the palm-tree, and the fruits and flowers of tropical regions. An admirable terrace-cultivation, where art and industry have combined to overcome the obstacles of nature, has everywhere converted the slopes, naturally sterile and arid, into a succession of gardens, loaded with the choicest vegetable productions. A delicious climate there brings the finest fruits to maturity; the grapes hang in festoons from tree to tree; the song of the nightingale is heard in every grove; all nature seems to rejoice in the paradise which the industry of man has created.* To this incomparable system of horticulture, which appears to have been unknown to the ancient Romans, and to have been introduced into Europe by the warriors who returned from the Crusades, the riches and smiling aspect of Tuscany, and the mountain region of Italy, are chiefly to be ascribed; for nothing can be more desolate by nature than the waterless declivities, in general almost destitute of soil, on which it has been formed.

32. The earth required to be brought from a distance, retaining-walls to be

* "Omnia tunc florent: tunc est nova temporis ætas:
Et nova de gravido palmite gemma tumet:
Et modo formatis amictitur vitibus arbos:
Prodit et in summum seminis herba solum:
Et tepidum volucres concentibus ædra mulcent,
Ludit et in pratis luxuriatque pecus."
Ovid.

erected, the steep slopes converted into a series of gentle inclinations, the mountain torrents diverted or restrained, and the means of artificial irrigation, to sustain nature during the long droughts of summer, obtained. By the incessant labour of centuries this prodigy has been completed, and the very stony sterility of nature converted into the means of heightening, by artificial means, the heat of summer. The quantity of rock with which the soil abounded, furnished at hand the materials of walls and terraces. These terraces are always covered with fruit-trees, and, amidst the reflection of so many walls, the fruit is most abundant, and superior of its kind. No room is lost in these little but precious freeholds: the vine extends its tendrils along the terrace-walls; a hedge, formed of the same vine-branches, surrounds each terrace, and covers it with verdure. In the corners formed by the meeting of the supporting-walls, a little sheltered nook is found, where fig-trees are planted, which ripen delicious fruit under their protection. The owner takes advantage of every vacant space to raise melons and vegetables. Olive-trees shelter it from the rains; so that within the compass of a very small garden he obtains olives, figs, grapes, pomegranates, and melons. Such is the return which nature yields under this admirable system of management, that half the crop of seven acres is sufficient in general for the maintenance of a family of five persons, being little more than the produce of three-fourths of an acre to each soul; and the whole produce supports them all in rustic affluence. Italy, in this delightful region, still realises the glowing description of her classic historian above three hundred years ago.*

33. Great part of the mountain-re-

* The whole country in profound peace and tranquillity, cultivated, not less assiduously in the mountainous and sterile districts than in the fertile plains, and subject solely to native rulers, not only abounded in population and wealth, but was adorned by the magnificence of its many princes, by the splendour of numerous most beautiful towns, and by the majestic temples of religion."—*GUIZOTIAN-DIX*, lib. 1.

gion of Italy has adopted this admirable cultivation; and this explains what, to a northern traveller, at first sight seems inexplicable—the vast population, which is found not merely in the valleys, but over the greater part of the ridges of the Apennines, and the endless succession of villages and hamlets which are perched on the edge or summits of rocks, often, to appearance, scarcely accessible to human approach. Much care, however, and the constant labour of the husbandman, are required to uphold the little freeholds thus formed out of natural sterility; for, if his attention is intermitted for any considerable time, the violence of the tempests destroys what it had cost so much labour to produce. Storms and torrents wash down the soil; the terraces are broken through; the heavy rains bring down a shapeless mass of ruins; everything returns rapidly to its former state; and of so much laboured construction there soon remain only shapeless vestiges covered with briars. The sweet chestnuts, which grow luxuriantly in almost every part of the Apennines, contribute to uphold this dense population, by the subsistence which they afford in regions where the terrace-cultivation cannot be introduced; while, at the summit of all, above this zone of wood, where the frequent clouds nourish a short but sweet herbage, mountain-pastures are to be found similar to the dry and healthful downs of the south of England.

34. Hence arises the romantic character of Italian scenery, the constant combination of a mountain outline, and all the wild features of an alpine country, with the rich vegetation of a southern climate—the intermixture of the wildest and most awful with the softest and most delicate features of nature. Hence, too, the rudeness, the pastoral simplicity, and the occasional predatory habits to be found in the population; for these rocky and crooked fastnesses render it almost impossible for any police, however vigilant, to track out robbers who are sheltered by their numerous inhabitants. The insalubrious air which still infects the plains, and the devastation which they formerly under-

went from mutual warfare, or the plunder of the robber mountain-chivalry, have still farther contributed to fix industry and population in the mountains; for the malaria does not rise above a certain level, generally as clearly defined as the surface of a lake, on the hills, and the feudal horsemen paused at the entrance of these mountain-asylums of industry. The effects of these causes are still conspicuous. To this day, you may travel for miles together in the plains and valleys, without meeting with a single town or village, or even a human habitation; while the towns cluster on the hill-sides, the houses nestling together on some scanty ledge, with cliffs rising above them, and sinking down abruptly below them, the very *congesta manu præruptis oppida sacris* of Virgil's description, which he even then called "antique walls." They had been the strongholds of the primeval inhabitants of the country, and are still inhabited after the lapse of so many centuries—nothing of the stir and movement of other parts of Europe having penetrated these lonely valleys, and tempted the people to quit their mountain fastnesses for the more accessible dwellings in the plain.

35. The third region comprises the plains which lie between the western declivity of the Apennines and the Mediterranean. This district comprehends the Marshes of Volterra, still as pestilential as when they proved all but fatal to Hannibal's army; the plain of the Clitumnus, rich as in ancient days in herds and flocks; the Campagna of Rome, once inhabited by numerous tribes, now an almost uninhabited desert; the Pontine Marshes, formerly the abode of thirty nations, now a pestilential swamp; the plain of Pæstum, at one time inhabited by the luxurious Sybarites, now known only by its stately ruins and deserted thickets; the Campagna of Naples, still the scene of industry, elegance, and agricultural riches. The character of these plains is so different from that of the other great divisions of Italy, that it is hardly possible to believe that they belong to the same quarter of the globe. In the Campagna of Naples indeed, still, as in an-

cient times, an admirable cultivation brings to perfection the choicest gifts of nature. Magnificent crops of wheat and maize cover the rich and level expanse; rows of elms or willows shelter their harvests from the too scorching rays of the sun; and luxuriant vines, clustering to the very tops of the trees, are trained in festoons from one summit to the other. On its hills the orange, the vine, and the fig-tree flourish in luxuriant beauty; the air is rendered fragrant by their ceaseless perfume; and the prodigy is here exhibited of the fruit and the flower appearing at the same time on the same stem.* The banks of the Clitumnus, too, in Tuscany, still in some places maintain their ancient character of being "rich in men and the fatness of the soil."† But, with these exceptions, those plains are covered only with grass, and exhibit the usual features of the pastoral character. After leaving the centres of elegance and refinement in Florence and Rome, the traveller is astonished to find himself in the midst of unclosed and desolate plains, over which numerous herds of cattle wander at large, under the care of shepherds mounted on horseback, and armed with lances, after the fashion of the steppes of Tartary. Everything in those immense pasture-lands is at variance alike with the rich fields of Lombardy and the peopled heights of the Apennines. The farms are of great size, and entirely composed of pasture; the inhabitants

* "Mild was the air, the skies were clear as glass,
The trees no whirlwind felt nor tempest's smart,
But ere their fruit drop off the blossom comes;
This springs, that falls, that rip'neth, and this blooms.
The leaves upon the self-same bough did hide,
Beside the young, the old and ripened fig;
Here fruit was green, there ripe with vermilion side,
The apples now and old grew on one twig;
The fruitful vine her arms spread high and wide,
That bended underneath their clusters big;
The grapes were tender here, hard, young, and sour,
There purple, ripe, and nectar sweet forth pour."*—Jerusalem Delivered*, xvi. 10, 11.

† "Dives viris atque ubere glebæ."

are few and unhealthy; hardly any villages or hamlets are to be met with. The towns, too, are far distant and declining; and were it not for the indications of a dense population, which still exist in the ruins scattered at intervals over its surface, one would be led to believe they had never been tenanted by any other inhabitants but the wild-boar and the buffalo.

36. The cities of Italy have been celebrated since the very infancy of civilisation from the marvellous celebrity in arts and arms which their inhabitants have attained; but they are not so considerable in point of population as might have been expected from their long-established fame. Alone, of the countries in the world, Italy has *twice* risen to the highest eminence in the achievements both of war and peace. On the ruins of the Capitol, the former mistress of the world, a new empire arose, founded not on arms, but on religious reverence, which at one period embraced a wider dominion than had ever been conquered by the arms of the consuls. Rome in consequence possesses an interest, and exhibits a magnificence, which no other city in the world can boast; for it contains the remains of genius, and the monuments of art, alike of ancient and modern times; and is peopled with the shades at once of Cicero and Virgil, of Tasso and Alfieri, of Raphael and Michael Angelo. The amphitheatre of Titus still remains in ruined grandeur beside the Obelisk of Thebes, but it looks down on St John-Lateran, from whence so many laws have issued to the Christian world; the horses of Praxiteles yet adorn the Eternal City, but they front the Palace of the Quirinal, the abode of the Supreme Pontiff; the ancient pavement of the Sacred Way, furrowed by the wheels of a hundred triumphs, again, after a burial of fourteen hundred years, is exposed to the light of the sun, but it leads only to the modern Capitol, where "barefooted friars sing vespers in the remains of the Temple of Jupiter." The columns of Trajan and Antonine still surmount the ancient plain of the Campus Martius, but they adjoin the crowded and bril-

liant scene of the modern Corso; the Tomb of Adrian has been bespoiled, but it was so to adorn the "fane of the Vatican—the Dome of St Peter's, the noblest monument which the hands of man have ever raised to the purpose of religion." Before a second Rome appears in the world, a second Republic must have been followed by a second Empire; a second Mythology by a second Popedom; a second Forum by a second St Peter's; and the genius of Modern Europe, drawn to a centre by one conquering State, must have been succeeded by another night of a thousand years, during which superstition has subjected the whole civilised world to its sway.

37. During the days of its greatness, Rome is said to have contained three millions of inhabitants; but it may be doubted whether it in reality ever was inhabited by so numerous a population as modern London.* It is ascertained, by an authentic enumeration, that at the capture of the city by Alaric, it contained 1,200,000 inhabitants. Its present population is only 172,000; and in the time of Napoleon's government, it had sunk to 120,000. Venice, Milan, Florence, and Genoa, so celebrated in history, poetry, and romance, are less considerable,† in point of wealth and

* By the census of 1841, London contained 1,864,000 souls, the greatest aggregate of human beings in a single city of which the history of the world has preserved an authentic record. The number now (1848) is probably at least 2,200,000. Glasgow, next to it in point of numbers in the British empire, contained 274,000, and now (1848) is peopled by 350,000 souls.

† The following is the populations of the principal cities of Italy, according to the latest statistical accounts, (1836):—

Inhabitants.	Inhabitants.
Milan, . . . 150,000	Modena, . . . 28,000
Venice, . . . 110,000	Florence, . . . 78,000
Verona, . . . 60,000	Pisa, . . . 20,000
Padua, . . . 47,000	Coni, . . . 18,000
Turin, . . . 117,000	Adi, . . . 22,000
Genoa, . . . 100,000	Bologna, . . . 71,000
Leghorn, . . . 75,000	Ferrara, . . . 24,000
Alessandria, . . . 85,000	Ravenna, . . . 24,000
Ferrugio, . . . 30,000	Ancona, . . . 30,000
Naples, . . . 364,000	Messina, . . . 40,000
Rome, . . . 139,000	Catania, . . . 47,000
Palermo, . . . 168,000	Taranto, . . . 14,000
Vicenza, . . . 30,000	Reggio, . . . 17,000
Bergamo, . . . 30,500	Foggia, . . . 21,000
Parma, . . . 30,000	

population, than second-rate manufacturing towns of Great Britain; and the only really large city of Italy, Naples, will apparently soon be outstripped in numbers by Glasgow, a provincial town of Scotland. The industry and population of the great towns of Italy have sensibly declined during the last three centuries, in consequence of the alteration in the channels of commerce, the result of the rise of Great Britain, and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. Florence, which formerly contained 150,000 souls, can now boast of little more than half the number; Venice and Genoa have scarce a third of their former inhabitants. But the industry of the country is undecayed. Commercial wealth, deprived of its former channels of investment, has generally turned to rural enterprise—the towns have declined, but the provinces have increased both in riches and in-

habitants; and the population of Italy was never, either in the days of the emperors or of the mediæval republics, so considerable as it is at the present time. It amounts at this time (1832) to nineteen millions of souls, and exceeded sixteen millions in the days of Napoleon; a population which gave 1237 to the square marine league, a density greater than that of either France or England at that period.*

38. The causes of the extraordinary population, which has thus survived the political decline of modern Italy, and the decay of the principal seats of its manufacturing industry, is to be found in the direction of its capital to agricultural investment, and the increasing industry by which, during a long course of centuries, its inhabitants have overcome the sterility of nature. The admirable cultivation which has crept up the mountain-sides furnishes food for a

* The following table exhibits the population of the Italian States in 1810 under Napoleon, and in 1832, with the square leagues of territory, and density of the population to the square league:

	Square Marine Leagues.	Population in 1810.	Population in 1832.	Pop. per Square League in 1832.
I. Naples contained,	4,100	4,963,000	5,810,000	1,414
Sicily and Lesser Isles,	1,360	1,635,000	1,682,000	1,236
Total of Naples,	5,460	2,598,000	7,492,000	1,372
II. Kingdom of Sardinia—				
Piedmont and Savoy,	2,050	3,470,000	3,494,000	1,675
Sardinia,	1,600	520,000	490,087	306
Total of Sardinia, &c.	3,650	3,990,000	3,924,087	1,174
III. Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice—				
Province of Milan,	1,042	2,082,000	2,416,000	2,424
of Venice,	1,127	1,982,000	2,041,000	2,017
Total of Lombardy and Venice,	2,169	4,064,000	4,457,000	2,210
IV. Ecclesiastical States,	2,230	2,346,000	2,850,000	1,266
V. Tuscany and Elba,	1,098	1,180,000	1,282,000	1,167
VI. Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla,	223	377,000	438,000	1,538
VII. Modena,	272	332,000	385,000	1,415
VIII. Lucca, Carrara, and Massa,	54	138,000	144,500	2,675
IX. Republic of St Marino,	5	7,000	9,000	1,700

SUMMARY.

	1810.	1832.
Naples in Italy,	4,963,000	5,810,000
Piedmont, without Savoy and Sardinia,	3,020,000	3,016,000
Lombardy and Venice,	4,064,000	4,457,000
Ecclesiastical States,	2,346,000	2,850,000
Tuscany and Elba,	1,180,000	1,282,000
Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla,	377,000	448,000
Modena,	332,000	385,000
Lucca, Carrara, and Massa,	138,000	144,500
St Marino,	7,000	9,000
Italy Proper,	16,407,000	18,390,500

numerous population at the height of several thousand feet above the sea, and explains the singular fact, at first sight so inexplicable to a northern observer, that in scenes where, at a distance, nothing but continued foliage meets the eye, the traveller finds, on a nearer approach, villages and hamlets, and all the signs of a numerous peasantry. The terrace-gardening of the hills in Tuscany, the irrigations in the valley of the Arno, are extraordinary monuments of human industry. Means have been taken to avert or regulate the devastating torrents which descend, charged with autumnal rains, from the mountains, and to diffuse them in an infinity of little canals over the whole face, whether broken or level, of the country. The chestnut forests, which grow spontaneously in the higher regions, furnish subsistence for a large part of the peasantry; while, on the summit of all, the cool pastures of the Apennines, from whence the shepherd can see from sea to sea, feed vast herds of cattle; and flocks of sheep and goats find there a delicious pasture, when driven, during the summer months, from the great pasture farms of the Maremma, then brown, parched, and intersected by cracks from the long-continued drought. Thus every part of the country is made to contribute to the use of man; and Italy exhibits the extraordinary spectacle, interesting alike to the philanthropist and the economical observer, of a country in which population and civilisation have withstood the successive decline of two periods of political greatness; and the human race has found the means of happiness and increase amidst the destruction of all the sources of commercial prosperity, in the steady application of wealth and industry to the cultivation of the soil. It is a spectacle on which the eye of an inhabitant of our islands may well rest with complacency; for it affords, perhaps, the only solid ground for hope and confidence in contemplating the future fate of the people of this empire, now resting, in a great degree, on the splendid, but insecure and shifting, foundation of commercial greatness.

39. Land in the Apennines is very much subdivided: in Tuscany alone there are eighty-seven thousand owners of little freeholds, producing below £5 sterling a-year, and thirty-one thousand between that and £25.* It is in the unremitting industry and constant toil, generated by the attachments which this general diffusion of property produces, that one great cause of the extraordinary population and general wellbeing of the people in the mountain regions is to be found. It has not been the result, as in Republican France, of the violent spoliation of the clergy and the higher orders, nor of the boundless expansion of civilised man through the unappropriated recesses of the forest, as in North America. It has been the simple effect of industry steadily pursued, and frugality unceasingly practised, in a country not revolutionised, and wholly appropriated during a long series of centuries. And what has been the consequence? Why, that Tuscany now exhibits the marvellous, and, to an economical observer, highly interesting combination of ancient civilisation with social felicity, of density of population with general wellbeing, of declining commercial prosperity with increasing agricultural opulence. The high wages of manufacturing industry have not there been wasted in intoxication or devoted to extravagance: they were invested, during the days of prosperity, in numerous little freeholds, which at once elevated the character and improved the tastes of their possessors, and have communicated the same habits to their descendants; and, in consequence, Tuscany has surmounted equally the ruin of its commercial establishments and the fall of its political independence; and population, duly regulated by the elevated standard of comfort among the poor, exhibits the features of general wellbeing in the latest stages of national existence—another proof, among the many which history affords, of the eternal truth, that the real source of national, equally as of individual, felicity is to be found in the habits of the

* Cadastre of 1828, given in Raumer's Italy, ii. 28.

people; and that no misfortunes, how great soever, are irremediable, except such as undermine their virtue.

40. In a political point of view, however, the importance of Italy is at an end; and the garden of Europe seems destined to no other fate, during the remainder of European story, but that of being the prize of the most valiant and powerful of the transalpine nations. Still its inhabitants are doomed to utter the mournful lamentation—

*"Vincitrice o vinta, sempre asserva."**

The cause of this is twofold. Italy, though overrun successively by the Goths and the Lombards, never was the resting-place of so considerable a portion of the northern nations, as to acquire the magnitude and consistence of modern empires. It was broken into small separate states, and, when civilisation revived, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was on the model, and according to the ideas, of antiquity that industry and population were distributed. The Forum, equally as *in* Athens, Corinth, or Rome, was the centre alike of power and of deliberation in the modern Italian republics: the subject territory was associated in none of the duties of government. Monarchy had not given its states the unity and vigour of undivided administration. Its civilisation was that of the city, not of the tribe. No representative system united its inhabitants with the dominant borough: the rule of a few thousand citizens was felt to be insupportable by the rural inhabitants, because the self-interest of the oligarchy regulated all their proceedings, and central power had given the mass of the people none of its protection. Hence the territory of the Italian republics was limited to the district which a single city could govern: and a country thus subdivided was wholly unable to withstand the shock of the great transalpine monarchies, to whom the feudal institutions had given unity and vigour, and who had inherited from their Gothic ancestors the spirit of conquest.

41. The second cause which has pa-
* "Conquering or conquered, ever enslaved."

ralysed Italy, in a political point of view, in recent times, has been the loss, speaking generally, of the military spirit by its inhabitants. That its charming climate is capable of bringing to maturity a race of heroes and patriots, as well as one of poets and artists, need be told to none who are acquainted with the glorious story of Rome in ancient, and the not less heart-stirring annals of the Italian republics in modern times. But the history of Italy for the last three hundred years, and since the independence of the lesser states has been merged in the ascendant of the transalpine monarchies, has completely demonstrated that the warlike virtues are no longer in estimation, and that the arts and enjoyments of peace have entirely disqualified them for the generous sacrifices, the heroic self-denial, which are necessary either to attain national independence or to support military courage. When led by French officers, and placed beside French regiments, the inhabitants of Lombardy, during the wars of Napoleon, attained a high and deserved reputation; but so did the Portuguese and Hindoos under British direction, in the campaigns of the Peninsula and India. The peasantry of every country, even the most effeminate, will fight well if gallantly led: it is in the impossibility of finding such gallant leaders among their own higher classes, that the never-failing mark of national decline is to be found. Often individually courageous, the Italians, in a national point of view, have been for centuries totally destitute of the military virtues; they have never, since the defeat of the invasion of Charles VIII., in the close of the fifteenth century, been able to stand before the shock of the French or German bayonets. Experience has not yet enabled us to determine whether this decline from the heroic courage of ancient times is to be ascribed to the enervating effects of a delicious climate, or the general selfishness produced by a long period of pacific enjoyment. But the future history of Great Britain will solve the problem, for its winters are not likely to be ever less rigorous than they were in the days of Nelson and Wel-

lington; and if its inhabitants lose their courage, it can be ascribed to no other cause but the corrupting influence of commercial greatness.

42. The character of the Italians at this time is so different from what it was in the days of the ancient Romans, that it is hardly possible to believe they belong to the same country. Unlike their sturdy and heroic progenitors, they are almost entirely absorbed in the arts and elegancies of life. And while their political consideration and military reputation have become extinct, they are now distinguished chiefly, if not entirely, by their extraordinary genius in the fine arts; and the universal spread of a refined taste for works of imagination, and an enthusiastic perception of their charms, to an extent, among the middle and labouring classes, wholly unknown among the transalpine states. Reversing the maxims by which the ancient republic rose to greatness, they have devoted themselves to the formation of the living canvass, the breathing brass, and left to others the care of conquering the world.* In this respect, they bear a much closer resemblance to the inhabitants of Greece than those of Rome in former times. Passionately attached to the elegancies of life, lively and ingenious in conversation, endowed with an ardent imagination and a refined taste, they have risen, like the ancient Athenians, to the very highest eminence in the fine arts, and, like the Greeks of old, continue in these respects to give law to their conquerors, long after they have sunk before the ascendant of energy and courage among ruder nations.

43. At the period of the French invasion of Italy in 1796, the total forces

* "Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar; describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when
they rise.

But, Rome! 'tis thine alone, with awful
sway,

To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic
way;

To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to
free:

These are imperial arts, and worthy thee."
Æneid, book vi.

of the Italian states amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand men under arms, which could with ease have been raised, from a population of sixteen millions, to three hundred thousand. But, with the exception of the Piedmontese troops, this military array was of no real use; except when led on by French officers, the soldiers of the other Italian states were almost valueless, at least amidst the shock of the transalpine nations. Bitterly did Italy suffer for this decay in her national spirit, and extinction of her military courage. With the French invasion commenced a long period of suffering: tyranny, under the name of liberty; rapine, under that of generosity; excitement among the poor, spoliation of the rich; clamour in public against the nobility, and adulation of them in private; use made of the lovers of freedom by those who despised them; and revolt against tyranny by those who aimed only at being tyrants; general praise of liberty in words, and universal extinction of it in action; the stripping of churches; the robbery of hospitals; the levelling of the palaces of the great, the destruction of the cottages of the poor;—all that military license has of most terrible, all that despotic authority has of most oppressive. Then did her people feel that neither riches of soil nor glories of recollection—neither a southern sun nor the perfection of art, can save a nation from destruction, if it has lost the vigour to uphold or the courage to defend them.

44. Although the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, where the war was to be carried on, present few positions which, from the inequality of the ground, are capable of defence, yet it was in some places one of the most defensible countries in Europe. Its great rivers and numerous fortified towns were the cause of this peculiarity. At its western end, the principal passes leading over the Alps into France were closed by mountain forts, the strength of which had been amply proved by the French during the war of the Succession; and if these were surmounted, and the plain of Piedmont were reached, a strong chain of fortresses was prepared to

arrest the steps of the invader. Coni, Turin, Alessandria, Tortona, Voghera, Genoa, Gavi, and Ivrea, formed so many bulwarks, the possession of which was essential to a firm footing on the Italian plains, and which it was yet difficult to besiege, from the obstacles to regular operations, arising from the British having the undisputed command at sea, and the extreme difficulty of transporting heavy battering-trains over the rugged and inhospitable summits of the Alps. But if these fortresses were ever reduced, or won by treaty, they would form the best possible base for offensive operations, which would render it probably impossible to stop the invader's progress till he reached the banks of the Adige.

45. There, however, most serious obstacles awaited an invading army. The great defence against the passage of a hostile force over the plain of Lombardy is to be found in the number, depth, and rapidity of the Alpine rivers, which, descending from the glaciers of Switzerland, fall generally at right angles into the Po, near the centre of the level expanse. Not only are these rivers at all times deep and rapid, but they have this peculiarity, arising from the melting of the snows during the warm season in the higher Alps, that they flow with the most impetuous torrents in the height of summer, the season in other respects most favourable for military operations. The art of man has improved upon these great natural barriers, and strong fortified towns protect the principal and often the only bridges over their otherwise impassable floods. The Adige, in particular, presented an uncommonly strong line of defence in these respects; its deep and ample stream, from the foot of the Alpine cliffs behind Verona, to its junction with the Po, was strongly fortified at every point where a passage could be attempted; and the line of fortresses which guarded its bridges, Verona, Legnago, and Peschiera, could only be reduced by operations in form, and by the aid of heavy artillery. Mantua, protected by its strong bastions and surrounding lakes, would itself require an army for its reduction: the rugged

banks and swollen streams of the Min-cio, the Piave, the Tagliamento, the Brenta, formed so many strong positions to which the defending army could retire; while the broad channel of the Po secured one flank from being turned, and the vast natural fortress of the Tyrol, on the other, presented a sure refuge in case of disaster. It already might have been anticipated, what experience in the sequel amply demonstrated, that it was amidst the intricacies of these rivers, fortresses, and mountains, that the great contest for the empire of Italy would take place.

46. When Napoleon assumed the command of the Republican army in the end of March, he found everything in the most miserable state. The efficient force under arms, and ready for offensive operations, amounted only to forty-two thousand men; but it was continually reinforced by troops from the depots in the interior, after his successes commenced; so that, notwithstanding the losses of the campaign, it was maintained throughout nearly at that amount. The guns did not exceed sixty pieces, and the cavalry was almost dismounted; but the garrisons in the rear, amounting to eight thousand men, could furnish supplies, when the war was removed from the frontier, and the arsenals of Nice and Antibes were well provided with artillery. For a very long period the soldiers of all ranks had suffered the extremity of want. Perched on the inhospitable summits of the Apennines during the whole of the dreadful winter of 1795-6, they had enjoyed neither tents nor shelter; magazines they had none; their shoes were worn out, their clothing was in rags. The troops had, during nearly the whole winter, been placed on half a ration a day, and even this scanty supply was for the most part procured by marauding expeditions of the soldiers into the neighbouring valleys. The officers, from the effect of the depreciation of paper, had for a long time in reality received only eight francs a-month of pay; and the staff was entirely on foot. On one occasion the Directory had awarded a gratuity of three louis-d'or to each general of division; and the fu-

ture marshals and princes of the Empire subsisted for long on the humble present. But, considered with reference to their skill and warlike qualities, the army presented a very different aspect, and was, beyond all question, the most efficient one which the Republic possessed. Composed, for the most part, of young soldiers, whom the great levies of 1793 had brought into the field, they had been inured to hardship and privations during the subsequent campaigns in the Pyrenees and Maritime Alps—a species of warfare which, by leading detached parties continually into difficult and perilous situations, is singularly calculated to strengthen the frame and augment the intelligence of the soldier. Its spirit had been greatly elevated by the successful result of the battle of Loano; and its chiefs, Massena, Augereau, Serrurier, and Berthier, had already become distinguished, and, like stars in the firmament on the approach of twilight, began to give token of their future light.

47. Berthier was chief of the staff—a situation which he continued to hold in all the campaigns of Napoleon, down to the battle of Waterloo. His father had, among other appointments, been chief engineer of the armies under Louis XV., and colonel of the corps of geographical engineers; so that he had enjoyed the advantages of respectable birth and a military education. He was born at Versailles on the 28th November 1753, and was at this period forty-three years of age. He had entered the army at the age of seventeen, and in 1778 had served with such distinction under Rochambeau in America, that, before the end of that war, he had risen to the rank of colonel—a very unusual thing in those days for an officer who did not possess the advantages of patrician birth. In 1789 he was appointed major-general of the national guard at Versailles, in which character he rendered the Royal family some service during the stormy days of the 5th and 6th October. His disposition, however, decidedly marked him as for the popular side; and, in 1790, he presented a petition to the National Assembly, praying for the erection

of a monument to the soldiers killed during the democratic revolt of Nancy. On the 17th February 1791, he behaved with equal coolness and conduct, on occasion of the furious mob which attempted to break into and pillage the château of Bellevue, the residence of the princesses, aunts of Louis XVI. His good conduct on this occasion gave great umbrage to the Jacobin party, and he was glad to secure his safety by accepting the situation of adjutant-general of the army of old Marshal Luckner. Dumourier, however, who had a command in it, early perceived what his subsequent history too clearly evinced, that his capacity was not equal to the general direction of affairs, and he wrote to the Directory that he was ruining the old marshal. He was in consequence removed early in 1792 to La Vendée, where he acted in a subordinate situation with distinction; and at the battle of Saumur, in 1793, he had three horses shot under him. He was afterwards chief of the staff to Custine, and it was with no small difficulty, and only by consummate prudence, that he avoided the fate of his unfortunate general. Immediately after the 9th Thermidor, he was sent by the government as chief of the staff to Kellermann, in the army of the Alps; and it was in that capacity he was found by Napoleon when he took the command of that army, in April 1796.

48. Active, indefatigable alike on horseback and in the cabinet, he was admirably qualified to discharge the duties of that important situation, without being possessed of the originality and decision requisite for a commander-in-chief. Perfectly master of the geography of every country which the army was to enter, understanding thoroughly the use of maps, he was able to calculate with admirable precision the time requisite for the different corps to arrive at the ground assigned to them, as well as to direct, in a lucid manner, the course they were to pursue. He was precision itself in his habits; and, above all, possessed of such an extraordinary faculty of enduring fatigue, that he was never, on any occasion, whatever labour he had previously undergone, unable

to resume the duties either of the field or the cabinet. Faithful and trustworthy, he obeyed his instructions with docility, readiness, and perfect silence. A secret divulged to Berthier was as safe as if its possessor was in his grave; and these qualities made him an invaluable assistant to Napoleon. But he had no genius in his character; he was incapable alike of great conceptions and generous feelings; an admirable second in command, he was wholly unfit to be general-in-chief.

49. Massena, a native of Nice, was born on the 6th May 1758, of respectable parents in the mercantile line; but, having lost his father early in life, he never received an education suitable to the elevated duties to which he was afterwards called in life. One of his relations, a captain of a trading vessel, out of humanity took the young orphan on board his ship, and he made several voyages with him; but, having conceived a dislike for a sea life, he entered the army as a private soldier in the year 1775, in the regiment Royal-Italien, in which one of his uncles was captain. Ere long he was made a corporal; and, after he had become a marshal of France, he said that that step was the one in his whole career which had cost him most trouble to gain, and which had given him most satisfaction when acquired. His intelligence and good conduct soon promoted him to the rank of sergeant and adjutant; but in those days of aristocratic exclusion, he could not rise higher, — the epaulets of a sub-lieutenant being rarely conferred except on those of noble birth. After having served fourteen years, he became weary of a life of inactivity, and retired in 1789 to his native city, where he made an advantageous marriage; but no sooner did the Revolution break out, and the military career become open to all ranks, than he resumed his old profession, and was soon raised by the suffrages of his soldiers to the rank of adjutant-major of the battalion of the Var, and subsequently to that of colonel of the same regiment. His great military abilities subsequently insured him rapid promotion. He was made general of

brigade in August 1793, and general of division in December of the same year; and it was mainly owing to his able movements that the great victory was gained in the defile of Saorgio in August 1794, and on the Col de San Giacomo, in September 1795. In fact, he had acquired, by the force of his talents, the chief direction of the army of Italy during these two campaigns; and it was by the effect chiefly of his councils that their brilliant successes had been obtained.

50. Gifted by nature with a robust frame and an undaunted spirit, indefatigable in exertion, unconquerable in resolution, he was to be seen night and day on horseback, among the rocks and the mountains. Decided, brave, and intrepid, full of ambition, his leading characteristic was obstinacy; a quality which, according as it is rightly or wrongly directed, leads to the greatest successes or the most ruinous disasters. His conversation gave few indications of genius; but at the first cannon-shot his mental energy redoubled, and, when surrounded by danger, his thoughts were clear and his spirit undaunted. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, Massena was himself, and gave his orders with the greatest coolness and precision. Even after defeat, he recommenced the struggle as if he had come off victorious; and by these means saved the Republic at the battle of Zurich. But these great qualities were disfigured by as remarkable vices. He retained throughout, in the noble profession of arms, the love of gain which he had inherited from the mercantile pursuits of his father. He was rapacious, sordid and avaricious; mean in character, selfish in disposition, he shared the profits of the contractors and commissaries, and never could keep himself clear from acts of peculation.

51. Augereau, born in the faubourg St-Marceau, on the 11th November, 1757, was the son of a common mason. In infancy he gave no small disquiet to his parents by his quarrelsome and fractious disposition, inasmuch that they were glad to get quit of him by enlisting him as a private dragoon in the

regiment of Burgundy. He was soon, however, dismissed the corps for a serious offence, and returned to Paris peniless and in disgrace. Here his lofty stature and military air again attracted the attention of the recruiting sergeants, and he was enrolled in the regiment of carabineers, commanded by the Marquis Poyanna. There, however, his mischievous disposition a second time broke out, and he was expelled from his new corps for carrying off his captain's horses to sell them in Switzerland. Again thrown loose on the world, he became a fencing-master in the little town of Lodi; and, having soon tired of his monotonous life, he made his way to Naples, where he entered the Royal Guard, and, by his skill in the use of arms, was soon made a sergeant. After serving there for some years, he resumed his profession of fencing-master, which he followed for a considerable time in that capital with success. The breaking out of the Revolution in France, however, soon attracted him to the great centre of plunder and advancement; he returned in December 1792 to Paris, and immediately enlisted in a regiment of volunteers which was then raising, and which soon afterwards marched to La Vendée. There his activity, skill, and courage speedily became so conspicuous, that he was chosen by the men as their colonel. The distinction thus acquired procured for him the situation of adjutant-general of the army of the Pyrenees, where he signalised himself in several actions under Dugommier, particularly on occasion of the recapture of Bellegarde in 1794, and the actions on the Fluvia in the spring following. After the termination of the Spanish war, he was transferred, with a division of twelve thousand strong, to the Army of Italy; and, at the outset of his career there, bore a prominent part in the decisive battle of Loano, which opened to Napoleon—who soon after assumed the command—the gates of Italy.

52. With little education, hardly any knowledge, no grasp of mind, he was yet beloved by the soldiers, from the order and discipline which he always enforced. Sprung from the ranks, he knew how to excite and rule the men

with whom he had formerly served. He was severe and unrelenting in discipline, stern in enforcing obedience to his commands, but willing to allow his soldiers, if they proved obedient to them, every species of license at the expense of the inhabitants of the conquered territory. His attacks were conducted with courage and regularity, and he led his columns with invincible resolution during the fire; but he had not the moral firmness requisite for lasting success, and was frequently thrown into unreasonable dejection shortly after his greatest triumphs. He had nothing chivalrous or elevated in his character; his manners were coarse, his ideas often savage, and he had no other idea of governing men but the brute force against which, in youth, he had so much revolted, and to which in age he was so much inclined. His political opinions led him to sympathise with the extreme republicans; but no man was less fitted by nature either to understand, or shine in, the civil contests in which he was always so desirous to engage; and, like many others of that party, he showed himself at last equally ungrateful to his benefactor, and despicable by his conduct in adversity.

53. Serrurier, born in the department of the Aisne, was a major at the commencement of the Revolution, and incurred many dangers, in its early wars, from the suspicion under which he laboured of a secret leaning to the aristocracy. He was born at Laon in 1742, so that he was past fifty when the revolutionary war broke out. Rapidly raised to eminence, as all the officers of that period were, by the election of the soldiers, in the army of the Alps he distinguished himself, as general of division commanding the French right wing, in the capture of the Col de Fermo, in July 1795, and at the battle of Final, on the 11th December in the same year. No man was a better soldier, but he had not the qualities requisite for a general in separate command; and accordingly, after the first campaign of 1796, he was never intrusted by Napoleon with the direction of any considerable operations. He was brave in person, firm in conduct, and severe in disci-

pline; but, though he gained the battle of Mondovi, and took Mantua, he was not in general fortunate in his operations, and became a marshal of France with less military glory than any of his other illustrious compeers.

54. The Allies, on their side, had above fifty thousand men, and two hundred pieces of cannon; while the Sardinian army, of twenty-four thousand, guarded the avenues of Dauphiné and Savoy, and was opposed to the army of Kellermann, of nearly equal strength. Their forces were thus distributed: Beaulieu, a veteran of seventy-five, with thirty thousand combatants, entirely Austrians, and one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, was on the extreme right of the French, and in communication with the English fleet; while Colli, with twenty thousand men, and sixty pieces, was in a line with him to the north, and covered Ceva and Coni. Generally speaking, the French occupied the crest of the mountains, while the Allies were stationed in the valleys leading to the eastward, into the Italian plains.

55. Napoleon arrived at Nice on the 27th March, and soon gave indications of the great designs which he was meditating, by the following striking proclamation to his troops: "Soldiers! you are almost naked, half-starved; the government owes you much, and can give you nothing. Your patience, your courage, in the midst of these rocks, have been admirable, but they reflect no splendour on your arms. I am about to conduct you into the most fertile plains of the earth. Rich provinces, opulent cities, will soon be in your power; there you will find abundant harvests, honour and glory. Soldiers of Italy, will you fail in courage?" "Famine, cold, and misery," said the young general, "these are the school of good soldiers."* His plan was to penetrate into Piedmont by the Col de Cadibone, the lowest part of the ridge

which divides France from Italy, and separate the Austrian from the Piedmontese army, by pressing with the weight of his forces on the weak cordon which united them. For this purpose it was necessary that the bulk of the troops should assemble on the extreme right—a delicate and perilous operation in presence of a superior enemy, but which was rendered comparatively safe by the snow which enumbered the lofty ridges that separated the two armies. Early in April, the whole French columns were in motion towards Genoa, while the French minister demanded from the senate of that city permission to pass the Bochetta, and the keys of Gavi—that being the chief route from the coasts to the interior of Piedmont. At the same time Beaulieu, in obedience to the directions of the Aulic Council, was, on his side, resuming the offensive, and directing his columns also towards his own left at Genoa, with a view to establish a connection with that important city and the British fleet. He left his right wing at Dego, pushed his centre, under Roccavina, to the ridge of MONTENOTTE, and himself advanced with his left, by Bochetta and Genoa, along the sea-coast, towards Voltri.

56. The two armies, respectively defiling through the higher Alps, came into contact at Montenotte, the Austrian general having advanced his centre to that place, in order to cut asunder the French force by falling on its left flank, and intercept, by occupying Savona, the road by the Cornice, which they were pursuing from Provence to Genoa. The Imperialists, ten thousand strong, encountered at Montenotte only Colonel Rampon, at the head of twelve hundred men, whom they forced to retire to the Monte Prato and the old redoubt of Monte Legino; but this brave officer, feeling the vital importance of this post to the whole army, which, if it was lost, would have been cut in two, defended the fort with heroic courage, repeatedly repulsed the impetuous attacks of the Austrians, and in the midst of the fire made his soldiers swear to conquer or to die. With great difficulty and severe loss he maintained his ground till nightfall; but

* "La faim, le froid, et la misère, voilà l'école des bons soldats." Our young guardsmen and dragoon officers will scarcely admit this assertion, but the Lacedæmonians thought the same: "Labor in venatu, cursus ab Eurotâ, fames, frigus, sitis, his rebus Lacedæmoniorum epulæ condiuntur."

this heroism saved the French army, and prevented the star of Napoleon from being extinguished in the very commencement of its course. The brave Rocca vina, who commanded the Imperialists, was severely wounded in the last assault, and forced to be removed to Montenotte. Before retiring, he strenuously urged his successor, d'Argenteau, to renew the attack during the night, and gain possession of the fort before the distant forces of the Republicans could advance to its relief; but this advice that officer, not equally impressed with the value of time and the vital importance of the position, declined to follow. If he had adopted it, and succeeded, the fate of the campaign and of the world might have been changed; but, as it was, the French general speedily hastened to Rampon's relief, and converted his danger into the means of achieving a brilliant victory.

57. When the attack began, Napoleon was at Savona; but no sooner did he receive intelligence from Rampon, than he resolved to envelop the Austrian force, which had thus pushed into the centre of his line of march. With this view, having stationed Cervoni to make head against Beaulieu in front of Voltri, he himself set out after sunset from Savona

with the divisions of Massena and Serurier, and having crossed the ridge of Cadibone, occupied the heights in rear of Montenotte. The night was dark and tempestuous, which entirely concealed his movements from the Austrians. Favoured by its obscurity, the French in silence accumulated their forces on all sides. At daybreak the Imperialists found themselves completely surrounded. La Harpe and Rampon, issuing from the redoubt of Monte Legino, attacked them in front; while Massena and JOUBERT,* under Napoleon, pressed their rear. They resisted long and bravely, but were at length broken by the superiority of force, and completely routed with the loss of five pieces of cannon, two thousand prisoners, and above one thousand killed and wounded. This great success paralysed the movements of Beaulieu, who had advanced unopposed beyond Voltri. He hastened back with the bulk of his forces to Dego; but such was the circuit they were obliged to take, that it was two days before he arrived at that place to support the ruined centre of his line.

58. This victory, by opening to the French the plains of Piedmont, and piercing the centre of the Allies, completely separated the Austrian and Sar-

* Joubert, whom an early death alone prevented from achieving the highest destinies, was born in 1769—that year so fertile in great men—at Pont-de-Vaux, in the district of Brissac and department of Ain, in the Jura. Passionately fond of the military profession, he entered a regiment of artillery at the age of fifteen. His father, however, who was a judge in that town, prevailed on him to leave the army, and follow the bar; and he was pursuing his legal studies at Dijon when the Revolution broke out. He immediately entered, upon that event, the first battalion of national guards which was raised in his vicinity, and it was soon perceived that he was much more occupied with his military exercises than his legal studies. Ardent, enterprising, enthusiastic, he shared in all the excitement, political and military, of the period; and finding the career of the bar insupportably dull in those stirring times, he again enlisted as private in a regiment of grenadiers. The choice of the soldiers rapidly raised him through the various grades above the lowest, and in September 1798 he was in command of thirty grenadiers in a redoubt on the Col de Tende, where, being surrounded by five hundred Piedmontese, he was at

length made prisoner after a desperate resistance. Being afterwards exchanged, he returned to his paternal home at Pont-de-Vaux, where he narrowly escaped destruction in consequence of the indignant vehemence with which, in a club of which he was a member, he denounced the sanguinary and atrocious cruelty of Albitte, the commissioner of the Convention, who was then desolating the department. In 1794 he was appointed adjutant-general to the army of the Alps, and in July 1795 he was unsuccessful in an attack on a fortified position at Melagno, occupied by three thousand grenadiers. Kellermann, however, who saw his abilities, continued him in the command, notwithstanding this reverse. He distinguished himself by his conduct and intrepidity at the battle of Loano, on which occasion he was made general of brigade on the field of battle, which rank he held when Napoleon took the command of the army in April 1796. He had the soul of a hero as well as the eye of a general; and was distinguished, like Napoleon, Hoche, and Desaix, by that ardent spirit and thirst for glory which is the invariable characteristic of great minds.—*Biographie Universelle* (Joubert), xxii. 47.

dinian armies: the former concentrated at Dego, to cover the road to Milan; and the latter round Millesimo, to protect the entrance into Piedmont. Napoleon, in possession of a central position, resolved to attack them both at once, although, by drawing together their detachments from all quarters, they had more than repaired the losses of Montenotte. On the 13th, Augereau, on the left, assailed the forces at Millesimo, where the Piedmontese were posted; while the divisions of Massena and La Harpe descended the valley and moved towards Dego. With such fury was the attack on the Piedmontese conducted that the passes were forced, and General Provera, who commanded, was driven, with two thousand men, into the ruins of the old castle of Cossario. He was immediately assaulted there by superior forces; but the Piedmontese, skilled in mountain warfare, poured down upon their adversaries such a shower of stones and rocks that whole companies were swept away at once, and Joubert, who was in front animating the soldiers, was wounded. After many ineffectual efforts the Republicans desisted on the approach of night, and intrenched themselves at the foot of the eminence on which the castle was situated, to prevent the escape of the garrison.

59. The following day was decisive. Colli and the Piedmontese on the left made repeated efforts to disengage Provera, but their exertions were in vain; and after seeing all their columns repulsed, that brave officer, destitute of provisions and water, was compelled to lay down his arms, with fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile Napoleon himself, with the divisions of Massena and La Harpe, attacked and carried Dego after an obstinate resistance, while Joubert made himself master of the heights of Biestro. The retreat of the Austrians was obstructed by the artillery, which blocked up the road in the defile of Spegno, and the soldiers had no other resource but to disperse and seek their safety on the mountains. Thirteen pieces of artillery and three thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. No sooner was this success

achieved, than the indefatigable conqueror moved forward the division of Augereau, now disengaged by the surrender of Provera, to the important heights of Monte Zemolo, the occupation of which completed the separation of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies. Beaulieu retired to Acqui, on the road to Milan, and Colli towards Ceva, to cover Turin.

60. Meanwhile the brave Wukassowich, at the head of six thousand Austrian grenadiers, made a movement which, if supported, might have completely re-established the affairs of the Allies. Separated from the body of the Imperial forces, he advanced from Voltri to Dego, with the intention of forming a junction with d'Argenteau, who he imagined still occupied that place. Great was his surprise when he found it in the hands of the enemy; but instantly taking his resolution, like a brave man, he attacked and carried the place, making prisoners six hundred French, and regaining all the artillery lost on the preceding day. But this success, not being supported by the other divisions of the allied army, which were in full retreat, only led to the destruction of the brave men who had achieved it. Napoleon rapidly returned to the spot, and commenced a vigorous attack with superior forces. They were received with such gallantry by the Austrians, that the Republican columns were in the first instance repulsed in disorder, and the general-in-chief hastened to the spot to restore the combat; but at length General Lanusse, putting his hat on the point of his sword, led them back to the charge, and carried the place, with the loss of fifteen hundred men to the Imperialists, who escaped with difficulty by the road to Acqui, after abandoning all the artillery they had retaken. In this action Napoleon was particularly struck by the gallantry of a young chief of battalion, whom he made a colonel on the spot, and who continued ever after the companion of his glory. His name was LANNES, afterwards Duke of Montebello, and one of the most heroic marshals of the Empire.

61. Jean Lannes was born at Lezou, on the 11th April 1769, in the same

year with Ney, Wellington, and a host of other heroes. He was descended of humble and obscure parents, and was at first bred to the trade of a dyer, which he quitted in 1792 to enrol himself in a battalion of volunteers. It was soon discovered that he had marked talents for war, and the suffrages of his fellow-soldiers rapidly raised him to the rank of colonel, which he attained in the close of 1793, during which year he had served with his regiment in the army of the Eastern Pyrenees. After the 9th Thermidor, however, he was deprived of his command, as well as Napoleon and Massena, in consequence of their connexion with the younger Robespierre and the extreme Jacobin party; and being without employment, he returned to Paris, where he formed an acquaintance with both these generals. Massena and he served together under Napoleon on occasion of the revolt of the sections on the 13th Vendemiaire, and the services they then rendered at once reinstated them in the favour of government. When Napoleon received the command of the Army of Italy, Lannes solicited and received leave to accompany him, and he was immediately placed at the head of a regiment, which distinguished itself in the highest degree in the course of the campaign.

62. Lannes was one of the greatest generals which the French Revolution produced. "His talent," said Napoleon "was equal to his bravery. He was at once the Roland of the army, and a giant in capacity. He had great experience in war, had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and three hundred combats. He was cool in the midst of fire, and possessed a clear penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his temper, sometimes even in my presence, he was yet ardently attached to me. As a general, he was greatly superior to either Moreau or Soult." In his private character, however, this great general never recovered the defects of his early education. He was ignorant on all matters excepting his profession, coarse in conversation, often irritable in temper,

vehement in anger, and altogether destitute of the lighter graces, which soften and adorn the military character.

63. After the battle of Dego, La Harpe's division was placed to keep in check the shattered remains of Beaulieu's forces, while the weight of the army was moved against the Sardinian troops. Augereau drove the Piedmontese from the Monte Zemolo, and soon after the main body of the army arrived upon the same ridge. From thence the eye could discover the immense and fertile plains of Piedmont. The Po, the Tanaro, the Stura, and a multitude of smaller streams, were descried in the distance at the foot of the mountains, meandering in infant beauty; beyond them the blue plains of Italy bounded the horizon; while a glittering semicircle of snow and ice, of a prodigious elevation, seemed to enclose within its mighty walls the promised land. A sublime spectacle met the troops when they arrived on this elevated point; and the soldiers, exhausted with fatigue, and overwhelmed by the grandeur of the sight, paused and gazed on the plains beneath. Those gigantic barriers, which nature had rendered so formidable, and on which art had lavished its treasures, had fallen as if by enchantment. "Hannibal," said Napoleon, fixing his eyes on the mountains, "forced the Alps, but we have turned them." Soon after, the troops descended the steep slopes of the ridge, passed the Tanaro, and found themselves in the valleys which stretch up into the mountains from the Italian plains.

64. Serrurier was now detached by the bridge of St Michael to turn the right of Colli, who occupied the intrenched camp of Ceva, while Massena passed the Tanaro to turn his left. The Piedmontese, who were about eight thousand strong, defended the camp in the first instance with success; but, finding their communications on the point of being lost, they retired in the night, and took a position behind the deep and rapid torrent of the Cursaglia. There they were assailed, on the following day, by Serrurier, who forced the bridge of St Michael; while Joubert, who had waded

through the torrent farther up, in vain endeavoured to induce his followers to pass, and was obliged, after incurring the greatest risks, to retire. Thus relieved from all anxiety about his flank, Colli fell with all his forces on Serrurier, and after a severe action drove him back again over the bridge, with the loss of six hundred men. This check exposed Napoleon to imminent danger. The Sardinian general occupied a strong position in his front, while Beaulieu, with an army still formidable, was in his rear, and might easily resume offensive operations. A council of war was held in the night, at which it was unanimously resolved, notwithstanding the fatigue of the troops, to resume the attack on the following day. All the dispositions, accordingly, were made for a renewed assault on the bridge, with increased forces; but on arriving at the advanced posts at daybreak, they found them abandoned by the enemy, who had fought only in order to gain time for the evacuation of the magazines in his rear, and had retired in the night to Mondovi. He was overtaken, however, in his retreat, near that place, by the indefatigable victor, and immediately took up a strong position, where he hoped to arrest the enemy. The Republicans advanced to the assault; and though Serrurier was defeated in the centre by the brave Austrian grenadiers of Dichat, yet that courageous general having been struck dead by a cannon-ball at the moment when his troops, somewhat disordered by success, were assailed in flank by superior forces, the Piedmontese were thrown into confusion, and Serrurier, resuming the offensive, attacked and carried the redoubt of Bicoque, the principal defence of the position, and gained the victory. Colli retired to Chierasco, with the loss of two thousand men, eight cannon, and eleven standards.

65. Thither he was followed by Napoleon, who occupied that town, which, though a fortified place, and important from its position at the confluence of the Stura and the Tanaro, was not armed, and incapable of resistance. By so doing, he not only acquired a firm

footing in the interior of Piedmont, but made himself master of extensive magazines. This important success speedily changed the situation of the French army. Having descended from the sterile and inhospitable summits of the Alps, they found themselves, though still among the mountains, in communication with the rich and fertile plains of Italy; provisions were obtained in abundance, and, with the introduction of regularity in the supplies, the pillage and disorders consequent upon prior privations disappeared. The soldiers, animated with success, speedily recovered from their fatigues; the stragglers, and those left behind in the mountains, rejoined their colours; and the bands of conscripts from the depots in the interior eagerly pressed forward to share in the glories, and partake the spoils, of the Italian army. In a short time the Republicans, notwithstanding their losses, were as strong as at the commencement of the campaign; while the Allies, besides having been driven from the ridge of the Alps, the barrier of Piedmont, were weakened by the loss of above twelve thousand men and forty pieces of cannon. The effect of these successes was such that the Allies everywhere retired from the field; and the French army, emerging from the mountain valleys, entered the vast plain of Piedmont, and in a few days appeared before the gates of Turin.

66. The court of Victor Amadeus was now in the utmost consternation, and opinions were strongly divided as to the course which should be pursued. The ministers of Austria and Great Britain urged the king, who was by no means deficient in firmness, to imitate the glorious example of his ancestors, and abandon his capital. But as a preliminary to so decided a step, they insisted that the fortresses of Tortona, Alessandria, and Valence, should be put into the possession of the Austrians, in order to give Beaulieu a solid footing on the Po; and to this sacrifice in favour of a rival power, he could not be brought to submit. At length the Cardinal Costa persuaded him to throw himself into the arms of the French, and Colli was authorised to

open negotiations. This was one of the numerous instances in the history of Napoleon, in which his audacity not only extricated him from the most perilous situations, but gave him the most splendid triumphs; for at this period, by his own admission, the French army was in very critical circumstances. He had neither heavy cannon nor a siege equipage to reduce Turin, Alessandria, or the numerous other fortresses of Piedmont, without the possession of which it would have been extremely hazardous to have penetrated farther into the country; the allied armies united were still superior to the French, and their cavalry, of such vital importance in the plains, had not at all suffered; while his own troops, confounded at their own achievements, and as yet unaccustomed to such rapid success, were beginning to hesitate as to the expedience of any farther advance. "The King of Sardinia," says Napoleon, "had still a great number of fortresses left; and in spite of the victories which had been gained, the slightest check, one caprice of fortune, would have undone everything."

67. It was, therefore, with the most lively satisfaction that Napoleon received the advances of the Sardinian government; but he insisted that, as a preliminary to any armistice, the fortresses of Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria should be put into his hands. The Piedmontese commissioners were at first disposed to resist this demand; but Napoleon sternly replied—"It is for me to impose conditions—your ideas are absurd: listen to the laws which I impose upon you, in the name of the government of my country, and obey, or to-morrow my batteries are erected, and Turin is in flames." These words so intimidated the Piedmontese that they returned in consternation to their capital, where all opposition speedily gave way. After some negotiation, the treaty was concluded, the principal conditions of which were, that the King of Sardinia should abandon the alliance, and send an ambassador to Paris to conclude a definite peace: that, in the mean time, Ceva, Coni, and Tortona, or, failing it, Alessandria, should be delivered

up to the French army, with all the artillery and magazines they contained; that the victors should continue to occupy all the positions which at present were in their possession; that Valence should be instantly ceded to the Republicans in lieu of the Neapolitans; that the militia should be disbanded, and the regular troops dispersed in the fortified places, so as to give no umbrage to the French.

68. The armistice was followed, a fortnight after, by a treaty of peace between the King of Sardinia and the French Republic. By it his Sardinian Majesty finally renounced the coalition; ceded to the Republic, Savoy, Nice, and the whole possessions of Piedmont to the westward of the highest ridge of the Alps (extending from Mount St Bernard by Mount Genève to Roccarbone near Genoa); and granted a free passage through his dominions to the troops of the French nation. The importance of this accommodation may be judged of by the letter of Napoleon to the Directory the day the armistice was signed—"Coni, Ceva, and Alessandria are in the hands of our army: if you do not ratify the convention, I will keep these fortresses, and march upon Turin. Meanwhile, I shall march to-morrow against Beaulieu, and drive him across the Po; I shall follow close at his heels, overrun all Lombardy, and in a month be in the Tyrol, join the army of the Rhine, and carry our united forces into Bavaria. That design is worthy of you, of the army, and of the destinies of France. If you continue your confidence in me, I shall answer for the results, and Italy is at your feet."

69. This treaty was of more service to the French general than many victories. It gave him a firm footing in Piedmont; artillery and stores for the siege of Turin, if the final conditions should not be agreed to by the Directory; general stores and magazines in abundance, and a direct communication with Genoa and France for the future supplies of the army. Napoleon, from the solid base of the Piedmontese fortresses, was now enabled to turn his undivided attention to the destruction of the Austrians, and thus commence,

with some security, that great career of conquest which he already meditated in the Imperial dominions. Nevertheless, a large proportion of his troops and officers openly condemned the conclusion of any treaty of peace with a monarchical government; and insisted that the opportunity should not have been suffered to escape, of establishing a revolutionary government in the frontier state of Italy. But Napoleon—whose head was too strong to be carried away by the theories of democracy, and who already gave indications of that resolution to detach himself from the cause of revolution by which he was ever after so strongly distinguished—replied, that the first duty of the army was to secure a firm base for future operations; that it was on the Adige that the French standard must be established, to protect Italy from the Imperialists; that it was impossible to advance thus far without being secured in their rear; that a revolutionary government in Piedmont would require constant assistance, scatter alarm through Italy, and prove a source of weakness rather than strength; whereas the Sardinian fortresses at once put the Republicans in possession of the keys of the Peninsula.

70. At the same time he despatched to Paris his aide-de-camp, Murat, with the standards taken, and addressed to his soldiers one of those exaggerated but eloquent proclamations which, by captivating the minds of men, contributed as much as his victories to his astonishing success. "Soldiers! you have gained in fifteen days six victories, taken one-and-twenty standards, fifty-five pieces of cannon, many strong places, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners, killed or wounded ten thousand men. Hitherto you have fought on sterile rocks, rendered illustrious, indeed, by your courage, but of no avail to your country; now your rival, by your services, the armies of the Rhine and the North. Destitute at first, you have supplied everything. You have gained battles without cannons; passed rivers without bridges; made forced marches without shoes;

bivouacked without bread! The phalanxes of the Republic—the soldiers of liberty—were alone capable of such sacrifices. But, soldiers! you have done nothing while anything remains to do. Neither Turin nor Milan is in your hands; the ashes of the conqueror of Tarquin are still trampled on by the assassins of Basseville! I am told that there are some among you whose courage is giving way—who would rather return to the summits of the Alps and the Apennines. No—I cannot believe it. The conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, of Mondovi, burn to carry still farther the glories of the French name!" When these successive victories, these standards, these proclamations, arrived day after day at Paris, the joy of the people knew no bounds. The first day the gates of the Alps were opened; the next, the Austrians were separated from the Piedmontese; the third, the Sardinian army was destroyed and the fortresses surrendered. The rapidity of the success, the number of the prisoners, exceeded all that had yet been witnessed. Every one asked, who was this young hero whose fame had burst forth so suddenly—who, like Cæsar, had at once come, seen, and conquered, and whose proclamations breathed the fervour of ancient glory? Three times the Councils decreed that the Army of Italy had deserved well of their country, and appointed a fête to Victory, in honour of the commencement of the campaign.

71. Having secured his rear by this advantageous treaty, Napoleon lost no time in pursuing the discomfited remains of Beaulieu's army, which had retired behind the Po, in the hope of covering the Milanese territory. The forces of the Austrians were plainly now unequal to the struggle; a *coup-de-main*, which Beaulieu attempted on the fortresses of Alessandria, Tortona, and Valence, failed, and they were immediately after surrendered to the Republicans, while the corps of Kellermann was about to be united to the army of Napoleon, and the possession, by the conclusion of the armistice, of the Col de Tende, the principal passage in that quarter from France into Italy,

now rendered disposable a reinforcement of above twenty thousand men. Napoleon, on his side, indulged the most brilliant anticipations; and confidently announced to the Directory that he would cross the Po, expel the Austrians from the Milanese territory, traverse the mountains of the Tyrol, unite with the army of the Rhine, and carry the war, by the valley of the Danube, into the heart of the Imperial dominions.*

72. By inserting a clause in the treaty with the King of Sardinia, that the French army was to be at liberty to cross the Po at Valence, he completely deceived the Austrians as to the place where the passage was to be effected. The whole attention of Beaulieu having been drawn to that point, the Republican forces were rapidly moved to Placentia, and began to cross the river in boats at the latter place. Lannes was the first who effected the passage, and the other columns soon passed with such rapidity that a firm footing was obtained on the opposite bank; and two days afterwards Napoleon arrived with the bulk of his forces, and established a bridge. By this skilful march, not only the Po was passed, but the Tessino turned, as Placentia is below its junction with the former river; so that one great obstacle to the conquest of Lombardy was already removed.

73. Beaulieu, however, was now considerably reinforced, and his forces amounted to thirty-six battalions and forty-four squadrons, besides one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon—in all, nearly forty thousand men. He was

* Buonaparte wrote to the Directory at this period—"The King of Sardinia has surrendered at discretion, given up three of his strongest fortresses, and the half of his dominions. If you do not choose to accept his submission, but resolve to dethrone him, you must amuse him for a few weeks, and give me warning: I will get possession of Valence, and march upon Turin. On the other hand, I shall impose a contribution of some millions on the Duke of Parma, detach twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu and driven him across the Adige, and then I am assured that you will conclude peace with the King of Sardinia, and strengthen me by the army of Kellermann. As to Genoa, by all means oblige it to pay fifteen millions."—*Secret Despatch to the Directory, 29th April 1796. Corres. Secrète de Napoleon, i. 103.*

at Pavia, busily engaged in erecting fortifications, when he received intelligence of the passage at Placentia. He immediately moved forward his advanced guard, consisting of three thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, under General Liptay, to Fombio, a small town a short distance from the Republican posts. Napoleon, who feared that he might be strengthened in this position, and was well aware of the danger of fighting a general battle with a great river in his rear, lost no time in advancing his forces to dislodge him. D'Allemagne, at the head of the grenadiers, attacked on the right, Lanusse by the chaussée on the centre, and Lannes on the left. After a vigorous resistance, the Austrians were expelled from the town, with the loss of above a thousand men. Liptay fell back to Pizzighitone. Meanwhile, Beaulieu was advancing with the bulk of his forces; and the leading division of his army surprised General La Harpe in the night, who was killed bravely fighting at the head of his division, but not until the Austrians had been compelled to retire.

74. The French troops having now entered the territory of Parma, it was of importance to establish matters on a pacific footing in their rear before pressing forward to Milan. The Grand-duke had no military resources whatever; the victor, therefore, resolved to grant him terms, upon the surrender of what he had to give. He was obliged to pay two millions of francs in silver, and to furnish sixteen hundred artillery-horses, of which the army stood much in need, besides great supplies of corn and provisions. But on this occasion Napoleon commenced another species of military contribution, which he has himself confessed was unparalleled in modern warfare, that of exacting from the vanquished the surrender of their most precious works of art. Parma was compelled to give up twenty of its principal paintings, among which was the celebrated St Jerome by Correggio. The duke offered a million of francs as a ransom for that inestimable work of art, which many of his officers urged the French general to accept, as of much more service to the army than

the painting ; but Napoleon, whose mind was fixed on greater things, replied—"The million which he offers us would soon be spent ; but the possession of such a *chef-d'œuvre* at Paris will adorn that capital for ages, and give birth to similar exertions of genius."

75. Thus commenced the system of seizing the great works of art in the conquered states, which the French generals afterwards carried to such a height, and which finally produced the noble gallery of the Louvre. The French have since had good reason to congratulate themselves that the Allies did not follow their bad example ; and that, on occasion of the second capture of Paris, their victors had the generosity to content themselves with enforcing restitution of the abstracted spoils, without, like them, compelling the surrender of those that had been legitimately acquired. Certainly, it is impossible to condemn too strongly a use of the powers of conquest, which extends the ravages of war into the peaceful domain of the fine arts ; which transplants the monuments of genius from the regions where they have arisen, and where their value is appreciated, to those where they are exotic, and their merit is probably little understood ; which renders them, instead of being the proud legacy of genius to mankind, the mere trophy of a victor's glory ; which exposes them to be tossed about by the tide of conquest, and subjected to irreparable injury in following the fleeting career of success ; and converts works, destined to elevate and captivate the human race, into the subject of angry contention. and the badge of temporary subjugation.

76. On the 8th, Napoleon marched towards Milan ; but, before proceeding to that city, he required to drive the Austrians from the line of the Adda, which they held, strongly guarded. The wooden bridge of LODI, over that river, was occupied by a powerful rearguard, consisting of twelve thousand Austrian infantry and four thousand horse ; while the remainder of their forces had retired to Crema, the right wing still holding firm at Cassano, and the neighbourhood of Milan. By a rapid advance, he hoped to cut off the bulk of their troops from

the Hereditary States, and make them prisoners ; but as there was not a moment to be lost in achieving the movements requisite to attain this object, he resolved to force the bridge, and thus get into their rear. He himself arrived at Lodi, at the head of the grenadiers of d'Allemagne ; upon which the Austrians withdrew from the town, and crossed the river, drawing up their infantry, with twenty pieces of cannon, at the further extremity of the bridge, to defend the passage. Napoleon immediately directed Beaumont, with all the cavalry of the army, to pass at a ford half a league farther up ; while he himself directed all the artillery which had arrived against the Austrian battery, and formed six thousand grenadiers in close column, under cover of the houses at his own end of the bridge. No sooner did he perceive that the discharge of the Austrian artillery was beginning to slacken, from the effect of the French fire, and that the passage of the cavalry on their flank had commenced, than, addressing a few animating words to his soldiers, he gave the signal to advance. The grenadiers pushed on in double-quick time, through a cloud of smoke, over the long and narrow defile of the bridge. The terrible storm of grape-shot for a little arrested their progress ; the front ranks were entirely swept away ; but those in rear, finding themselves supported by a cloud of *tirailleurs*, who waded the stream below the arches, and led with heroic courage by their general, soon recovered, and, rushing forward with resistless fury, carried the Austrian guns, and drove back their infantry. Had the French cavalry been ready to profit by the confusion, the whole corps of the Imperialists would have been destroyed ; but, as it had not yet come up, their numerous squadrons protected the retreat of the infantry, who retired with the loss of two thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of the victors was at least as great. The object of this bold measure was indeed lost, for the Austrians, whom it had been intended to cut off, had meanwhile gained the *chaussée* of Brescia, and made good their retreat ; but it contributed greatly to

exalt the character and elevate the courage of the Republican troops, by inspiring them with the belief that nothing could resist them : and it made a deep impression on the mind of Napoleon, who ever after styled it the "terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi."*

77. This victory also powerfully increased the confidence of the soldiers in their young commander. After each success, the old soldiers, who had at first been somewhat distrustful of him, assembled, and gave him a new step of promotion. He was made a corporal at Lodi ; and the surname of "Le Petit Caporal," thence acquired, was long remembered in the army. When, in 1815, he was met by the battalion sent against him from the fortress of Grenoble, the soldiers, the moment they saw him, exclaimed, "Long live our little corporal ! we will never oppose him." Nor did this fearful passage produce a less powerful impression on the mind of the general. "The 13th Vendemiaire, and the victory of Montenotte," said Napoleon, "did not induce me to believe myself a superior character. It was after the passage of Lodi that the idea shot across my mind, that I might become a decisive actor on the political theatre. Then arose, for the first time, the spark of great ambition."

78. After this disaster, Beaulieu retired behind the Mincio, leaving Milan to its fate ; and Pizzighettone, with its garrison of five hundred men, capitulated. Serrurier was placed at Cremona, from whence he observed the garrison of Mantua ; while Augereau pushed on from Pizzighettone to Pavia. On the 15th, Napoleon made his triumphal entry into Milan at the head of his troops, with all the pomp of war, to the sound of military music, amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of spectators, and through the lines of the national guard, dressed in three colours, in honour of the triumph of the tricolor flag.

79. On this occasion the conqueror addressed to his soldiers another of

those heart-stirring proclamations which so powerfully contributed to electrify the ardent imagination of the Italians, and added so much to the influence of his victories.—"Soldiers ! you have descended like a torrent from the summit of the Apennines ; you have overwhelmed and dispersed everything which opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from the tyranny of Austria, has felt itself at liberty to indulge its natural inclination for peace, and for a French alliance ; Milan is in your hands ; and the Republican standards wave over the whole of Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their existence only to your generosity. The army which menaced you with so much pride, can now no longer find a barrier to protect itself against your arms ; the Po, the Tessino, the Adda, have not been able to stop you a single day ; these boasted bulwarks of Italy have proved as nugatory as the Alps. Such a career of success has carried joy into the bosom of your country ; fêtes in honour of your victories have been ordered by the national representatives in all the communes of the Republic ; there, your parents, your wives, your sisters, your lovers, rejoice at your success, and glory in their connection with you. Yes, soldiers ! you have indeed done much : but much still remains to be done. Shall posterity say that we knew how to conquer, but not how to improve victory ? Shall we find a Capua in Lombardy ? The hour of vengeance has struck, but the people of all nations may rest in peace ; we are the friends of every people, and especially of the descendants of Brutus, Scipio, and the other great men whom we have taken for examples. To restore the Capitol ; to replace there the statues of the heroes who have rendered it immortal ; to rouse the Romans from centuries of slavery—such will be the fruit of our victories ; they will form an era in history ; to you will belong the glory of having changed the face of the most beautiful part of Europe. The French people, free within and dreaded without, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify her for all the sacrifices she has made for the last six

* The bridge of Lodi exactly resembles the wooden bridge over the Clyde at Glasgow, both in form, materials, and length.—*Personal observation.*

years. Then you will return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens will say of each of you in passing, 'He was a soldier in the Army of Italy!'

80. Great was the enthusiasm, unbounded the joy, which these unparalleled successes and eloquent words excited among all that ardent and generous part of the Italian people, who panted for civil liberty and national independence. To them Napoleon appeared as the destined regenerator of Italy, the hero who was to achieve their liberation from Transalpine oppression, and bring back the glorious days of Roman virtue. His burning words, his splendid actions, the antique character of his thoughts, diffused a universal enchantment. Even the coolest heads began to turn at the brilliant career thus begun, by a general not yet eight-and-twenty years of age, and the boundless anticipations of future triumph, of which he spoke with prophetic certainty. From every part of Italy the young and the ardent flocked to Milan; balls and festivities gave token of the universal joy; every word and look of the conqueror was watched; the patriots compared him to Scipio and Hannibal, and the ladies on the popular side knew no bounds in their adulation.

81. But this illusion was of short duration, and Italy was soon destined to experience the bitter fate and cruel degradation of every people who look for their deliverance to foreign assistance. In the midst of the general joy, a contribution of twenty millions of francs, or £800,000 sterling, struck Milan with astonishment, and wounded the Italians in their tenderest part—their domestic and economical arrangements. So enormous a contribution upon a single city seemed scarcely possible to be realised; but the sword of the victor offered no alternative. Great requisitions were at the same time made of horses for the artillery and cavalry in all the Milanese territory; and provisions were amassed on all sides at the expense of the inhabitants, for which they received nothing, or Republican paper of no value. Nor did the Duke of Modena escape more easily. He was compelled to purchase peace by a contribution of ten millions

of francs in money or stores for the army, and to submit to the exaction of twenty paintings from his gallery for the Republican museum. Liberated Italy was treated with more severity than is generally the lot of conquered states.

82. Thus commenced the system of "making war support war," which contributed so much to the early success of the Republican arms, which compensated for all the penury and exhaustion of the Republican territory, which raised to the clouds the glory of the Empire, and brought about inevitably its ultimate destruction. France, abounding with men, but destitute of money—incapable of supporting war by its own resources, from the entire stoppage of domestic industry, but teeming with a restless and indigent population, let loose on the world from that very cause—found in this system the means of advancement and opulence. While the other armies of the Republic were suffering under the horrors of penury, and could hardly find food for their support, or clothes for their covering, the Army of Italy was rolling in opulence, and the spoils of vanquished states gave them every enjoyment of life. From that time there was no want of soldiers to follow the career of the conqueror; the prospect of glory and plunder brought willing crowds to his standard. The passes of the Alps were covered with files of troops, pressing forward to the theatre of renown; and all the chasms occasioned by the relentless system of war which he followed, were filled up by the multitudes whom the illusion of victory brought to his ranks. But the Republican soldiers were far from anticipating the terrible reverses to which this system of spoliation was ultimately to lead, or that France was destined to groan under exactions as severe as those she now so liberally inflicted upon others. Clothed, fed, and lodged at the expense of the Milanese, the soldiers pursued with thoughtless eagerness the career of glory which had opened before them. The artillery, the cavalry, were soon in the finest condition; and hospitals were established for fifteen thou-

sand patients or wounded, in the different towns in the conquered territory—for to that immense number had the rapidity of the marches, and the multiplicity of the combats, swelled the sick-list. Having amply provided for his own army, Napoleon despatched several millions by the route of Genoa for the service of the Directory, and one million over the Alps to Moreau, to relieve the pressing wants of the army of the Upper Rhine.

83. These great successes already began to inspire the French government with jealousy of their lieutenant; and they in consequence transmitted an order by which Kellermann, with twenty thousand men, was to command on the left bank of the Po, and cover the siege of Mantua, while Napoleon, with the remainder of the forces, was to march upon Rome and Naples. But he was both too proud to submit to any division of his authority, and too sagacious not to see that, by thus separating the forces, and leaving only a small army in the north of Italy, the Austrians would speedily recover themselves, regain the decisive ground in that quarter on which the fate of the peninsula

* Napoleon on this occasion wrote to Carnot: "Kellermann could command the army as well as I—for no one is more convinced than I am of the courage and daring of the soldiers—but to unite us together would ruin everything. I will not serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe; and it is better to have one bad general than two good ones. War is, like government, decided in a great degree by tact." To the Directory he observed: "It is in the highest degree impolitic to divide in two the Army of Italy, and not less adverse to the interests of the Republic to place at its head two different generals. The expedition to Leghorn, Rome, and Naples, is a very inconsiderable matter, and should be made by divisions in échelon, ready, at a moment's warning, to wheel about and face the Austrians on the Adige. To perform it with success, both armies must be under the command of one general. I have hitherto conducted the campaign without consulting any one; the results would have been very different if I had been obliged to reconcile my views with those of another. If you impose upon me vexations of every description; if I must refer all my steps to the commissaries of government; if they are authorised to change my movements, to send away my troops—expect no further success. If you weaken your resources by dividing your forces—if you disturb in Italy the unity of military

has always been decided, ere long drive their inconsiderable opponents over the Alps, and cut off, without the possibility of escape, the corps in the south of the peninsula. He therefore at once resigned his command, accompanying it with the observation, that one bad general is better than two good ones. The Directory, however, unable to dispense with the services of their youthful officer, immediately reinstated him, and abandoned their project, which was indeed in itself so absurd that it would have thrown great doubts on the military capacity of Carnot, the minister-at-war, if it had not in reality been suggested by the wish to extinguish the rising ambition of Napoleon.*

84. In less than ten days after the occupation of Milan, national guards in the Republican interest were organised in the whole of Lombardy; revolutionary authorities were everywhere established, and the country was rendered subservient to the military power of France. The garrison of two thousand men which Beaulieu had left in the citadel of Milan was closely invested, and the headquarters were moved to Lodi. But an event here

thought—I say it with grief, you will lose the fairest opportunity that ever occurred of giving laws to that fine peninsula. In the position of the affairs of the Republic, it is indispensable that you possess a general who enjoys your confidence; if I do not do so, I shall not complain, and shall do my utmost to manifest my zeal in the service which you intrust to me. Every one has his own method of carrying on war: Kellermann has more experience, and may do it better than I; but, together, we would do nothing but mischief. Your resolution on this matter is of more importance than the fifteen thousand men whom the Emperor has just sent to Beaulieu." But Buonaparte did not intrust this important matter merely to these arguments, strong as they were. Murat, who was still at Paris, received instructions to inform Barras that a million of francs were deposited at Genoa for his private use; and the influence of Josephine was employed with both him and Carnot to prevent the threatened division, and the result was that it was abandoned. "The Directory," said Carnot, "has maturely considered your arguments; and the confidence which they have in your talents and republican zeal have decided the matter in your favour. Kellermann will remain at Chaberry, and you may adjourn the expedition to Rome as long as you please."—HARDENBERG, iii. 49, 351.

occurred which threatened great danger to the French army, and was only prevented from proving calamitous by the decision and severity of its chief. Opinions were much divided in Italy, as in all states undergoing the crisis of a revolution, on the changes which were going forward. The lower classes in the towns had been moved by the equality which the French everywhere proclaimed; but the peasantry in the country, less liable to the contagion of new principles, and more under the influence of the nobility and priests, were still firmly attached to the ancient régime, with which the Austrian authority was now identified. When men's minds were in this divided state, the prodigious contribution levied upon Milan, and the vast requisitions of provisions and horses which had been made for the use of the army, over the whole country districts, inflamed the rural population to the highest degree. The people of Lombardy did not consider themselves as conquered, nor expect to be treated as such; they had welcomed the French as deliverers, and now they found a severer yoke imposed upon them than that from which they had just escaped. Roused to indignation by such treatment, a general insurrection was rapidly organised over the whole of that beautiful district. An attack, in concert with a sortie from the garrison of the castle, was made on Milan; and though it failed, the insurgents were more successful at Pavia, where the people rose against the garrison, forced it to capitulate, admitted eight thousand armed peasants within the walls, and closed their gates against the French troops.

85. The danger was imminent: the tocsin sounded in all the parishes; the least retrograde movement would have augmented the evil, and compelled the retreat of the army, whose advanced posts were already on the Oglio. In these circumstances, prudence counselled temerity; and Napoleon advanced in person to crush the insurgents. Their vanguard was routed by Lannes, and a hundred of the peasants killed; but this severe example having failed in producing intimidation, he marched

himself next day to the walls of Pavia, with six pieces of light artillery. The grenadiers rushed forward to the gates, which they forced open with hatchets: while the artillery cleared the ramparts the victorious troops broke into the town, which the peasants precipitately abandoned to its fate. Napoleon, wishing to terrify the insurgents, ordered the magistrates and leaders of the revolt to be shot, and the city to be delivered up to plunder; while the unhappy peasants, pursued into the plain by the French dragoons, were cut down in great numbers. The pillage continued the whole day, and that opulent and flourishing town underwent all the horrors of war. But the terrible example crushed the insurrection over the whole of Lombardy, where tranquillity was speedily re-established, and hostages were taken from the principal families and despatched into France.

86. In this act was displayed another feature of Napoleon's character, who, without being unnecessarily cruel, never hesitated to adopt the most sanguinary measures when requisite for his own purposes. Pillage and rapine, indeed, invariably follow the capture of a town carried by assault, and it is impossible to prevent it; but Napoleon in this instance authorised it by a general order, and shot the leading persons of the city in cold blood. It is in vain to appeal to the usages of war for a vindication of such cruelty: the inhabitants of Pavia were not subjects of France, who were not entitled to resist its authority; they were Austrian citizens, alike called on and bound to defend their country from attack, or rescue it as soon as possible from the invader's grasp. Nor can it be said they were not soldiers, and that simple citizens have no right to interfere with the contests of hostile armies; the words of Napoleon himself furnish his own condemnation.—“It is the first duty,” said the Emperor, in his proclamation to the peasantry of France, on March 5, 1814, “of every citizen to take up arms in defence of his country. Let the peasantry everywhere organise themselves in bands, with such weapons as they can find; let them fall upon the flanks and rear of the invaders; and

let a consuming fire envelop the presumptuous host which has dared to violate the territory of the great nation."

87. Having by this severity stifled the spirit of insurrection in his rear, Napoleon continued his march, and on the 28th entered the great city of Brescia, situated in the neutral territory of Venice. Meanwhile, Beaulieu experienced the usual fate of a retiring army, that of being weakened by the detachments necessary to garrison the fortified places which it leaves uncovered in its retreat. He threw twenty battalions of his best troops into Mantua, and took up a defensive position along the line of the Mincio. There he was assailed on the following day by Napoleon, who, after forcing the bridge of Borghetto, in front of his position, attacked his rearguard at Valleggio with all his cavalry, and made prisoners, in spite of the bravest efforts of the Austrian horse, twelve hundred men, and took five pieces of cannon. Upon this Beaulieu retired up the valley of the Adige, and took post at the strong position of Calliano in the Italian Tyrol.

88. When the French army entered the Venetian territory, and it had become evident that the flames of war were approaching its capital, it was warmly discussed in the Venetian senate what course the republic should pursue in the perilous circumstances that had occurred. Peschiera had been occupied by the Austrians, but, being abandoned by them, was instantly seized by the French, who insisted that, though a Venetian fortress, yet, having been taken possession of by one of the belligerent powers, it had now become the fair conquest of the other; and, at the same time, Napoleon threatened the republic with all the vengeance of France, if the Count de Lille, afterwards Louis XVIII., who had resided for some years at Verona, was not immediately compelled to leave their territories. The Republican forces, under Massena, were advancing towards Verona, and it was necessary to take a decided course. On the one hand it was urged, that France had now proclaimed principles subversive of all regular governments, and in an especial manner inimical to

the aristocracy of Venice; that certain ruin, either from foreign violence or domestic revolution, was to be expected from their success; that the haughty tone already assumed by the conqueror already showed that he looked upon all the continental possessions of the republic as his own, and was only waiting for an opportunity to seize them for the French nation; and, therefore, that the sole course left was to throw themselves into the arms of Austria, the natural ally of all regular governments. On the other, it was contended that they must beware lest they mistook a temporary irruption of the Republicans for a permanent settlement; that Italy had in every age been the tomb of the French armies; that the forces of the present invader, how successful soever they had hitherto been, were unequal to a permanent occupation of the Peninsula, and would in the end yield to the persevering efforts of the Germans; that Austria, therefore, the natural enemy of Venice, and the power which coveted, would in the end attempt to seize, its territorial possessions; that their forces were now expelled from Lombardy, and could not resume the offensive for two months, a period which would suffice to the French general to destroy the republic; that interest, therefore, equally with prudence, prescribed that they should attach themselves to the cause of France, obtain thereby a barrier against the ambition of their powerful neighbour, and receive in recompense for their services part of the Italian dominions of the Austrian empire. That in so doing they must, it is true, to a certain degree modify their form of government; but that was no more than the spirit of the age required, and was absolutely indispensable to secure the preservation of their continental possessions. A third party, few in numbers but resolute in purpose, contended, that the only safe course was that of an armed neutrality; that the forces of the state should be instantly raised to fifty thousand men, and either of the belligerent powers which should violate their territory be threatened with the whole vengeance of the republic.

89. Had the Venetians possessed the firmness of the Roman senate, they would have adopted the first course; had they been inspired by the spirit of the Athenian democracy, they would have followed the second; had they been animated by the courage of the Swiss confederacy, they might have taken the third. In any case the republic would probably have been saved; for it is impossible to consider the long and equal struggle which ensued round Mantua, between France and Austria, without being convinced that a considerable body, even of Italian troops, might then have turned the balance. The Venetian government possessed a country inhabited by three millions of souls; the capital was beyond the reach of attack; their army could easily be raised to fifty thousand men; thirteen regiments of Slavonians in their service were good troops; their fleet ruled the Adriatic. But Venice was worn out and corrupted; its nobles, drowned in pleasure, were destitute of energy; its peasantry, accustomed to peace, were unequal to war; its defence, intrusted wholly to mercenary troops, rested on a tottering foundation. They adopted in consequence the most timid course, which, in presence of danger, is generally the most perilous. They made no warlike preparations; they added neither to their army or navy; they laid in no stores of provisions, but merely sent commissioners to the French general to deprecate his hostility, and endeavour to secure his good-will. The consequence was what might have been anticipated from conduct so unworthy of the ancient fame of Venice. The commissioners were disregarded; the war was carried on in the Venetian territories, and at its close the republic was swept from among the nations.

90. In adopting this course, Napoleon exceeded the instructions of his government; and, indeed, on him alone appears to rest the atrocious perfidy and dissimulation exercised in the sequel towards that state. The directions of the Directory were as follows: "Venice should be treated as a *neutral*, but not a friendly power; it has done nothing to merit the latter character."

But, instead of following these directions, Napoleon from the first used the most insulting and rigorous language to the Venetian commissioners. "Venice," said he, "by daring to give an asylum to the Count de Lille, a pretender to the throne of France, has declared war against the Republic. I know not why I should not reduce Verona to ashes—a town which had the presumption to esteem itself the capital of France." He declared to them that he would carry that threat into execution that very night, if an immediate surrender did not take place. The perfidy of his views against the Republic of St Mark, even at this early period, was fully evinced in his secret despatch to the Directory on 7th June. "If your object," said he, "is to extract five or six millions out of Venice, I have secured for you a pretence for a rupture. You may demand it as an indemnity for the combat of Borghetto, which I was obliged to sustain to take Peschiera. If you have *more decided views, we must take care not to let that subject of quarrel drop*; tell me what you wish, and be assured I will seize the most fitting opportunity of carrying it into execution, according to circumstances; for we must take care not to have all the world on our hands at once. The truth of the affair of Peschiera is, that the Venetians were cruelly deceived by the Austrians, who demanded a passage for fifty men, and then seized the town."

91. Massena entered the magnificent city of Verona, the frontier city of the Venetian dominions, situated on the Adige, and a military position of the highest importance for future operations, in the beginning of June. Its position at the entrance of the great valley of the Adige, and on the high-road from the Tyrol into Lombardy, rendered it the advanced post of the French army, in covering the siege of Mantua. He occupied, at the same time, Porto-Legnago, a fortified town on the Adige, which, along with Verona, strengthened that stream, whose short and rapid course from the Alps to the Po formed the best military frontier of Italy. There he received the commissioners

of Venice, who vainly came to deprecate the victor's wrath, and induce him to retire from the territories of the republic. With such terror did his menaces inspire them, that the Venetian government concluded a treaty, by which they agreed to furnish supplies of every sort for the army, and secretly pay for them; and the commissioners, overawed by the commanding air and stern menaces of Napoleon, wrote to the senate, "This young man will one day have an important influence on the destinies of his country."

92. The French general was now firmly established on the line of the Adige, the possession of which he always deemed of so much importance, and to the neglect of which he ascribed all the disasters of the succeeding campaigns of the French in Italy. Nothing remained but to make himself master of Mantua; and the immense efforts made by both parties to gain or keep possession of that place prove the vast importance of fortresses in modern war. Placed in the middle of unhealthy marshes, which are traversed only by five chaussées, strong in its situation, as well as from the fortifications which surround it, this town is truly the bulwark of Austria and Italy, without the possession of which the conquest of Lombardy must be deemed insecure, and that of the Hereditary States cannot be attempted. The entrances of two only of the chaussées which approached it were defended by fortifications at that time; so that by placing troops at these points, and drawing a cordon round the others, it was an easy matter to blockade the place, even with a body of troops inferior to those besieged. Serrurier sat down before this fortress, in the middle of June, with ten thousand men; and with this inconsiderable force, skilfully disposed at the entrance of the highways which crossed the lake, and round its shores, he contrived to keep in check a garrison of fourteen thousand soldiers, of whom, it is true, more than a third encumbered the hospitals of the place. As the siege of this important fortress required a considerable time, Napoleon had leisure to deliberate concerning

the ulterior measures which he should pursue. An army of forty-five thousand men, which had so rapidly overrun the north of Italy, could not venture to penetrate into Germany by the Tyrol—the mountains of which were occupied by Beaulieu's forces, aided by a warlike peasantry—and at the same time carry on the blockade of Mantua, for which at least fifteen thousand men would be required. Moreover, the southern powers of Italy were not yet subdued; and though little formidable in a military point of view, they might prove highly dangerous to the blockading force, if the bulk of the Republican troops were engaged in the defiles of the Tyrol, while the French armies on the Rhine were not yet in a condition to give them any assistance. Influenced by these considerations, he resolved to take advantage of the pause in military operations which the blockade of Mantua and retreat of Beaulieu afforded, to clear his rear of enemies, and establish the French influence to the south of the Apennines.

93. The King of Naples, alarmed at the retreat of the German troops, and fearful of having the whole forces of the Republic upon his own hands, upon the first appearance of their advance to the south solicited an armistice, which the French commander readily granted. This was immediately followed by the secession of the Neapolitan cavalry, two thousand four hundred strong, from the Imperial army. Encouraged by this defection, Napoleon resolved instantly to proceed against the Ecclesiastical and Tuscan states, in order to extinguish the hostility, which was daily becoming more inveterate, to the south of the Apennines. The excitement was extreme in all the cities of Lombardy; and every hour rendered more marked the separation between the aristocratic and democratic parties. The ardent spirits in Milan, Bologna, Brescia, Parma, and all the great towns of that fertile district, were in full revolutionary action, and a large proportion of their citizens seemed resolved to throw off the patrician influence under which they had so long continued, and establish republics on the

model of the great Transalpine democracy. Wakened by these appearances to a sense of the danger which threatened them, the aristocratic party were everywhere strengthening themselves; the nobles in the Genoese fiefs were collecting forces; the British had made themselves masters of Leghorn; and the Roman Pontiff was threatening to put forth his feeble strength. Napoleon knew that Wurmser, who had been detached from the army of the Upper Rhine with thirty thousand men, to restore affairs in Italy, could not be at Verona before the middle of July, and before then there appeared time to subdue the states of central Italy, and secure the rear of his army.

94. Having left fifteen thousand men before Mantua, and twenty thousand on the Adige, to cover its blockade, the French general set out himself, with the division of Augereau, to cross the Apennines. He returned, in the first instance, to Milan, opened the trenches before its castle, and pressed the siege so as to compel its surrender, which took place shortly after. From thence he proceeded against the Genoese fiefs. Lannes, with twelve hundred men, stormed Arquata, the chief seat of hostilities; burned the village; shot the principal inhabitants; and by these severe measures so intimidated the senate of Genoa, that they implicitly submitted to the conqueror, sent off the Austrian minister, and agreed to the occupation of all the military posts in their territory by the French troops. From thence Napoleon moved towards the eastward, designing to cross the Apennines between Bologna and Florence. He entered Modena, where he was received with every demonstration of joy; and on the road to Bologna made himself master of the fort of Urbino, with sixty pieces of heavy artillery, which proved a most seasonable supply for the siege of Mantua. His appearance at Bologna, which has always been distinguished beyond any other city in Italy by liberal opinions, was the signal for a general outbreak. The people at once revolted against the Papal authority; while Napoleon encouraged the propagation of every

principle which was calculated to dismember the Ecclesiastical territories. The Italian troops were pursued to Ferrara, which the Republicans entered without opposition, and made themselves masters of its arsenal, containing one hundred and fourteen pieces of artillery; while General Vaubois crossed the Apennines, and, avoiding Florence, directed his steps towards Rome.

95. At the intelligence of his approach, the Council of the Vatican was thrown into the utmost alarm. Azara, minister of Spain, was despatched immediately with offers of submission, and arrived at Bologna to lay the tiara at the feet of the Republican general. The terms of an armistice were soon agreed on;—it was stipulated that Bologna and Ferrara should remain in the possession of the French troops; that the Pope should pay twenty millions of francs, furnish great contributions of stores and provisions, and give up a hundred of the finest works of art to the French commissioners. In virtue of this humiliating treaty, all the chief monuments of genius which adorned the Eternal City were soon after transported to the museum at Paris. Genoa at the same time occupied the rapacious eyes of the French general: he had received instructions from the Directory to extract from its government ten millions of francs. "You may dictate laws to Genoa as soon as you please," were his expressions, in his instructions to Faypoult, the French envoy there. And to the Directory he wrote,—*"All our affairs in Italy are now closed, excepting Venice and Genoa. As to Venice, the moment for action has not yet arrived; we must first beat Wurmser and take Mantua. But the moment has arrived for Genoa; I am about to break ground for the ten millions. I think, besides, with the minister Faypoult, that we must expel a dozen families from the government of that city, and oblige the senate to repeal a decree which banished two families favourable to France."* And to Faypoult Napoleon prescribed his course of perfidious dissimulation in these words: *"I have not yet seen M. Catanio, the Genoese deputy; but I*

shall neglect nothing which may throw them off their guard. The Directory has ordered me to exact the ten millions, but interdicted all political operations. *Omit nothing which may set the senate asleep,* and amuse them with hopes till the moment of wakening has arrived." The moment of wakening thus contemplated by Napoleon was an internal revolution, which was not yet fully prepared.

96. Having arranged this important treaty, Napoleon without delay crossed the Apennines, and found the division of Vaubois at Pistoia. From that point he detached Murat, who suddenly descended upon Leghorn, and seized a large portion of the effects of the British merchants, which were sold in open violation of all the usages of war, which hitherto had respected private property at land; and from their sale he realised twelve millions of francs for the use of the army. What rendered this outrage more flagrant was, that it was committed in the territories of a neutral power, the Grand-duke of Tuscany, from whom he himself at the time was receiving the most splendid entertainment at Florence. Thus early did Napoleon evince that unconquerable hatred of British commerce, and that determination to violate the usages of war for its destruction, by which he was ever afterwards so strongly actuated, and which had so powerful a share in contributing to his downfall.

97. The rapine and pillage of the French authorities, consequent on this irruption into Tuscany, knew no bounds. "If our administrative conduct," said Napoleon to the Directory, "was detestable at Leghorn, our political conduct towards Tuscany has been no better." His views extended even further, for on the 25th he wrote to the Directory, "Reports are in circulation that the Emperor is dying; the Grand-duke of Tuscany, the heir to the throne, will instantly set out for Vienna. We must anticipate him, by taking military possession of the whole of Tuscany." After a short stay at Florence, Napoleon returned to Bologna, where Augereau took a severe vengeance on the inhabitants of the village of Lugo, who had

taken up arms against the Republicans, and killed and wounded some soldiers in a detachment sent for its reduction. The village was carried by assault, burnt to ashes, and the unfortunate peasants, to the number of one thousand, were put to the sword with merciless severity. This terrible example having struck consternation into all the inhabitants of that part of Italy, Napoleon returned to the vicinity of Mantua, with the battering-train taken at the castles of Milan, Urbino, and Ferrara, to superintend the operations of the siege, which Serrurier was now about to undertake in good earnest, but for the relief of which place Austria was making the most vigorous exertions.

98. The resolution of Napoleon to stir up a quarrel with Venice was more and more clearly evinced, as matters approached a crisis in the north of Italy. On the 25th July he had a long and confidential conversation with Pesaro, the commissioner of that republic; and such was the vehemence of his language, the exaggeration of his complaints, and the sternness of his manner, that that commissioner forthwith wrote to the senate of St Mark that war appeared inevitable. It was in vain that Pesaro represented to Napoleon "that, ever since the entrance of the French into Italy, his government had made it their study to anticipate all the wishes of the general-in-chief; that, if it had not done more, it was solely from inability, and a desire not to embroil itself with the Imperialists, who never ceased to reproach them with their partiality to France; that the senate would do everything in its power to restrain the public effervescence; and that the armaments, so much complained of, were directed as much against the English and Russians as the French." The determination of Napoleon in regard to the Venetian republic is revealed in his secret despatches at this period to the Directory. "I have seized," said he, "the citadel of Verona, armed it with the Venetian cannon, and summoned the senate to dissolve its armaments. Venice has already furnished three millions for the service of the army; but, in order to extract more

out of it, I have found myself under the necessity of assuming a menacing tone towards their commissaries, of exaggerating the assassinations committed on our troops, of complaining bitterly of their armaments; and by these means I compel them, in order to appease my wrath, to furnish whatever I desire. This is the only way to deal with such persons. There is not, on the face of the earth, a more perfidious or cowardly government. I will force them to provide supplies for the army till the fall of Mantua, and then announce that they must further make good the contributions fixed in your instructions."

99. No sooner had the Aulic Council* received intelligence of the defeat of Beaulieu, and the retreat of his forces into the Tyrol, than they resolved upon the most energetic measures to repair the disaster. The army of Beaulieu retired to Roveredo, where they threw up intrenchments to cover their position, while eight thousand Tyrolese occupied the crests of the mountains, which separated the valley of the Adige from the lake of Garda. Meanwhile Marshal Wurmser was detached from the Upper Rhine with thirty thousand men, to assume the chief command of the army destined for the relief of Mantua, which, by that great reinforcement, and numerous detachments drawn from the interior, was raised to sixty thousand effective troops. These extensive preparations, which were magnified by report, and had roused the aristocratic party throughout Italy to great exertions, filled Napoleon with the most lively apprehensions. To oppose them he had only fifty-five thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were engaged in the siege of Mantua, and ten thousand in keeping up his communications and maintaining garrisons in the conquered territory; so that not above thirty thousand could be relied on for operations in the field. He had incessantly urged the Directory to send him reinforcements; but, although

* The "*Aulic Council*," so often mentioned in the course of this work, is a council of high officers at Vienna, to whom is intrusted the direction of the military concerns of the Empire.

eight thousand men from the army of Kellermann had joined his standard, and numerous reinforcements from the depots in the interior, they were barely adequate to repair the losses arising from that wasteful campaign. Nothing but the greatest ability on the part of the general, and courage among the soldiers, could have compensated for this inferiority in numbers; but the genius of Napoleon, and the confidence arising from a series of victories, proved adequate to the task. His success was mainly owing to the vicious plan of attack adopted by the Austrians, which, like all the others framed by the Aulic Council, was exposed to defeat from the division of their forces.

100. The waters which descend from the southern ridges of the Tyrol unite into two streams, flowing nearly parallel to each other, and issuing, in the same latitude, into the plain of Lombardy—the Mincio and the Adige. The first forms, in its course, the noble sheet of water called the lake of Garda, flows through the plain immortalised by the genius of Virgil, swells into the lakes which surround Mantua, and afterwards discharges itself into the Po. The latter, after descending from the snowy ridges of the Higher Alps, flows in an open valley to a narrow and precipitous pass above Verona, next emerges into the open country, winds in a deep and rocky bed to Legnago, after which it spreads into vast marshes, and is lost amidst the dikes and irrigated fields of Lombardy. Three roads present themselves to an army proposing to issue from the Tyrol into the Italian plains. The first, turning sharp to the left at Roveredo, traverses the romantic defiles of the Val Sugana, and emerges into the open country at Bassano; the second passes by the upper end of the lake of Garda, and comes down by its western shore to Salò and Brescia; while the third descends the left bank of the Adige, and, after traversing the gloomy passes of Calliano and Chiusa, reaches the smiling plains of Italy, a few miles above the town of Verona. The space between the Adige and the lake of Garda, though only three leagues broad, is occupied by the Monte Baldo,

the precipices of which restrain the river on the one hand and the lake on the other. In this narrow and rocky space a road descends between the Adige and the lake, from Roveredo to the plain. It follows the right bank of the stream as far as Osteria della Dugana, when, meeting impracticable precipices, it turns to the right, and ascends the plateau of Rivoli.

101. The outlets of all these passes were occupied by the French troops. Sauret, with only four thousand five hundred men, was posted at Salò, to guard the western side of the lake of Garda, as the road there was not passable by artillery; Massena, with fifteen thousand, guarded the great road along the Adige, and occupied the plateau of Rivoli; while Despinoy, with five thousand, was in the environs of Verona; and Augereau with eight thousand, in reserve, at Legnago. Napoleon himself, with two thousand horse, took post at Castelnovo, in order to be equally near any of the points that might be menaced. Wurms'er's plan was to make demonstrations only against Verona and the left of the Adige; and to bring down the bulk of his forces by the Monte Baldo, and the valley of Salò, on the opposite sides of the lake of Garda. For this purpose he detached Quasdanovich, with twenty thousand men, to go round the upper end of the lake, and descend upon Salò; while he took the command of forty thousand himself, whom he distributed on the two roads which descend the opposite banks of the Adige: the one division was destined to force Corona and the plateau of Rivoli, while the other was to debouch upon Verona. The whole columns were in motion by the end of July; rumour had magnified their numbers; and the partisans of Austria and of the aristocratic system were already breaking out into exultation, and anticipating the speedy verification of the proverb "that Italy was the tomb of the French."

102. In truth, the circumstances of the Republicans were all but desperate. Their enemies were fresh, recruited in numbers, and superior in strength; they were worn out with fatigue, de-

jected, and numerically inferior. On the 29th July, the Imperial outposts attacked the French at all points, and everywhere with success. Massena, vigorously assaulted at three in the morning by superior forces, was driven from the intrenchments of Corona, and retired with loss to Rivoli, from whence he was glad to escape towards Castelnovo, upon finding that the column which followed the left bank of the Adige was getting into his rear. At the same time, the Imperialists drove in the Republican posts on the great road, forced the pass of Chiusa, and appeared before Verona; while, on the other side of the lake of Garda, Quasdanovich attacked and carried the town of Salò, and afterwards Brescia, on the principal line of retreat towards France. In this extremity, Napoleon called a council of war. All the officers, with the exception of Augereau, recommended a retreat behind the Po; but that intrepid chief resolutely held out for battle. The generals were dismissed without the commander-in-chief having signified his own opinion, but in the course of the night he formed a resolution which not only extricated him from his perilous situation, but has immortalised his name in the annals of war.

103. The Austrians, sixty thousand strong, were descending the opposite sides of the lake of Garda, and it was evident that, if they succeeded in enclosing the French army near Mantua, they would infallibly crush it by their superiority of force. But in so doing they exposed themselves to be attacked and beaten in detail by forces inferior on the whole, but superior at the point of attack, if the siege of that place were rapidly raised, and the bulk of the French army thrown first on the one advancing column and then on the other. Napoleon resolved on this sacrifice. It involved a deep mortification, a very serious loss; but without it there was no chance of Italy being saved. Orders were immediately despatched to Serrurier to raise the siege of Mantua; the division of Augereau was moved from Legnago across the Mincio; and the French army, with the exception of

Massena's division, concentrated at the lower extremity of the lake of Garda, to fall, in the first instance, upon the corps of Quasdanovich, which already intercepted his communications with Milan. These orders were promptly obeyed. During the night of the 31st July, the siege of Mantua was raised, the cannons spiked, and the stores thrown into the lake; while Napoleon himself, with the greater part of his army, crossed the Mincio at Peschiera, and prepared to fall on the Austrian forces on the western shore of the lake of Garda. There was not a moment to lose; in a few hours the allied columns would be in communication, and the French compelled to fight greatly superior forces in a single field. No sooner had Napoleon arrived with the reinforcements, than he sent forward Augereau to clear the road to Milan, and ordered Sauret to retake Salo.

104. Both expeditions were completely successful; Brescia was regained, and the Austrians were expelled from Salo. Meanwhile Napoleon himself, with the brigade of d'Allemagne, advanced to Lonato, and, after a violent struggle, drove the Imperialists out of that place, with the loss of five hundred prisoners. In these actions Quasdanovich lost few men; but he met with unlooked-for resistance, and vacillation appeared in his movements. He first gave orders to halt, and then, astonished at finding himself assailed by imposing masses, in a quarter where he expected to find only the rear of the enemy, he fell back towards the mountains, to await intelligence of the operations of the main body under Wurmser. Meanwhile that brave commander, having dislodged Massena from his position, advanced to Mantua, into which fortress he made his triumphal entry on the 1st August. The sudden raising of the siege, the abandonment of the equipage, the destruction of works which it had cost the Republicans so long to construct, all conspired to increase his satisfaction at this event, and promised an easy conquest over the retiring remains of the enemy. But, on the very night of his arrival, he received intelligence of the check of Quasdanovich and the re-cap-

ture of Brescia. Immediately he advanced his columns across the Mincio, and moved upon Castiglione, with the design of enveloping the French army with all his forces, while Quasdanovich resumed the offensive, and retook the town of Salo. The crisis was now approaching; the Austrian armies were not only in communication, but almost united, while the Republicans, with inferior forces, lay between them. Napoleon immediately drew back the divisions of Massena and Augereau, above twenty thousand strong, and caused his whole army to face about; what had been the rear became the advanced guard. He put forth more than his wonted activity and rapidity of movement. Incessantly on horseback himself, he caused the soldiers, who had marched all night, to fight all day. Having by this rapid counter-march accumulated the bulk of his forces opposite to Wurmser, he resolved to deliver himself from that formidable adversary by an immediate attack. It was full time; the Austrians had discovered a passage over the Mincio, and driven the French from Castiglione and Lonato, where they had already begun to intrench themselves.

105. On the 3d August Napoleon advanced, with twenty-five thousand men, upon Lonato, while Augereau moved towards CASTIGLIONE. The first attack of the Republicans upon the former town was unsuccessful; their light troops were thrown into confusion, and General Pigeon, with three pieces of artillery, captured by the enemy. Upon this the French general put himself at the head of his soldiers, and formed the centre into one formidable mass; while the Imperialists, who consisted of a strong column of Quasdanovich's corps, were extending themselves towards Salo, in the double view of enveloping the French and opening a communication with their general, whose artillery was already heard in that direction. Napoleon immediately perceived the error of his adversary, and, like Wellington in after-days at Salamanca, made a desperate charge, with a column of infantry supported by cavalry, upon his centre, which, being

weakened for the extension of the wings, speedily gave way. Lonato was retaken by assault, and the Austrian army cut asunder. One part of it effected its retreat under Bayalitch to the Mincio; while the other, finding itself irrecoverably separated from the main body, moved towards Salo, in the hope of effecting a junction with Quasdanovich. But Gueux, with a division of French, already occupied that place; and the fugitive Austrians, pressed between the dragoons of Junot, who assailed their rear, and the infantry at Salo, who stopped their advance, disbanded, and sustained a loss of three thousand prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon.

106. While the Imperialists were experiencing these disasters at Lonato, Augereau, on the right, had maintained an obstinate engagement at Castiglione. There the Republicans were the assailants, and the object of the French general was to make himself master of Castiglione, the key to the position in that quarter. With this view he had detached General Robert, with a regiment of the line, to gain, by a long circuit, the rear of the enemy; while General Pelletier, with two battalions, turned their right, and Augereau himself, at the head of the main body of his forces, advanced direct against the Imperial position in the plain. The Austrians made a stout resistance; but, being at length compelled to give ground, they were thrown into confusion by the sudden apparition of Robert's two battalions, which sprang out of an ambuscade in their rear. Taking advantage of this disorder, Augereau pushed on to gain the bridge of Castiglione, an indispensable preliminary to the capture of the town of the same name. But the Austrians, under Liptay, having brought up their reserve, returned to the charge with the most determined resistance; and it was only by the most heroic efforts, in which Augereau exposed his person like a simple grenadier, that the bridge was at length carried, and the enemy driven back into the town, which the victors entered pell-mell with the vanquished. The Austrians at length retired towards Mantua, entirely evacuating the town, after hav-

ing sustained a loss of two thousand men; and, before they had proceeded far, they met the reinforcements which Wurmser was bringing up to their support. This desperate strife first drew Napoleon's notice to the determined character of Augereau, whose title was afterwards taken from it; and he frequently reminded him in later days, when wishing to rouse him to extraordinary efforts, "*de ses beaux jours de Castiglione.*" *

107. As it was evident that the Austrian veteran was still disposed to contend for the empire of Italy in a pitched battle, Napoleon deemed it indispensable to clear his rear of Quasdanovich before engaging in it. On the following day he employed himself in collecting and organising his forces at Lonato, with a view to the decisive conflict; while, by moving two divisions against Quasdanovich, whose troops were now exhausted by fatigue, he compelled him to remount the Val Sabbia towards Riva. A singular event at this time took place, highly characteristic both of the extraordinarily intersected situation of the two armies, and of the presence of mind and good fortune of Napoleon. He had arrived at Lonato to expedite the movement of his forces in the opposite directions where their enemies were to be found, and, from the dispersion which he had ordered, only twelve hundred men remained at headquarters. Before he had been long there, he was summoned to surrender by a corps of four thousand Austrians, who had already occupied all the avenues by which retreat was possible. They consisted of a part of the troops of Bayalitch, which, having been defeated in its attempts to effect a junction with Quasdanovich, was now, in desperation, endeavouring to regain the remainder of the army on the Mincio. Napoleon made his numerous staff mount on horseback; and, having ordered the officer bearing the flag of truce to be brought before him, directed the bandage to be taken from his eyes, and immediately told the astonished Austrian that he was in the middle of the French army, in presence of its general-in-chief,

* "*Of his glorious days at Castiglione.*"

and that, unless they laid down their arms in ten minutes, he would put them all to the sword. The officer, deceived by the splendid *corège* by which he was surrounded, returned to his division, and recommended a surrender; and the troops, cut off from their companions, and exhausted by fatigue and disaster, laid down their arms. When they entered the town they had the mortification of discovering, not only that they had capitulated to a third of their numbers, but had missed an opportunity of making prisoner the conqueror who had already filled the world with his renown.

108. On the following day both parties prepared for a decisive engagement. The Imperialists under Wurmser were twenty-five thousand strong, the corps of Quasdanovich, and that which blockaded Peschiera, being detached, and unable to take any part in the battle; the French about twenty-three thousand. Both parties were drawn up in the plain at right angles to the mountains, on which each rested a wing; the French right was uncovered, while the Imperialists' left was supported by the mill of Medola. Augereau commanded the French centre, Massena the left, Verdier the right; but the principal hopes of Napoleon were rested on the division of Serrurier, from Mantua, which had orders to march all night, and fall, when the action was fully engaged, on the rear of the enemy. The soldiers on both sides were exhausted with fatigue, but all felt that on the result of this contest depended the fate of Italy.

109. Wurmser fell into the same error as Bayalitch had done in the preceding engagement—that of extending his right along the heights, in order to open a communication with Quasdanovich, who was within hearing of his artillery. To favour this movement, Napoleon drew back his own, while at the same time he accumulated his forces against the Austrians' left; Mar-mont, with a powerful battery of heavy artillery, thundered against the post of Medola, which Verdier, with three battalions of grenadiers, speedily carried. At the same time General Fiorilla, who

commanded the division of Serrurier, drawn off from Mantua, came up in rear of the Austrians, and completed their confusion by a vigorous attack, which had well-nigh carried off Wurmser himself. Seeing the decisive moment arrived, Napoleon ordered a general charge by all his forces; and the Austrians, pressed in front by Augereau and Massena, threatened in rear by Fiorilla, and turned on their left by Verdier, fell back at all points. The excessive fatigue of the Republican troops prevented their pursuing the broken enemy far, who fell back behind the Mincio, with the loss of two thousand killed and wounded, one thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. This action, the importance of which is not to be estimated by the number of troops engaged, was decisive of the fate of Italy. With a view to prevent Wurmser from reassembling his scattered forces, Napoleon on the following day sent Massena to raise the siege of Peschiera, and after an obstinate engagement he succeeded in routing the Austrian division before that place, with the loss of ten pieces of cannon and five hundred prisoners. In this action a young colonel particularly distinguished himself, named SUCHET, afterwards Duke of Albufera. At the same time Napoleon advanced to Verona, which the Austrians abandoned on his approach; and Massena, after some sharp skirmishing, resumed his old positions at Rivoli and the Monte Baldo; while Wurmser, having reinvited Mantua, and raised its garrison to fifteen thousand men, composed chiefly of fresh troops, resumed his former station at Roveredo, and in the fastnesses of the Tyrol.

110. By this expedition Wurmser had relieved Mantua, and supplied it with a garrison of fresh troops; but he had lost nearly twenty thousand men, and sixty pieces of cannon; and the spirit of his soldiers was, by fatigue, defeat, and disaster, completely broken. The great successes which attended the French arms are mainly to be ascribed to the extraordinary vigour, activity, and talent displayed by their general-in-chief. The Austrian plan of attack was

founded on an undue confidence in their own powers. They thought the main body under Wurmser would be able to defeat the French army, and raise the siege of Mantua, while the detachment under Quasdanovich would cut off their retreat. It must be admitted, in favour of this plan, that it was on the point of being attended with complete success, and, against a general and troops of less resolution, unquestionably would have been so. When opposed, however, to the vigour and activity of Napoleon, it offered the fairest opportunity for decisive defeat. The two corps of the Imperialists could communicate only by Roveredo and the upper end of the lake of Garda, a circuit of above sixty miles; while the French, occupying a central station between them, at its southern extremity, were enabled, though on the whole inferior, by a great exertion of activity, to bring a superior force, first against the one, and then against the other. Their successes, however, were dearly purchased: about seven thousand men had been killed and wounded; Wurmser carried with him three thousand prisoners into the Tyrol; and the whole siege equipage of Mantua had fallen into the hands of the enemy, or been lost.

111. The democratic party in all the Italian towns were thrown into transports at this success; and the rejoicings among them at Milan, Bologna, and Modena, were proportioned to the terror with which they had formerly been inspired. But Napoleon, judging more accurately of his position, and seeing the siege of Mantua was to be commenced anew, while Wurmser, with forty thousand men, was still on the watch in the Tyrol, deemed prudence and precaution more than ever necessary. He did not attempt, therefore, to collect a second battering-train for the siege of that fortress, but contented himself with a simple blockade, in maintaining which, during the autumnal months, his troops became extremely sickly, from the pestilential atmosphere of its marshes. To the powers in the southern parts of the Peninsula who had, during the temporary success of the Austrians, given indication of hos-

tile designs, he wrote in the most menacing strain. The King of Naples was threatened with an attack from seventy thousand French if he violated the armistice; the Papal legate obtained pardon for a revolt at Ferrara only by the most abject submission; the Venetians were informed that he was aware of their preparations, though he still kept up negotiations, and continued to live at their expense; while the King of Piedmont received commands to complete the destruction of the guerilla parties which infested the mountainous parts of his dominions. To the Milanese, on the other hand, who had remained faithful to France during its transient reverses, he wrote in the most flattering terms, and gave them leave to raise troops for their defence against the Imperial forces. The most ardent of the youth of Lombardy were speedily enrolled under the Republican banners; but little was to be expected from these unwarlike recruits. A more efficient force was formed out of the Poles, who, since the last partition of their unhappy country, had wandered without a home through Europe, and now flocked in such numbers to Napoleon's standard as to lay the foundation of the Polish legion, which afterwards became so renowned in the Imperial wars.

112. The troops on both sides remained in a state of repose for three weeks after this terrible struggle, during which Wurmser was assiduously employed in reorganising and recruiting his forces, while Napoleon received considerable reinforcements from the army of Kellermann and the interior of France. The numbers on both sides were, at the end of August, nearly equal; Wurmser's army having been raised to nearly fifty thousand men, by additions from the Hereditary States, and Napoleon's to the same amount by the junction of Kellermann's forces.* Untaught by former disasters of the imprudence of forming plans at a distance for the regulation of their armies, the

* The sick and wounded in the French army at this period were no less than fifteen thousand.—*Confidential Despatch*, 25th Aug.—*Cor. Conf.* i. 441.

Aulic Council again framed and transmitted to Wurmser a plan for the expulsion of the French from the line of the Adige. According to this design, he was to leave twenty thousand men under Davidovich, to guard Roveredo and the valley of the Adige; and to descend himself, with thirty thousand, by the gorges of the Brenta to Bassano, and so reach the plains of Padua. Thus, notwithstanding their former disasters, they were again about to commit the error of dividing their force into two columns, while Napoleon occupied a central position equidistant from each,—with this difference, that, instead of a lake, they had now a mass of impassable mountains between them.

113. Napoleon at this time resolved to resume the offensive, in order to prevent any detachments from the Imperial army into Bavaria, where the Archduke Charles was now severely pressed by Moreau. The two armies broke up about the same time, without the generals on either side being aware of their opponent's measures—Wurmser descending the Brenta, and Napoleon ascending the Adige. Foreseeing the possibility of a descent upon Mantua during his absence, the French general left Kilmaine, with three thousand men, to occupy Legnago and Verona, while ten thousand still maintained the blockade of Mantua, and he himself, with thirty thousand, moved towards the Tyrol by the two roads on the banks of the Adige, and that on the western side of the lake of Garda. The French were the first to commence operations. Early in September, Vaubois, with the division of Sauret, ascended the lake, and, after several combats, reached Tortola, at its upper extremity. On the same day Napoleon, with the divisions of Massena and Augereau, arrived in front of the advanced posts of the Austrians at Serravalle, on the Adige, and on the following day attacked their position. The Imperialists stood firm; but Napoleon sent out a cloud of light troops on the heights on either side of their columns, and the moment they began to waver, he made so vigorous a charge along the chaussée with the hussars, that the Austrians

were driven back in confusion, and the Republicans entered Roveredo pell-mell with the fugitives.

114. Davidovich rallied his broken divisions in the defile of Calliano, a formidable pass on the banks of the Adige, formed where the precipices of the Alps approach so close to the river that there is only the breadth of four hundred toises left between them. An old castle, which the Austrians had strengthened and mounted with cannon, was placed at the edge of the precipice, and a ruined wall stretched across the gorge of the defile, from the foot of the rocks to the margin of the stream. Napoleon threw his light troops on the mountains upon his own right, placed a battery, which commanded the Austrian cannon, and, forming a close column of ten battalions, precipitated it along the high-road upon the enemy. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the attack. The Imperialists were routed; horse, foot, and cannon rushed in confusion through the narrow defile in their rear; and the Republican cavalry, charging furiously along the chaussée, drove them, in the utmost disorder, towards Trent. Seven hundred prisoners and fifteen pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors; and on the following day Napoleon entered that city, the capital of the Italian Tyrol, while the discomfited remains of Davidovich's corps retired farther up the valley of the Adige, behind the Lavis.

115. The intelligence of this disaster, so far from stopping, only accelerated the march of Wurmser through the defiles of the Brenta. He now imagined that Napoleon intended to penetrate by Brixen and the Brenner into Germany, in order to co-operate with Moreau in the plains of Bavaria; and the Austrian veteran immediately conceived the bold design of hastening, with his whole disposable force, down the Val Sugana into the plain of Bassano, turning rapidly to the right, seizing upon Verona, and both raising the siege of Mantua and preventing the return of Napoleon into Italy. The French general, who, by treachery at the Austrian headquarters, was uniformly put in

possession of his adversary's plans before they could be executed, immediately perceived the danger which would result from this measure on the part of the enemy, and resolved to oppose it by another, equally bold, on his own side. This was, to leave the division of Vaubois alone in the Tyrol to make head against Davidovich, and descend himself, with twenty-four thousand men, the defiles of the Brenta, and attack Wurmser before he had got round to Verona. In doing this, he ran the risk, it is true, of being himself shut up in the terrible defiles of the Val Sugana, surrounded by precipices and peaks of a stupendous elevation, between Wurmser in front and Davidovich in rear; but he trusted to the resolution of his troops to overcome every obstacle, and hoped, by driving his antagonist back on the Adige, to compel his whole force to lay down their arms.

116. At break of day, on the 6th, the French troops were in motion, climbing the steep hills which shut in the valley of the Adige on the eastern side. From the plains of Trent they soon surmounted the ridge which forms its eastern boundary, and, descending the torrent of the Val Sugana, they reached Bocco di Val Sugana at night, after having advanced ten leagues. On the following morning they continued their march, and at the entrance of the narrow defile, there shut in by steep and inaccessible rocks, terminating in peaks of the most fantastic kind, came up with the Austrian rearguard, strongly posted near Primolano. Napoleon put in practice the same manœuvre which had succeeded so well at Calliano, covering the mountains on either side with his tirailleurs, and forming a close column of infantry to attack the position along the high-road. Nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French troops. The Austrians, who were greatly inferior in number, being only the rearguard of the main force, were routed with the loss of two thousand prisoners and nine pieces of cannon. The fugitives were pursued as far as Cesmona, where headquarters were established. Napoleon, in his eagerness to pursue the enemy, outrode

all his suite, and passed the night alone, wrapped in his cloak, on the ground, in the midst of a regiment of infantry who bivouacked round the town. A private soldier shared with him his rations, and reminded him of it, after he became Emperor, in the camp at Boulogne.

117. On the same day in which this action took place in the gorges of the Val Sugana, the advanced guard of Wurmser, under Mezaros, had reached Verona, and was already skirmishing with the posts of the Republicans on the fortifications which had been erected round that city, when they were recalled to make head against the terrible enemy who had assailed their rear. Wurmser collected all his forces at Bassano, to endeavour to bar the passage, and throw the French back into the defiles. The heavy infantry and artillery were placed on a strong position in front of the town and round its mouldering towers, while six battalions of light troops occupied the opening of the valley into the plain. These were speedily overthrown, and the divisions of Massena and Augereau, emerging from the defiles, found themselves in presence of a brilliant force of twenty thousand men, with a powerful artillery, drawn up in battle array. But the Austrians, discouraged by repeated defeats, made but a feeble resistance. Massena speedily routed them on the right, while Augereau broke them on the left: the fugitives rushed in confusion into the town, whither they were immediately followed by the victorious French, who made four thousand prisoners, and captured thirty pieces of cannon, besides almost all the baggage, pontoons and ammunition of the army.

118. During the confusion of this defeat the Austrians got separated from each other: Quasdanovich, with three thousand men, was thrown back towards Friuli, while Wurmser, with sixteen thousand, took the road to Mantua. The situation of the veteran marshal was all but desperate: Massena was pressing his rear, while Porto Legnago and Verona were both in the hands of the enemy, and the loss of all his pontoons at Bassano rendered it

impossible to pass the Adige but at one or other of these places. Fortunately for him, the battalion which occupied Porto Legnago had been withdrawn to Verona during the attack on that place, and the one destined to replace it had not yet arrived. By a rapid march he reached that town before the Republicans, and thus got his troops across the Adige. Napoleon, following his prey with breathless anxiety, no sooner discovered that the Austrians had effected the passage at Legnago, than he pushed Massena across the river to Cerra, in order to cut them from the road to Mantua. But the Austrians fought with the courage of despair, and their cavalry, five thousand strong, who were unbroken, and whose spirit had not suffered by disaster, proved irresistible to their enemies. Napoleon himself, who had come up during the engagement, had great difficulty in saving himself by flight; and Wurmser, who arrived a few minutes after, deemed himself so secure of his antagonist, that he recommended to his dragoons to take him alive. Having missed so brilliant a stroke, the old marshal continued his march, passed the Molinella, cut to pieces a body of eight hundred infantry which endeavoured to interrupt his progress, and entered Mantua in a species of triumph which threw a ray of glory over his long series of disasters.

119. Encouraged by these successes, he still endeavoured to keep the field with twenty thousand infantry and five thousand horse; and soon after his cuirassiers destroyed a regiment of light infantry at Due Castella. But this was the termination of his transient gleam of prosperity. Napoleon soon after brought up the greater part of his forces, and Augereau stormed Porto Legnago, making prisoners a thousand men and fifteen pieces of cannon,—a stroke which, by depriving Wurmser of the means of passing the Adige, threw him back on Mantua. On the 19th he was attacked by the division of Augereau, that of Serrurier, then commanded by Salinguet, and that of Massena, constituting in all an equal force. The Austrian cavalry at

first drove back Augereau, and the battle seemed for a time doubtful; but a vigorous charge by Massena in the centre, in the course of which he carried Fort St George at the point of the bayonet, restored affairs, and Wurmser was at length repulsed into Mantua, with the loss of three thousand men and twenty pieces of cannon. Two days afterwards, he threw a bridge over the Po, and attacked Governolo, one of the fortresses erected by the French at the termination of the dikes, with the design of cutting his way through to the Adige; but he was repulsed with the loss of six hundred men and four pieces of cannon; and, in the beginning of October, Kilmaine resumed his old lines round the town, and the Austrians were shut in on every side within its walls. Wurmser killed the horses of his numerous and splendid cavalry, salted their carcasses, and made every preparation for a vigorous defence: while Napoleon despatched his aide-de-camp, MARMONT,* afterwards Duke of

* Auguste Frederic de Marmont was born at Châtillon-sur-Seine on 20th July 1774. His father, who belonged to an old and respectable military family, had himself followed the profession of arms; and he destined his son, from his earliest years, to the same. At the early age of fifteen he received his commission as sub-lieutenant in a regiment of infantry; and was transferred, in January 1792, into one of artillery. He made his first essay in arms in the campaign of 1792, when he was attached to the army of the Alps. In 1798 he served at the siege of Toulon, and his skill in gunnery there first attracted the notice of Napoleon. He subsequently accompanied the future emperor to Paris, and shared in his disgrace after the 9th Thermidor. Having afterwards got employment with the army of the Rhine, he distinguished himself in various combats, in which he commanded, under Desaix, the artillery of the advanced guard. After the armistice in December 1795 had terminated active operations on the Rhine, he returned to Paris, where Napoleon had now risen into high favour with government, in consequence of the suppression of the revolt of the Sections; and from him he obtained the situation of aide-de-camp, which he held through all the Italian campaigns. Overflowing with courage, he was with the advanced guard of cavalry which crossed the river above Lodi, and had his horse shot under him on that occasion; notwithstanding which, he captured the first gun which was taken in that terrible combat, for which he received a sabre of honour. At the battle of Castiglione he also distinguished himself; and so brilliant were the services which he rendered during the actions

Ragusa, with the standards taken in these glorious actions, to lay at the feet of the French government.

120. By the result of these conflicts, the Austrian army in the field was reduced from fifty thousand to fifteen thousand men. Of these, twelve thousand under Davidovich had taken refuge in the defiles leading to Mount Brenner, while three thousand under Quasdanovich were in the mountains of Friuli. Wurmser, it is true, had brought sixteen thousand into Mantua; but this force, accumulated in a besieged and unhealthy town, was of no real service during the remainder of the campaign, and rather, by increasing the number of useless mouths within the place, accelerated the period of its ultimate surrender. Before the end of October, ten thousand of the garrison were in the hospitals; so that the besieged were unable either to make any use of their superfluous numbers, or get quit of the unserviceable persons who consumed their scanty provisions. But these successes, great as they were, had not been purchased without a very heavy loss to the French army, which, in these actions, was weakened by above fifteen thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

121. Both parties remained in inactivity for a considerable time after these exhausting efforts, during which the Austrians were energetically employed in repairing their losses, and the Republicans in drawing forces from the other side of the Alps. The latter took advantage of the delay to organise revolutionary powers throughout all the north of Italy. Bologna and Ferrara

at Mantua, that Napoleon selected him to bear the standards taken to the Directory at Paris. He became marshal of France, and shared largely in the glories and dangers of Napoleon's campaign. He was a most able general, and second to none of the Emperor's lieutenants in the movements of a campaign, though on the field of battle he had not the daring of Murat, or the cool determination of Davoust. Defeated at Salamanca by Wellington, he had afterwards the misfortune to be twice compelled to sign a capitulation of Paris. But his reputation has survived these rude shocks; and his travels in the East prove, that to the eye of a general he united the accomplishments of a scholar and the heart of a philanthropist.

were united under a provisional government, republican forces and Jacobin clubs established, and all the machinery of democracy put in full operation; Modena was revolutionised, the old government replaced by a popular assembly, and French troops admitted within its walls; while legions of national guards were organised throughout the whole of Lombardy. But more efficient auxiliaries were approaching. Twelve battalions from the army of La Vendée, besides the remainder of the forces of Kellermann, joyfully crossed the Alps, happy to exchange the scene of utter penury and inglorious warfare, to which their efforts had hitherto been confined, for the luxurious quarters and shining achievements of the Italian army. In the end of October, Alvinzi, who had assumed the command of the army in Friuli, had assembled forty thousand men under his standards; while the corps of Davidovich was raised, by the junction of a large body of the Tyrolese militia, a force admirably adapted for mountain warfare, to eighteen thousand men. To oppose this mass of assailants, Napoleon had twelve thousand men under Vaubois, on the Lavis, in front of Trent; twenty thousand on the Brenta and the Adige observing Alvinzi, and ten thousand guarding the lines round Mantua. The disproportion, therefore, was very great in every quarter; and Napoleon, justly alarmed at his situation, and chagrined at the Directory for not putting a larger force at his disposal, wrote to the government that he was about to lose the whole of his Italian conquests.*

122. The Austrian preparations being

* Napoleon's letter was in these terms:—"Mantua cannot be reduced before the middle of February; you will perceive from that how critical our situation is; and our political system is, if possible, still worse. Peace with Naples is indispensable; an alliance with Genoa and Turin necessary. Lose no time in taking the people of Lombardy, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, under your protection; and, above all, send reinforcements. The Emperor has thrice re-formed his army since the commencement of the campaign. Everything is going wrong in Italy; the prestige of our forces is dissipated; the enemy now count our ranks. It is indispensable that you take into your instant consideration the critical situation of the Italian army, and forthwith

completed, Alvinzi, on the 1st November, threw two bridges over the Piave, and advanced against Massena, whose headquarters were at Bassano. At the approach of the Imperialists in such superior force, the French fell back to Vicenza, and Napoleon hastened, with the division of Augereau and the reserve, to their support. On the 6th a general battle took place. Massena overthrew the Austrian left, commanded by Provera and Liptay, and drove them with loss over the Brenta; while Napoleon himself defeated the right, under Quasdanovich, and would have carried the town of Bassano, which the Imperialists occupied in force, had not Hohenzollern, who advanced at the head of the Austrian reserve, made good the place till nightfall. But early on the following morning, the French general received intelligence from Vaubois, in the Tyrol, which not only interrupted his career of success, but rendered an immediate retreat on the part of the whole Republican army unavoidable.

123. In obedience to the orders he had received, that general, on the same day on which the Austrians crossed the Piave, commenced an attack on their position on the Lavis; but he was not only received with the utmost intrepidity, but worsted in the encounter, and his forces having fallen into confusion in the course of their retreat through the narrow valley, he was driven back in disorder through the town of Trent, to the defile of Calliano, with the loss of four thousand men. There he made a stand; but Davidovich, having caused a large part of his forces to cross to the right bank of the Adige, secure it friends both among kings and people. The influence of Rome is incalculable: you did wrong in breaking with that power; I would have temporised with it, as we have done with Venice and Genoa. Whenever the general in Italy is not the centre of negotiation as well as military operations, the greatest risks will be incurred. You may ascribe this language to ambition; but I am satiated with honours, and my health is so broken that I must implore you to give me a successor. I can no longer sit on horseback: my courage alone is unshaken. *Everything was ready for the explosion at Genoa; but Fappoult thought it expedient to delay. We must conciliate Genoa till the new order of things is more firmly established.*—*Confident. Despatches*, Oct. 8, 1796, ii. 92, 93.

passed that post, and was moving rapidly down on the Monte Baldo and Rivoli, so as to threaten his communications with Verona and the remainder of the army. Nothing was left for Vaubois but to retire in haste towards Verona, which was seriously menaced by the advance of the Tyrolese army; while their progress on the Monte Baldo could only be arrested by bringing up Joubert in the utmost haste from the lines before Mantua.

124. No sooner was this disastrous intelligence received by Napoleon, than he drew back his whole force through Vicenza to Verona; while Alvinzi, who was himself preparing to retire, after his check on the preceding day, immediately resumed the offensive. Napoleon in person proceeded, with such troops as he could collect, in the utmost haste to the Monte Baldo, where he found the division of Vaubois all assembled on the plateau of Rivoli, and so much reinforced as to be able to withstand an attack. He here deemed it necessary to make a severe example of the regiments whose panic had so nearly proved fatal to the army. Collecting the troops into a circle, he addressed them, with a severe tone, in these words—"Soldiers, I am displeased with you. You have evinced neither discipline, nor valour, nor constancy. You have allowed yourselves to be chased from positions where a handful of resolute men might have arrested an army. Soldiers of the 39th and 85th, you are no longer French soldiers. Chief of the staff, cause it to be written on their standards, *They are no longer of the Army of Italy.*" These terrible words, pronounced with a menacing voice, filled these brave regiments with consternation. The laws of discipline could not restrain the sounds of grief which burst from their ranks. They broke their array, and, crowding round the general, entreated that he would lead them into action, and give them an opportunity of showing whether they were not of the Army of Italy. Napoleon consoled them by some kind expressions, and, feigning to yield to their prayers, promised to suspend the order. A few days after, they behaved with un-

common gallantry, and regained their place in his esteem.

125. Notwithstanding his check on the Brenta, the operations of Alvinzi had hitherto been crowned with the most brilliant success. He had regained possession of the whole of the Italian Tyrol, and of all the plain of Italy between that river and the Adige. But the most difficult part still remained, which was to pass the latter stream in the face of the enemy, and effect a junction with the right wing, under Davidovich, which had achieved such important advantages. He followed the retiring columns of the Republicans, who took a position on the heights of Caldiero, determined to defend the road to Verona to the very uttermost. Napoleon arrived there from the Monte Baldo, on the evening of the 10th, and resolved to attack Alvinzi on the following day, who had occupied a strong position directly in front, his left resting on the marshes of Arcola, and his right on the heights of CALDIERO and the village of Colognola. Massena was directed to attack the right, which appeared the most accessible, and his advanced guard succeeded in ascending an eminence, surmounted by a mill, which the Austrian general had neglected to occupy; but the Imperialists, returning in force, regained the post, and made the brigade prisoners. The action continued the remainder of the day along the whole line, without decisive success to either party; but the rain, which fell in torrents, and the mud, which clogged the wheels, prevented the French artillery from being brought up to meet the fire of the Austrian cannon, which in position thundered with terrible effect upon the Republican columns. Wearied and dispirited, they drew back at night, yielding, for the first time in the campaign, the victory in a pitched battle to their enemies.

126. The situation of Napoleon was now to all appearance utterly desperate. He had been weakened by the loss of four thousand men under Vaubois, and three thousand in the recent actions with Alvinzi; his troops, dispirited by these disasters, had lost much of their

confidence and courage, and a depressing feeling of the great strength of the enemy had entered every breast. The army, it was true, had still the advantage of a central position at Verona, in the midst of their enemies; but they could resume the offensive in no direction with any appearance of success. In the north they were arrested by the defiles of the Tyrol; in the east by the position of Caldiero, known by recent experience to be impregnable; in the south, the blockading force was hardly able to make head against the frequent sorties of the garrison of Mantua. The peril of their situation was rapidly and fully perceived by the French soldiers, more capable than any others in Europe of judging of the probable course of events, and extremely susceptible of strong impressions; and it required all the art of their general, aided by the eloquence of his lieutenants, to hinder them from sinking under their misfortunes. Napoleon wrote in the most desponding terms to the Directory, but in public he assumed the appearance of confidence; and the wounded in the rear, hearing of the peril of the army, began to issue, with their wounds yet unhealed, from the hospitals.*

* The gloomy anticipations of Napoleon at this period are strongly depicted in the following interesting secret despatch to the Directory: "If the events I have to recount are not propitious, you will not ascribe it to the army; its inferiority, and the exhaustion of its brave men, give me every reason to fear for it. Perhaps we are on the eve of losing Italy. None of the promised succours have arrived; they are all arrested at Lyons or Marseilles. The activity of our government at the commencement of the war can alone give you an idea of the energy of the court of Vienna; hardly a day elapses that they do not receive five thousand men, and for two months I have only been joined by a single battalion. I do my duty; the army does its part: my soul is lacerated, but my conscience is at ease. I never received a fourth part of the succours which the minister of war announces in his despatches.

"To-day I shall allow the troops to repose, but to-morrow we shall renew our operations. I despair of preventing the raising the blockade of Mantua; should that disaster arrive, we shall soon be behind the Adige, if not over the Alps. The wounded are few, but they are the *élite* of the army. Our best officers are struck down; the Army of Italy, reduced to a handful of heroes, is exhausted. The heroes of Lodi, of Millestimo, of Castiglione,

127. But the genius of Napoleon did not desert him in this dilemma, and his fortitude was equal to the terrible crisis in which his affairs were placed. Without communicating his design to any one, he ordered the whole army to be under arms at nightfall on the 14th November, and they began their march in three columns, crossed the Adige, and took the road to Milan. The hour of departure, the route, the universal ignorance in regard to their destination, all inspired the belief that they were about to retreat, and relinquish to their rivals the plains of Italy. Breathless with anxiety, the troops defiled through the western gates of Verona; not a word was spoken in the ranks; grief filled every heart; in the dark columns, the measured tread of marching men alone was heard. Suddenly the order was given to turn rapidly to the left, and all the corps, descending the course of the Adige, arrived before daybreak at Ronco. There they found a bridge of boats prepared, and the whole troops were rapidly passed to the other side, and found themselves in an immense sea of morasses. A general feeling of joy was immediately diffused over the army; the soldiers now perceived that the contest for Italy was not abandoned, and, passing quickly from one extreme to another, prepared with alacrity to follow the footsteps of their leader, with-

out any regard to the fearful odds to which they were exposed.

of Bassano, are dead, or in hospital; there remains only their reputation, and the pride they have given to the soldiers. Joubert, Lanusse, Victor, Murat, Charlot, are wounded: we are abandoned in the extremity of Italy.

"I have lost few soldiers, but those who have fallen are the flower of the army, whom it is impossible to replace. Such as remain have devoted themselves to death. Perhaps the hour of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Massena, of Berthier, is about to strike; what, then, will become of these brave soldiers? This consideration renders me circumspect; I know not how to brave death, when it would so certainly be the ruin of those who have so long been the object of my solicitude.

"In a few days we shall make a last effort: should fortune prove favourable, we shall take Mantua, and with it Italy. Had I received the 88d, three thousand five hundred strong, I would have answered for everything: in a few days forty thousand men will perhaps not give me the same security."

Confidential Despatch, 14th Nov., il. 246-251.

out any regard to the fearful odds to which they were exposed.

128. Having perceived, during the former action at Caldiero, that the position was too strong to be carried by an attack in front, Napoleon had resolved to assail it in flank, by the village of ARCOLA, and for that purpose placed his army in the midst of the morasses, which stretch from thence to the banks of the Po. He thought with reason that, on the narrow causeways which traversed these marshes, the superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy would be unavailing; everything would come to depend on the resolution of the heads of columns; and he hoped that the courage of his soldiers, restored by being thus brought to combat on equal terms with the enemy, and animated by this novel species of warfare, would prevail over the discipline and tenacity of the Germans. The position which he had chosen was singularly well adapted for the purpose in view. Three chaussées branch off from Ronco: one, following the left bank of the Adige, ascends that river to Verona; another, in the centre, leads straight to Arcola, by a stone bridge over the little stream of the Alpon; the third, on the right, follows the descending course of the Adige, along its right bank, to Albaredo. Three columns were moved forward on these chaussées: that on the left was destined to approach Verona, and observe that town so as to secure it from any sudden attack of the enemy; that in the centre, to attack the flank of their position by the village of Arcola; that on the right, to cut off their retreat.

129. At daybreak on the 15th, Massena advanced on the first chaussée as far as a small eminence, which brought him in sight of the steeples of Verona, and removed all anxiety in that quarter as to the ultimate destination of the troops. Augereau, with the division in the centre, pushed, without being perceived, to the bridge of Arcola; but his advanced guard was there met by three battalions of Croats, who kept up so heavy a fire on the head of the column, that, notwithstanding the greatest exertions on the part of the soldiers, they were driven back. In vain Augereau

himself hastened to the front, and led them again to the charge; the fire at the bridge was so violent that he was arrested, and compelled to halt. Meanwhile, Alvinzi, whose attention was fixed on Verona, where he imagined the bulk of the enemy's forces to be, was confounded in the morning at hearing a violent fire in the marshes. At first he imagined that it was merely a few light troops, but soon intelligence arrived from all quarters that the enemy were advancing in force on all the dikes, and threatened the flank and the rear of his position. He immediately despatched two divisions along the *chaussées* by which the enemy was approaching; that commanded by Mitrouski advanced to defend the village of Arcola, while that under Provera marched against the division of Massena. The latter column soon commenced an attack on their antagonists; but they were unable to withstand the impetuous shock of Massena's grenadiers, and were driven back with heavy loss. Mitrouski, at the same time, passed through Arcola, crossed the bridge, and attacked the corps of Augereau; but they also were repulsed, and followed to the bridge by the victorious French. There commenced a desperate struggle: the Republican column advanced with the utmost intrepidity; but they were received with so tremendous a fire from the artillery in front, and a line of infantry stationed along the banks of the Alpon in flank, that they staggered and fell back.

180. Napoleon, deeming the possession of Arcola indispensable, not only to his future operations, but to the safety of his own army, put himself with his generals at the head of the column, seized a standard, advanced without shrinking through a tempest of shot, and planted it on the middle of the bridge. But the fire there became so violent that his grenadiers hesitated, and, seizing the general in their arms, bore him back amidst a cloud of smoke, the dead and the dying, and, to prevent his being made prisoner, hid him among some alder bushes in the morass on the side of the road. The Austrians instantly rushed over the bridge, and

pushed the crowd of fugitives into the marsh, where Napoleon lay up to the middle in water, while the enemy's soldiers for a minute surrounded him on all sides. The French grenadiers soon perceived that their commander was left behind; the cry ran through their ranks, "Forward to save the general!" and, returning to the charge, they drove back the Austrians, and extricated Napoleon from his perilous situation. During this terrible strife, Lannes received three wounds. His aide-de-camp, Meuron, was killed by his side, when covering his general with his body, and almost all his personal staff were badly wounded. Meanwhile, Guieux, who commanded the column which had been moved against Albaredo, had crossed the Adige, passed through that place, and was directly in rear of the village of Arcola; but it was too late. During the desperate stand there made by the Austrians, Alvinzi had gained time to draw off his baggage and artillery, and it was no longer possible to take the enemy in rear. The Austrians abandoned Arcola, and drew up their army, facing the marshes, at the foot of the heights of Caldiero. In the night, Napoleon, on his side, withdrew his forces to the right bank of the Adige, leaving only an advanced guard on the left bank; while the Austrians re-occupied the village of Arcola, and all the ground which had been so vehemently disputed on the preceding day. The following day they even advanced, in the confidence of victory, along the dikes, to within six hundred yards of the village of Ronco; but when they were thus far engaged in the defiles, the French attacked them with the bayonet, and drove back their columns, after an obstinate engagement, to the vicinity of Arcola. The battle continued the whole day with various success, and at nightfall both parties retired, the Austrians over the Alpon, the Republicans across the Adige.

181. During the whole of these eventful days, big with the fate of Italy and the world, the conduct of the Austrian generals was timid, and unworthy of the brave troops whom they commanded. Davidovich, while the contest was

raging on the lower Adige, remained in total inactivity on the upper part of that stream; while Alvinzi, fettered by secret instructions from the Aulic Council to attempt nothing hazardous, and rather keep on the defensive, in order to facilitate the secret negotiations which were going forward or about to commence, repeatedly halted in the career of success, and lost the fairest opportunities of crushing his adversary. Napoleon, aware, from the treachery which constantly prevailed at the Imperial headquarters, of these secret restrictions, augmented the irresolution of the commander-in-chief by privately despatching intelligence from Verona to him of the approaching mission of Clarke to conduct negotiations for peace, of the conferences opened at Paris with Great Britain, and the probability of an immediate accommodation. Alvinzi rejected the proposal for an armistice which he made, but suspended his movements to join Davidovich, and paralysed every successful operation for fear of injuring the negotiations. To such a length did this timidity proceed, that when, after the repulse of the French from Arcola, his bravest officers besought him instantly to form a junction with Davidovich, and terminate the war by a general attack on Verona, instead of following the heroic advice he retired towards Vicenza.

132. Again the sun rose on this dreadful scene of carnage, and both parties advanced, with diminished numbers but undecaying fury, to the struggle which was to decide the fate of Italy. They met in the middle of the dikes, and fought with the utmost animosity. The French column in the centre was routed, and driven back so far that the Austrian balls fell upon the bridge of Ronco, when the action was restored by a regiment which Napoleon had placed in ambush among the willows on the side of the road, and which attacked the victorious column in flank, when disordered by success, with such vigour, that they were almost all driven into the marshes. Massena, on his side, experienced similar vicissitudes, and was only enabled to keep his ground by placing himself at the head of the col-

umn, and leading the soldiers on with his hat on the point of his sword. Towards noon, however, Napoleon perceiving that the enemy were exhausted with fatigue, while his own soldiers were comparatively fresh, deemed the moment for decisive success arrived, and ordered a general charge of all his forces along both chaussées; and having cleared them of the enemy, and forced the passage of the Alpon, with the greater part of Massena's division, by a flying bridge near its confluence with the Adige, he formed his troops in order of battle at their extremity, on the firm ground, having the right towards Porto Legnago and the left at Arcola. By orders of the French general, the garrison of the former place issued forth with four pieces of cannon, and debouched by San Gregorio, so as to take the enemy in rear; while a body of trumpeters was sent, under cover of the willows, to their extreme left flank, with orders to sound a charge, as soon as the action was fully engaged along the whole line. These measures were completely successful. The Austrian commander, while bravely resisting in front, hearing a cannonade in his rear, and the trumpets as of a whole division of cavalry on his flank, ordered a retreat, and, after a desperate struggle of three days' duration, yielded the victory to his enemies. Alvinzi had stationed eight thousand men in échelon along his line of retreat, so that he was enabled to retire in good order, and with very little further loss. It was so apparent to all the Austrian army that this last retreat was the result of a secret understanding with the French general, and connected with the negotiation now in progress, that they openly and loudly expressed their indignation. One colonel broke his sword in pieces, and declared he would no longer serve under a commander whose conduct brought disgrace on his troops. Certain it is, that Alvinzi, during this dreadful strife at Arcola, had neither evinced the capacity nor the spirit of a general worthy to combat with Napoleon: not that he was in reality deficient in either, but that the ruinous restrictions of the Aulic Council para-

lysed all his movements; and the dread of hazarding anything on the eve of a negotiation made him throw away every chance of success.

133. While this desperate struggle was going forward in the marais of Arcola, Davidovich, who had opened the campaign with such brilliant success, was far from following up his advantages with the vigour which might have been expected. He merely advanced with his forces to the neighbourhood of Verona on the 18th, following Vanbois, who abandoned the positions of Corona and Rivoli on his approach; whereas, had he pressed him hard on the preceding days, Napoleon would have been compelled to cross the Adige, and raise the siege of Mantua. Without losing an instant, the French general returned with a large part of his forces through Verona, and compelled Davidovich to retire into the Tyrol,—the French resuming their old positions at Corona and Rivoli; while Augereau drove the enemy from Dolce, with the loss of one thousand prisoners and nine pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of Verona were lost in astonishment when they beheld the army which had left their walls by the gate of Milan three days before, return in triumph, after so terrible a combat, by the gate of Venice; and, without halting, pass through the town to make head against the fresh enemies who approached from the Tyrol. Alvinzi, when Napoleon was absent in pursuit of Davidovich, advanced towards Verona, now chiefly occupied by invalids and wounded men, and a universal joy pervaded the army when the order to march in that direction was given. But his old irresolution soon returned; the instructions of the Aulic Council prevailed over his better genius, and the final order to retire to Vicenza again spread grief and despair among his heroic followers.

134. The results of the battle of Arcola, how glorious soever to the French arms, were by no means so decisive as those of the previous victories gained in the campaign. The actions had been most obstinately contested; and though the Imperialists ultimately retired, and

Mantua was unrelieved, yet the victors were nearly as much weakened as the vanquished. The loss of the French in all the actions, including those with Davidovich, was fifteen thousand men, while that of the Austrians did not exceed eighteen thousand. During the confusion consequent on such desperate engagements, the garrison of Mantua made frequent sorties; and Wurmser availed himself with such skill of the temporary interruption of the blockade, that considerable convoys of provisions were introduced into the place. By putting the garrison on half rations, and calculating on the great mortality among the troops, which daily diminished their number, he still had hopes that he could maintain his position till a fourth effort was made for his relief.

135. The intelligence of these hard-fought victories excited the most enthusiastic transports throughout all France. The battle of Arcola especially, with its desperate chances and perilous passages, was the object of universal admiration. The people were never weary of celebrating the genius which had selected, amidst the dikes of Ronco, a field of battle where numbers were unavailing and courage irresistible; and of admiring the heroic intrepidity which made the soldier forget the general, and recalled the exploits of the knights of romance. Everywhere medals were exhibited of the young general on the bridge of Arcola, with the standard in his hand, in the midst of the fire and smoke. The Councils decreed that the Army of Italy had deserved well of the country, and that the standards which Napoleon and Augereau had borne on that memorable occasion should be given to them, to be preserved as precious trophies in their families.

136. Nor were the Austrians less distinguished by patriotic feeling. When the triumphs of the Archduke Charles on the Danube had saved Germany, and raised to the highest pitch the ardour of the people, the reverses in Italy came to damp the general joy, and renew, in a quarter where it was least expected, the peril of the monarchy. With unconquerable resolution they prepared to face the danger; the affectionate

ardour of the Hereditary States showed itself in the moment of alarm; the people everywhere flew to arms; numerous battalions of volunteers were formed, to repair the chasms in the regular forces; Vienna alone raised four regiments, which received standards embroidered by the hand of the Empress; and, before the end of the year, a fourth army was formed in the mountains of Friuli and the Tyrol, not inferior either in numbers or resolution to those which had wasted away under the sword of Napoleon.

137. After the battle of Arcola, the negotiation, the commencement of which had been attended with such fatal effects to the Imperial fortunes during the action, was continued with the greatest activity between the headquarters of the two armies. General Clarke, the Republican envoy, arrived at the headquarters of Napoleon, and it was at first proposed to conclude an armistice of three months, in order to facilitate the negotiations; but this the French general, who saw the command of Italy on the point of slipping from his grasp, and was well aware that the fate of the war depended on Mantua, resolutely opposed.* Clarke, however, continued to argue in favour of the armistice, and produced the instructions of his government, which were precise on that point; but Napoleon, secure of the support of Baras, at once let him know that he was resolved not to share his authority with any one. "If you come here to obey me," said he, "I will always see you with pleasure; if not, the sooner

* "Masters of Mantua," said he, "the enemy will be too happy to leave us the line of the Rhine. But if an armistice is concluded, we must abandon that fortress till May, and then find it completely provisioned, so that its fall cannot be reckoned on before the unhealthy months of autumn. We will lose the money (30,000,000) we expect from Rome, which cannot be influenced but by the fall of Mantua; and the Emperor, being nearer the scene of action, will recruit his army much more effectually than we can, and in the opening of the campaign we shall be inferior to the enemy. Fifteen days' repose is of essential service to the Army of Italy; three months would ruin it. To conclude an armistice just now, is to cut ourselves off from all chance of success—in a word, everything depends on the fall of Mantua."—*Corresp. Confid.* ii. 423.

you return to those who sent you the better."

138. Clarke felt he was mastered; he did not answer a word: from that moment the negotiation fell entirely into the hands of Napoleon, and came to nothing. So completely, indeed, did the Republican envoy fall under the government of the young general that he himself wrote to the Directory—"It is indispensable that the general-in-chief should conduct all the diplomatic operations in Italy;" and thenceforth his attention was almost entirely confined to arresting the scandalous depredations of the civil and military authorities, both on the Italian states and the funds of the Republic—an employment which soon absorbed all his time, and was attended with as little success as the attempts of Napoleon himself had been. The conferences which were opened at Vicenza in December, were broken up on the 3d January, without having led to any result; and it was resolved to try once more the fate of arms. For two months after the battle of Arcola, and during this negotiation, both parties remained in a state of inactivity, and great efforts were made on either side to recruit the armies for the final contest which was approaching. Scarce a day elapsed without dense and ardent battalions joining the Imperial standards. Napoleon also received considerable reinforcements; numbers of the sick were discharged from the hospitals, and rejoined their ranks on the approach of the cold weather, and ten thousand men flocked to his standards from the interior; so that, by the beginning of January 1797, he had forty-six thousand men under arms. Ten thousand blockaded Mantua, and the remainder of the army was on the line of the Adige, from the edge of the Po to the rocks of the Monte Baldo.

139. It was high time that the Imperialists should advance to the relief of Mantua, for it was now reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions. At a council of war, held in the end of December, it was decided that it was indispensable that instant intelligence should be sent to Alvinzi of their desperate situation. A British officer

attached to the garrison volunteered to perform in person the perilous mission, which he executed with equal courage and address. He set out, disguised as a peasant, from Mantua, on the 29th December, at nightfall, in the midst of a deep fall of snow, eluded the vigilance of the French patrols, and, after surmounting a thousand hardships and dangers, arrived at the headquarters of Alvinzi, at Bassano, on the 4th January, the day after the conferences at Vicenza were broken up. Great destinies awaited this enterprising officer. He was Colonel GRAHAM,* afterwards victor at Barossa, and the first general who planted the British standard on the soil of France.

140. The Austrian plan of attack on this occasion was materially different from what it had formerly been. Adhering still to their favourite system of dividing their forces, and being masters of the course of the Brenta from Bassano to Roveredo, they transferred the bulk of their troops to the upper Adige, where Alvinzi himself took the command of thirty-five thousand men. A subordinate force of fifteen thousand was destined to advance by the plain of Padua to Mantua, with a view to raise the siege, extricate Wurmser, and push on to the Ecclesiastical States, where the Pope had recently been making great preparations, and from whose levies it was hoped the numerous staff and dismounted dragoons of the veteran marshal would form an efficient force. This project had every appearance of success; but, unfortunately, it became known to the French general, from the despatches which announced it to Wurmser falling into his hands, as the messenger who bore them was on the point of clearing the last lines of the blockade of Mantua.

141. On the 12th January 1797, the advanced guard of Alvinzi attacked the Republican posts on the Monte Baldo, and forced them back to the plateau of Rivoli; while, on the same day, the troops in the plain pushed forward, drove in all the French videttes towards Porto Legnago, and maintained a de-

* The late Lord Lynedoch.

sultory fire along the whole line of the lower Adige. For some time Napoleon was uncertain on which side the principal attack would be made; but soon the alarming accounts of the great display of force on the upper part of the river, and the secret intelligence which he received from treachery at the Austrian headquarters, left no doubt that the enemy's principal forces were accumulated near Rivoli; and accordingly he set out with the whole centre of his army to support Joubert, who was there struggling with immensely superior forces. He arrived at two in the morning on the plateau of RIVOLI. The weather was clear and beautiful; an unclouded moon silvered the fir-clad precipices of the mountains; but the horizon to the northward was illuminated by the fires of innumerable bivouacs, and from the neighbouring heights his experienced eye could discover the lights of nearly forty thousand men. This great force was divided into five columns, which filled the whole space between the Adige and the lake of Garda; the principal one, under Quasdanovich, composed of all the artillery, cavalry, and a strong body of grenadiers, followed the high-road, and was destined to mount the plateau by the steep zigzag ascent on the right of the French position. Three other corps of infantry received orders to climb the amphitheatre of mountains which surrounded it in front, and, when the action was engaged on the high-road, descend upon the French army; while a fifth, under Lusignan, was directed to wind round the base of the plateau, gain the high-road in the rear, and cut off their retreat to Verona. The plan was ably conceived, and had nearly succeeded; with a general of inferior ability to Napoleon, and troops of less resolution than his army, it unquestionably would have done so.

142. To oppose this formidable force, Napoleon had only thirty thousand men, but he had the advantage of being in position on a plain, elevated among the mountains, while his adversaries must necessarily be fatigued in endeavouring to reach it. He had, moreover,

sixty pieces of cannon, and a numerous body of cavalry, in excellent condition. He immediately perceived that it was necessary, at all hazards, to keep his ground on the plateau; and, by so doing, he hoped to prevent the junction of the enemy's masses, and overthrow them separately, as they were toiling up the steep to commence the attack. Before daybreak he moved forward the *tirailleurs* of Joubert, to drive back the advanced posts of the Imperialists, who had already ascended to the plateau, and, by the light of the moon, arranged his whole force with admirable precision on its summit.

143. The action began at nine o'clock, by the Austrian columns, which descended from the semicircular heights of the Monte Baldo, attacking the French left. After a desperate resistance, the regiments stationed there were broken, and fled in disorder; upon which Napoleon galloped to the village of Rivoli, where the division of Massena, which had marched all night, was reposing from its fatigues; led it to the front, and, by a vigorous charge, restored the combat in that quarter. This check, however, had forced Joubert on the right to give ground; the divisions in front pressed down upon the plateau, while at the same instant the head of the column of the Imperial grenadiers appeared at the top of the zigzag windings of the high-road, having by incredible efforts of valour forced that perilous ascent, and their cavalry and artillery began to debouch upon the level surface at its summit. Meanwhile, the division of Lusignan, which had wound unperceived round the left flank of the Republicans, appeared directly in their rear; and the Imperial soldiers, deeming the destruction of the French army certain, gave loud cheers on all sides, which were re-echoed from the surrounding cliffs, and clapped their hands, as they successively took up their ground. The Republicans, attacked in front, flank, and rear at the same time, saw their retreat cut off, and no resource from the bayonets of the Austrians, but in the precipices of the mountains.

144. At this perilous moment the

presence of mind of Napoleon did not forsake him. He instantly, in order to gain time, sent a flag of truce to Alvinzi, proposing a suspension of arms for half an hour, as he had some propositions to make in consequence of the arrival of a courier with despatches from Paris. The Austrian general, ever acting on the idea so unhappily impressed on all its officers by the Imperial government, that military were to be subordinate to diplomatic operations, fell into the snare: the suspension, at the critical moment, was agreed to; and the march of the Austrians was arrested at the very moment when the soldiers, with loud shouts, were exclaiming—"We have them! we have them!" Junot repaired to the Austrian headquarters, from whence, after a conference of an hour, he returned, as might have been expected, without having come to any accommodation: but meanwhile the critical period had passed; Napoleon had gained time to face the danger, and made the movements requisite to repel these numerous attacks. Joubert, with the light infantry, was ordered to face about on the extreme right to oppose Quasdanovich; Leclerc and Lasalle, with the light cavalry and flying artillery, flew likewise to the menaced point; while a regiment of infantry was directed to the heights of Tiffaro, to make head against the corps of Lusignan. Far from being disconcerted by the appearance of the troops in his rear, Napoleon exclaimed, pointing to them, "These are already our prisoners;" and the confident tone in which he spoke soon communicated itself to the soldiers, who repeated the cheering expression. The head of Quasdanovich's division, which had so bravely won the ascent, received in front by a terrible fire of grape-shot, charged on one flank by Lasalle's horse, and exposed on the other to a close discharge of musketry from Joubert, broke and staggered backwards down the steep. The fugitives, rushing headlong through the column which was toiling up, soon threw the whole into inextricable confusion; horse, foot, and cannon struggled together, under a plunging fire from the French batteries, which blew

up some ammunition-waggons, and produced a scene of frightful disorder. No sooner was the plateau delivered from this flank attack, than Napoleon accumulated his forces on the troops which had descended from the semicircle of the Monte Baldo; and that gallant band, destitute of artillery, and deprived now of the expected aid from the corps in flank, soon gave way, and fled in confusion to the mountains, where great numbers were made prisoners.

145. During these decisive successes, the division of Lussignan had gained ground on the troops opposed to it, and came to the heights in rear of the army in time to witness the destruction of the three divisions in the mountains. From that moment they foresaw their own fate. The victorious troops were speedily directed against this brave division, now isolated from all support, and depressed by the ruin which it had witnessed in the other parts of the army. For some time they stood firm; but the fire of fifteen pieces of heavy artillery, to which they had nothing to oppose, at length compelled them to retreat; and before they had receded far they met the division of Rey, the reserve of Massena, which was approaching. Such was the consternation produced by this unexpected apparition, that the whole division laid down its arms; while Quasdanovich, now left to his own resources, retired up the valley of the Adige, and the broken remains of the centre divisions sought refuge behind the rocky bed of the Tasso.

146. Not content with these splendid triumphs, Napoleon, on the very night in which they were gained, flew to the assistance of the troops on the lower Adige, with part of the division of Massena, which had marched all the preceding night, and fought on the following day. It was full time that he should do so, for on the very day on which the battle of Rivoli was fought, Provera had forced the passage of the Adige at Anghiara, and marched between Angereau and the blockading force by Sanguenetto to the neighbourhood of Mantua, the siege of which he threatened to raise on the following

morning. Angereau, it is true, had collected his forces, attacked the rear-guard of the Austrians during their march, and taken fifteen hundred prisoners and fourteen pieces of cannon; but still the peril was imminent that the main body of Provera's forces would gain the fort of St George, an outwork of Mantua, and put the blockading force between two fires. Fully aware of the danger, Napoleon marched all night and the whole of the following day, and arrived in the evening in the neighbourhood of Mantua.

147. Meanwhile the hussars of Hohenzollern, forming Provera's advanced guard, presented themselves at sunrise on the 15th, at the gate of Fort St George, and being dressed in white cloaks, were nearly mistaken for a regiment of French, and admitted within the walls. But the error having been discovered by an old sergeant who was cutting wood near the gate, the drawbridge was suddenly drawn up, and the alarm communicated to the garrison. Hohenzollern advanced at the gallop, but, before he could get in, the gates were closed, and a discharge of grape-shot repulsed the assailants. All that day, the garrison under Miollis combated on the ramparts, and gave time for the succours from Rivoli to arrive. Provera sent a boat across the lake to warn Wurmser of his approach, and concert a general attack, on the next day, upon the blockading force; and in pursuance of the summons, the brave veteran presented himself at the trenches on the following morning with a large part of the garrison. But the arrival of Napoleon not only frustrated all these preparations, but proved fatal to the Austrian division. During the night he pushed forward four regiments, which he had brought with him, between the forts of La Favorite and St George, so as to prevent Wurmser from effecting a junction with the Imperialists, who approached to raise the siege, and strengthened Serrurier at the former point, in order to enable him to repel any attack from the garrison. At daybreak, the battle commenced at all points. Wurmser, after an obstinate conflict, was thrown back into the fort-

reas; while Provera, surrounded by superior forces, and tracked in all his doublings, like a furious stag by ruthless hunters, was compelled to lay down his arms, with six thousand men. In this engagement, the 57th regiment acquired the surname of the *Terrible*, from the fury with which it threw itself on the Austrian line. It was commanded by VICTOR, afterwards Duke of Belluno, and one of the most distinguished marshals of the French empire.*

148. Thus, in three days, by his admirable dispositions, and the extraordinary activity of his troops, did Napoleon not only defeat two Austrian armies of much greater force, taken together, than his own, but took from them eighteen thousand prisoners, twenty-four standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. Such was the loss of the enemy besides, in killed and wounded, that the Imperialists were totally disabled from keeping the field, and the French left in undisputed possession of the whole peninsula. History has few examples to exhibit of successes so decisive, achieved by forces so inconsiderable. In their report on these disasters, the Aulic

* Perrin Victor, afterwards Duke of Belluno, was born at La Marche in Lorraine, in 1766, of humble parents. At the age of fifteen he entered the artillery; but it was not till the period of the Revolution that he obtained any rapid advancement. In 1793 he was with his regiment at the siege of Toulon, where he attracted the notice of Napoleon by the skill and precision with which the fire of his pieces was maintained; and, in consequence of his recommendation, he was made a general of brigade. He was twice wounded during the siege; but, having recovered from these injuries, he received a command in the following year in the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, and bore a distinguished part in the sieges of Saint Elmo and Roses, and in all the actions which took place in that quarter, till the treaty of Bale terminated the war with the Spanish monarchy. Being then transferred to the Army of Italy, he commanded a brigade at the battle of Lodi in autumn 1796, and acquired distinction at the battle of Dego under Napoleon; but his first great exploit was in the actions against Provera at La Favorite and St George, where his skill in combination, and vehemence of attack, compelled that general to surrender with six thousand men. In 1804 he was made a marshal of the empire; and he bore a prominent part in all the campaigns of Napoleon down to his fall in 1814.—*Biographie des Contemporains*, xx. 193, 194 (Victor).

Council generously threw no blame on Alvinzi, but openly avowed the treachery at their headquarters, which made all their designs known before they were carried into execution. "The chief fatality," said they, "consisted in this, that our designs were constantly made known to the enemy before they were acted upon. Treachery rendered abortive the combinations of Marshal Wurmser for the relief of Mantua; treachery plunged Alvinzi into all his misfortunes. General Buonaparte himself says, in his report, that from different sources he had become acquainted with the designs of the enemy before their execution; and, on the last occasion, it was only on the 4th January that Alvinzi received his instructions for the attack, and on the 2d January it was published by Buonaparte in the *Gazette of Milan*." Alvinzi, notwithstanding his disasters, was continued in favour; but Provera was exiled to his estates in Carinthia, upon the ground that he had transgressed his orders in advancing against Mantua before he had received intelligence of the progress of Alvinzi.

149. This was the last effort of which Austria was capable, and the immediate consequence of its defeat was the complete subjugation of the peninsula. The remains of Alvinzi's corps retired in opposite directions; one part towards Trent, and another towards Bassano. Napoleon, whose genius never appeared so strongly as in pursuing the remains of a beaten army, followed them up without intermission. Laudon, who had taken post at Roveredo, with eight thousand men, in order to defend as long as possible the valley of the upper Adige, was driven by Joubert successively from that town and Trent, with the loss of five hundred prisoners; while Massena, by a rapid march over the mountains, made himself master of Primolano, descended into the gorges of the Val Sugana, turned the position of Bassano, and drove the Austrians, with the loss of a thousand prisoners, through Treviso and over the Tagliamento; where Alvinzi at length, by the valley of the Drave, reunited the remnant of his scattered forces.

150. Notwithstanding these disasters, the public spirit of the Austrian monarchy remained unsubdued, and the cabinet of Vienna continued unshaken in its resolution to prosecute the war with vigour. On the other hand, the Directory were so much impressed with the imminent risk which the Italian army had run, both at Arcola and Rivoli, and the evident peril to the Republic from the rising fame and domineering character of Napoleon, that they were very desirous of peace, and authorised Clarke to sign it on condition that Belgium and the frontier of the Rhine were given to France, an indemnity secured to the Stadtholder in Germany, and all its possessions in Italy restored to Austria. But Napoleon again resolutely opposed these instructions, and would not permit Clarke to open the proposed negotiations. "Before Mantua falls," said he, "every negotiation is premature; and Mantua will be in our hands in fifteen days. These conditions will never meet with my approbation. The Republic is entitled, besides the frontier of the Rhine, to insist for the establishment of a state in Italy, which may secure the French influence there, and retain in subjection Genoa, Sardinia, and the Pope. Without that, Venice, enlightened at last as to its real danger, will unite with the Emperor, and restrain the growth of democratic principles in its Italian possessions." The influence of Napoleon again prevailed; the proposed negotiation was never opened, and Clarke remained at Milan, occupied with his subordinate but overwhelming duty of restraining the rapacity of the commissaries of the army.

151. Mantua did not long hold out after the destruction of the last army destined for its relief. The half of its once numerous garrison was in the hospital; they had consumed all their horses, and the troops, placed for months on half rations, had nearly exhausted their provisions. In this extremity Wurmser proposed to Serrurier to capitulate: the French commander stated that he could give no definite answer till the arrival of the general-in-chief. Napoleon in consequence hastened to

Roverbella, where he found Klenau, the Austrian aide-de-camp, expatiating on the powerful means of resistance which Wurmser possessed, and the great stores of provisions which still remained in the magazines. Wrapped in his cloak near the fire, he overheard the conversation, without taking any part in it, or making himself known. When it was concluded, he approached the table, took up the pen, and wrote on the margin his answer to all the propositions of Wurmser, and, when it was finished, said to Klenau, "If Wurmser had only provisions for eighteen or twenty days, and he spoke of surrendering, he would have merited no favourable terms; but I respect the age, the valour, and the misfortunes of the marshal. Here are the conditions which I offer him, if he surrender to-morrow: should he delay a fortnight, a month, or two months, he shall have the same conditions; he may wait till he has consumed his last morsel of bread. I am now about to cross the Po to march upon Rome: return and communicate my intentions to your general." The aide-de-camp, who now perceived that he was in the presence of Napoleon, was penetrated with gratitude for the generosity of the conqueror; and, finding that it was useless to dissemble, confessed that they had only provisions left for three days. The terms of capitulation were immediately agreed on. Wurmser was allowed to retire to Austria with all his staff and five hundred men; the remainder of the garrison, which, including the sick, was still eighteen thousand strong, surrendered their arms, and were conveyed to Trieste to be exchanged. Fifty standards, a bridge equipage, and above five hundred pieces of artillery, comprising all those captured at the raising of the first siege, fell into the hands of the conqueror. Napoleon set out himself to Florence to conduct the expedition against Rome, and Serrurier had the honour of seeing the marshal with all his staff defile before him. Napoleon had too much grandeur of mind to insult the vanquished veteran by his own presence on the occasion: his delicacy was noted by all Europe; and like the statues of

Brutus and Cassius at the funeral of Junia, he was the more present to the mind because he was withdrawn from the sight.

152. Having achieved this great conquest, Napoleon directed his arms against Rome. The power which had vanquished, after so desperate a struggle, the strength of Austria, was not long of crushing the feeble forces of the Supreme Pontiff. During the strife on the Adige, the Pope had refused to ratify the treaty of Bologna, and had openly engaged in hostile measures at the conclusion of the campaign, in conjunction with the forces of Austria. The French troops, in consequence, crossed the Apennines: and during the march Wurmser had an opportunity of returning the generous conduct of his adversary, by putting him on his guard against a conspiracy which had been formed against his life, and was thus the means of causing it to be frustrated. The papal troops were routed on the banks of the Senio; like the other Italian armies, the infantry fled on the first onset, before a shot had been heard to whistle among the bayonets; and Junot, after two hours' hard riding, found it impossible to make up with their cavalry. Ancona was speedily taken, with twelve hundred men, and one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon; while a small column on the other side of the Apennines pushed on as far as Foligno, and threatened Rome itself. Nothing remained to the Vatican but submission; and peace was concluded at Tolentino, on the 19th February, on terms the most humiliating to the Holy See. The Pope engaged to close his ports against the Allies; to cede Avignon and the Venaisin to France; to abandon Bologna, Ferrara, and the whole of Romagna, to the allies of the Republic in the Milanese; to admit a garrison of French troops into Ancona, till the conclusion of a general peace; and to pay a contribution of thirty millions of francs to the victorious Republic. Besides this, he was obliged to surrender a hundred of his principal works of art to the French commissioners; the trophies of ancient and modern genius were seized with merciless rapacity; and in a short time the noblest speci-

mens of the fine arts which existed in the world—the Apollo Belvidere, the Laocoon, the Transfiguration of Raphael, the Madonna del Foligno, and the St Jerome of Domenichino—were removed to the banks of the Seine.

153. This treaty was concluded by the French under the idea that it would eventually prove fatal to the Holy See. Napoleon proposed to overturn at once the papal government. "Can we not," said he, "unite Modena, Ferrara, and Romagna, and so form a powerful republic? May we not give Rome to the King of Spain, provided he recognises the new republic? I will give peace to the Pope on condition that he gives us three million of the treasure at Loretto, and pays the fifteen million which remain for the armistice. Rome cannot long exist deprived of its richest possessions; a revolution will speedily break out there." On their side, the Directory wrote as follows to Napoleon: "Your habits of reflection, general, must have taught you that the Roman Catholic religion is the irreconcilable enemy of the Republic. The Directory, therefore, invite you to do everything in your power to destroy the papal government, without in any degree compromising the fate of your army—either by subjecting Rome to another power, or, what would be better still, by establishing in its interior such a government as may render the rule of the priests odious and contemptible, secure the grand object that the Pope and the cardinals shall lose all hope of remaining at Rome, and may be compelled to seek an asylum in some foreign state, where they may be entirely stripped of temporal power."

154. Such was the campaign of 1796—glorious to the French arms, memorable in the history of the world. Certainly on no former occasion had successes so great been achieved in so short a time, or powers so vast been vanquished by forces so inconsiderable. From maintaining a painful contest on the mountain-ridges of their own frontier, from defending the Var and the Maritime Alps, the Republicans found themselves transported to the Tyrol and the Tagliamento, threatening the her-

editary states of Austria, and subduing the whole southern powers of Italy. An army which never mustered fifty thousand men in the field, though maintained by successive reinforcements nearly at that amount, had not only broken through the barrier of the Alps, subdued Piedmont, conquered Lombardy, and humbled the whole Italian states, but defeated, and almost destroyed, four powerful armies which Austria raised to defend her possessions, and wrenched the keys of Mantua from her grasp, under the eyes of the greatest successive arrays of armed men she had ever sent into the field. Successes so immense, gained against forces so vast and efforts so indefatigable, may almost be pronounced unparalleled in the annals of war.*

155. But although its victories in the field had been so brilliant, the internal situation of the Republic was in the highest degree discouraging; and it was more than doubtful whether it could continue for any length of time even so glorious a contest. Its condition is clearly depicted in a secret report, presented by order of the Directory, on 20th December 1796, by General Clarke to Napoleon:—"The lassitude of war is experienced in all parts of the Republic. The people ardently desire peace; their murmurs are loud that it is not already concluded. The legislature desires it, commands it, no matter at what price; and its continued refusal to furnish to the Directory the necessary funds to carry on the contest, is the best proof of that fact. The finances are ruined; agriculture in vain demands the arms which are required for cultivation. The war is become so universal as to threaten to overturn the Republic; all parties, worn out with anx-

iety, desire the termination of the Revolution. Should our internal misery continue, the people, exhausted by suffering, having experienced none of the benefits which they expected, will establish a new order of things, which will in its turn generate fresh revolutions, and we shall undergo, for twenty or thirty years, all the agonies consequent on such convulsions."

156. Much of Napoleon's success was no doubt owing to the admirable character, unwearied energy, and indomitable courage of the troops composing the French army. The world had never seen an array framed of such materials. The terrible whirlwind which had overthrown the fabric of society in France, the patriotic spirit which had brought its whole population into the field, the grinding misery which had forced all its activity into war, had formed union of intelligence, skill, and ability, among the private soldiers, such as had never before been witnessed in modern warfare. Men from the middle, even the higher ranks, were to be seen with the musket on their shoulders; the great levies of 1793 had spared neither high nor low; the career of glory and ambition could be entered only through the portals of the bivouac. Hence it was that the spirit which animated them was so fervent, and their intelligence so remarkable, that the humblest grenadiers anticipated all the designs of their commanders, and knew of themselves, in every situation of danger and difficulty, what should be done. When Napoleon spoke to them, in his proclamations of Brutus, Scipio, and Tarquin, he was addressing men whose hearts thrilled at the recollections which these names awaken; and when he led them into action after a night-march of ten leagues, he commanded those who felt as thoroughly as himself the inestimable importance of time in war. With truth might Napoleon say, that his soldiers had surpassed the far-famed celerity of Cæsar's legions.

157. But however much was owing to the troops who obeyed, still more was to be ascribed to the general who commanded, in this memorable campaign. In this struggle is to be seen

* In his Confidential Despatch to the Directory of 28th December 1796, Napoleon states the force with which he commenced the campaign at thirty-eight thousand five hundred men, the subsequent reinforcements at twelve thousand six hundred, and the losses by death and incurable wounds at seven thousand. There can be no doubt that he enormously diminished his losses and reinforcements; for the Directory maintained he had received reinforcements to the amount of fifty-seven thousand men.—*Corres. Conf.* ii. 312.

the commencement of the new system of tactics which Napoleon brought to such perfection—that of accumulating forces in a central situation, striking with the whole mass the detached wings of the enemy, separating them from each other, and compensating by rapidity of movement for inferiority of numbers. Most of his triumphs were achieved by the steady and skilful application of this principle; all, when he was inferior in numerical amount to his opponents. At Montenotte he broke into the centre of the Austro-Sardinian army, when it was executing a difficult movement through the mountains; separated the Piedmontese from the Imperialists; accumulated an overwhelming force against the latter at Dego, and routed the former when detached from their allies at Mondovi. When Wurmser approached Verona, with his army divided into parts separated from each other by a lake, Napoleon was on the brink of ruin; but he retrieved his affairs by abandoning the siege of Mantua, and falling with superior numbers, first on Quasdanovich at Lonato, and then on Wurmser at Medola. When the second irruption of the Germans took place, and Wurmser still continued the system of dividing his troops, it was by a skilful use of his central position that the French general defeated his efforts; first assailing with a superior force the subsidiary force at Roveredo, and then pursuing with the rapidity of lightning the main body of the invaders through the gorges of the Brenta. When Alvinzi assumed the command, and Vaubois was routed in the Tyrol, the affairs of the French were all but desperate; but the central position and rapid movements of Napoleon again restored the balance—checking, in the first instance, the advance of Davidovich on the plateau of Rivoli, and next engaging in a mortal strife with Alvinzi in the marshes of Arcola. When Austria made her final effort, and Alvinzi surrounded Joubert at Rivoli, it was only by the most rapid movements, and almost incredible activity, that the double attack was defeated; the same troops crushing the main body of the Austrians on the

steeps of the Monte Baldo, who afterwards surrounded Provera on the lake of Mantua. A similar system was afterwards pursued with the greatest success by Wellington, in combating the superior armies of Soult and Marmont upon the frontiers of Portugal, and by Napoleon himself around the walls of Dresden in 1813, and in the plains of Champagne, in the year following.

158. But, to the success of such a system of operations, it is indispensable that the troops who undertake it should be superior in bodily activity and moral courage to their adversaries, and that the general-in-chief can securely leave a slender force to cope with the enemy in one quarter, while he is accumulating his masses to overwhelm them in another. Unless this is the case, the commander who throws himself at the head of an inconsiderable body into the midst of the enemy, will be certain of encountering instead of inflicting disaster. Without such a degree of courage and activity as enables him to calculate with certainty upon hours, and sometimes minutes, it is impossible to expect success from such a hazardous system. Of this a signal proof occurred in Bohemia in 1813, when the French, encouraged by their great triumph before Dresden, threw themselves inconsiderately into the midst of the Allies in the mountains of Töplitz; but, meeting there with the undaunted Russian and Prussian forces, they experienced the most dreadful reverses, and in a few days lost the fruit of a mighty victory.

159. The disasters of the Austrians were mainly owing to the injudicious plan which they so obstinately adopted, of dividing their force into separate bodies, and commencing an attack at the same time at stations so far distant, that the attacking columns could render little assistance to each other. This system may succeed very well against ordinary troops or timorous generals, who, the moment they hear of their flank being turned, or their communications menaced, lay down their arms, or fall back; but against intrepid soldiers and a resolute commander, who turn fiercely on every

side, and bring a preponderating mass first against one assailant, and then another, it is almost sure of leading to disaster. The Aulic Council was not to blame for adopting this system, in the first instance, against the French armies, because it might have been expected to succeed against ordinary troops, and had done so in many previous instances; but they were inexcusable for continuing it so long, after the character of the opponents with whom they had to deal had so fully displayed itself. The system of concentric attacks rarely succeeds against an able and determined enemy, because the chances which the force in the centre has, of beating first one column and then another, are so considerable. When it does, it is only when the different masses of the attacking party, as at Leipsic and Dresden, are so immense, that each can stand a separate encounter for itself, or can fall back, in the event of being outnumbered, without seriously endangering, by such a retreat, the safety of the other assailing columns.

160. The Italian campaign demonstrates, in the most signal manner, the vast importance of fortresses in war, and the vital consequence of such barriers to arrest the course of military conquest. The surrender of the strongholds of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona, by giving the French a secure base for their operations, speedily made them masters of the whole of Lombardy; while the single fortress of Mantua arrested their victorious arms for six months, and gave time to Austria to collect no less than four powerful armies for its deliverance. No man understood this better than Napoleon; and, accordingly, without troubling himself with the projects so earnestly pressed upon him of revolutionising Piedmont, he grasped the fortresses, and thereby laid the foundation for all his subsequent conquests. Without the surrender of the Piedmontese citadels, he would not have been able to push his advantages in Italy beyond the Po; but for the bastions of Mantua, he might have carried them, as in the succeeding campaign, to the Danube.

161. It is melancholy to reflect on the degraded state of the powers of Italy during this terrible struggle. An invasion which brought on all her people unheard-of calamities, which overspread her plains with bloodshed and exposed her cities to rapine, was unable to excite the spirit of her pacific inhabitants; and neither of the contending parties deemed it worth their while to bestow a serious thought on the dispositions or assistance of the twenty millions of men who were to be the reward of the strife. The country of Cæsar and Scipio, of Cato and Brutus, beheld in silent dismay the protracted contest of two provinces of its ancient empire, and prepared to bow the neck in abject submission to whichever of its former vassals might prove victorious in the strife. A division of the French army was sufficient to disperse the levies of the Roman people. Such is the consequence of political divisions and long-continued prosperity, even in the richest and most favoured countries; of that fatal policy which withers the spirits of men by fettering their ambition; of that indulgence of the selfish passions which ends in annihilating the generous; and of that thirst for pleasure which subverts the national independence by destroying the warlike spirit by which alone it can be maintained.

162. Finally, this campaign evinced, in the most signal manner, the persevering character and patriotic spirit of the Austrian people, and the prodigious efforts of which its monarchy is capable, when roused by real danger to vigorous exertion. It is impossible to contemplate, without admiration, the vast armies which they successively sent into the field, and the unconquerable courage with which these returned to a contest where so many thousands of their countrymen had perished before them. Had they been guided by greater, or opposed by less ability, they unquestionably would have been successful; and even against the soldiers of the Army of Italy, and the genius of Napoleon, the scales of fortune repeatedly hung equal. A nation capable of such sacrifices can

hardly ever be permanently subdued; a government, actuated by such steady principles, must ultimately be triumphant. Such, accordingly, has been the case in the present instance. Aristocratic firmness in the end asserted its wonted superiority over democratic vig-

our; the dreams of republican equality, were forgotten, but the Austrian government remained unchanged; the French eagles retired over the Alps; and Italy, the theatre of so much bloodshed, finally belonged to the successors of the Cæsars.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1796 IN GERMANY.

1. WHEN the Directory was called, by the suppression of the insurrection of the Sections, and the establishment of the new constitution, to the helm of the state, they found the Republic in a very critical situation, and its affairs, externally and internally, involved in almost insurmountable difficulties. The finances were in a state of increasing and inextricable confusion; the assignats, which had for long constituted the sole resource of government, had fallen almost to nothing; ten thousand francs in paper were hardly worth twenty francs in specie, and the unbounded depreciation of that species of circulation seemed to render the establishment of any other circulating medium of the same description impossible. The taxes for many years back had been so ill paid, that Ramel, the minister of finance, estimated the arrears in his department at fifteen hundred millions in specie, or above £60,000,000 sterling. The armies, destitute of pay, ill equipped, worse clothed, were discontented; and the recent disasters on the Rhine had completely broken the susceptible spirit of the French soldiers. The artillery and cavalry were without horses; the infantry, depressed by suffering and dejected by defeat, were deserting in great numbers, and seeking a refuge in their homes from the toils and the miseries of war. The contest in La Vendée was still unextinguished; the Republican armies had been driven with

disgrace behind the Rhine, and the troops in the Maritime Alps, worn out with privations, could not be relied on with certainty for offensive operations.

2. But, on the other hand, the external relations of the Republic had eminently improved; and the vast exertions of 1794, even though succeeded by the lassitude and weakness of 1795, had produced a most important effect on the relative situation of the belligerent powers. Spain, defeated and humiliated, had sued for peace; and her accession to the treaty of Bale, by liberating the armies of the Eastern and Western Pyrenees, had enabled the French government both to reinforce the armies of La Vendée, and to afford means to the young Conqueror of the Sections of carrying the Republican standards into the plains of Lombardy. Prussia had retired, without either honour or advantage, from the struggle; the Low Countries were not only subdued, but their resources were turned against the allied powers; and the whole weight of the contest on the Rhine, it was plain, must now fall on the Austrian monarchy. Britain, baffled and disgraced on the Continent, was not likely to take any effective part in military warfare; and there seemed little doubt that the power which had recently defeated all the coalesced armies of Europe would be able to subdue the brave but now unaided forces of the Imperialists.

3. Aware of the coming danger, Mr Pitt had, in the September preceding, concluded a triple alliance between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia: but the forces of Russia were too far distant, and the danger to its possessions too remote, to permit any material aid to be early acquired from its immense resources. It was not till a later period, and till the fire had fastened on its own vitals, that the might of this gigantic power was effectually roused, and the legions of the north brought to reassert their wonted superiority over the forces of southern Europe.

4. The condition of Great Britain, in the close of 1795 and the beginning of 1796, was nearly as distracted, so far as opinion went, as that of France. The continued disasters of the war, the pressure of new and increasing taxation, the apparent hopelessness of continuing the struggle with a military power which all the armies of Europe had proved unable to subdue, not only gave new strength and vigour to the Whig party, who had all along opposed hostilities, but induced many thoughtful men, who had concurred at first in the necessity of combating the revolutionary mania, to hesitate as to any further continuance of the contest. So violent had party spirit become, and so completely had it usurped the place of patriotism or reason, that many of the popular leaders had come to wish anxiously for the triumph of their enemies. It was no longer a simple disapprobation of the war which they felt, but a fervent desire that it might terminate to the disadvantage of their country, and that the Republican might triumph over the British arms. They thought that there was no chance of parliamentary reform being carried, or any considerable addition to democratic power acquired, unless the ministry were dispossessed; and to accomplish this object they hesitated not to betray their wish for the success of the inveterate enemy of their country. These animosities produced their usual effect of rendering the moderate or rational equally odious to both parties: whoever deplored the war was reputed a foe to his country; whoever pronounced

it necessary was deemed a conspirator against its liberty, and an abettor of arbitrary power.

5. These ill humours, which were afloat during the whole of the summer of 1795, broke out into acts of open violence in the autumn of that year. The associations for the purpose of obtaining parliamentary reform increased in boldness and activity: among them were many emissaries of the French government, and numbers of natives of this country, who had thrown off all connection with it in their hearts, and were become its most violent and rancorous enemies. They deluded immense bodies of men by the seducing language of freedom which they used, and the alluring prospect of peace which they held forth. Societies having these captivating advantages for their professed objects were generally formed in the great towns; and, under the banner of reform, succeeded in assembling, in every quarter, all that ambition had which was reckless, with all that indigence could collect which was desperate. These causes of discontent were increased by the high price of provisions, the natural consequence of the increased consumption and enlarged circulating medium required in the war, but which the lower orders, under the instigation of their demagogues, ascribed entirely to the ministry, and the crusade which they had undertaken against the liberties of mankind.

6. It was fortunate, at this crisis, that the rural population everywhere remained firm, and that the seditious movements were confined chiefly to the excitable population of the commercial towns; but in them it assumed a most formidable character. At length, on occasion of the king's going to parliament, at its opening, on 29th October 1795, these discontents broke out into open outrages of the most disgraceful kind. The royal carriage was surrounded by an immense crowd of turbulent persons, loudly demanding peace, and the dismissal of Mr Pitt. One of the windows was broken by a pebble, or bullet from an air-gun; showers of stones were thrown at the state-coach, both going and returning from par-

liament; and the monarch narrowly escaped the fury of the populace in his way from St James's Palace to Buckingham House. These outrages, however, tended only to strengthen the hands of government, by demonstrating to all reasonable men to what excesses the populace would speedily be driven if not restrained by a firm hand, and how slight was the barrier which separated this country from the horrors of the French Revolution.

7. In debating on the Address, Mr Fox maintained that the representations of ministers were false and delusive; that £100,000,000 had already been added to the national debt, and £4,000,000 a-year to the permanent taxes; that the coalition had been everywhere defeated, and the French were preparing to invade Italy with a powerful army; that the example of America proved how fallacious was the hope, that a nation resolved to be free could be reduced to extremity by the mere failure of pecuniary resources; that the alleged danger of concluding peace with a revolutionary power had been surmounted by the despotic governments of Spain and Prussia, and if so, what peril could arise from it to the constitutional monarchy of England? that we had in truth no allies, but a mere set of mercenary associates, who would abandon our interests the moment that it suited their own convenience; and that the severe scarcity which now desolated all Europe seemed to be the consequence of the obstacles to cultivation, which the ravages of war occasioned, and could not be expected to terminate while they continued.

8. On the other hand, it was urged by Mr Pitt, that every consideration, both of justice and policy, called upon us for a vigorous prosecution of the contest; that, notwithstanding his successes in the field, the enemy now began to feel his debility, and had in consequence evinced a disposition toward accommodation, which he never before had done; that the French paper was now at little more than a hundredth part of its nominal value; and though the enormous sum of £750,000,000 worth of assignats had been created,

this quantity was hourly on the increase: that it was impossible that a nation reduced to such straits could long support a contest with the formidable enemies who were preparing to assail it by land and sea, and that the system of maintaining war by the heinous method of confiscations and a forced paper currency, however successful for the time, must lead in the end to ruin: that the numbers of the French armies, and the desperate spirit by which they were animated, arose from the misery of the country, the stagnation of industry, and the impossibility of finding subsistence in pacific employments; but that this system, however successful when a war of invasion and plunder was carried on, could not be maintained for any length of time, when the French armies were repelled, as they now were on all sides, to their own frontiers, and compelled to subsist on their own resources; that now, therefore, was the time, when the enemy's breath was so evidently failing, to press him hard on every side, and constrain him to such a peace as might protect Europe from Gallic aggression, and England from republican innovation.

9. Such were the arguments urged in public, both in the House of Lords and Commons, on the policy of continuing the war; and both Houses, by a great majority, supported the administration—the numbers being, in the Lower House, 240 to 59. But the real motives which influenced both sides were materially different from those stated. It was a domestic war which was really waged; it was the contest between aristocratic ascendancy and democratic ambition which at bottom divided the country, and excited the fierce and implacable passions by which all classes were animated. The popular party perceived that their chance of success was altogether nugatory while the firm hand which now held the reins continued at the head of affairs, and that, so long as the national spirit was excited by the war with France, the ascendancy of the conservative party might be looked upon as certain: while the adherents to ancient institutions felt that

the continuance of the contest at any price was preferable to the flood of democracy with which they would be deluged at its close; and that, till the excitement created by the French Revolution had subsided, no passion but that for war could be relied on to counteract its effects. Thus, though the ground on which the parties engaged was the expedience of continuing the strife, the object which both had really in view was the form of domestic government; and the passions which actuated them, in truth, were the same as those which distracted France and agitated Europe.

10. To enable government to carry on the war, parliament voted supplies to the amount of £27,500,000, exclusive of the interest of the debt; and in this was included the enormous sum of £18,000,000 contracted by loan, the annual charge of which was £1,100,000, which was provided for by a considerable addition to the assessed taxes. But the total expenditure of the year amounted to £37,500,000, and the remainder was raised, in spring 1796, by exchequer bills and annuities, to the amount of £18,500,000, which made the total loans of that year £31,500,000. Mr Pitt stated it as a most remarkable circumstance, that in the fourth year of so expensive a war, this large loan was obtained at so low a rate as four and a half per cent; and, without doubt, it was a signal proof of the profusion of capital and confidence in government which prevailed in Britain. But he forgot the ruinous terms on which the loan was contracted for future years; that a bond of £100 was given for every £60 advanced, and posterity saddled with the payment of an immense sum which the nation had never received. This observation, how obvious soever, was not then perceived by the ablest persons even of practical habits. No one looked forward to the repayment of the debt, and the nation reposed in fancied security on the moderate annual charge which the loan imposed on the country.

11. Another matter of the highest importance gave rise to the most vehement debates both in the legislature and the

country; this was the bills which government introduced for providing additional security to the king's person, and for the prevention of seditious meetings. No measure had been brought forward by government since the Revolution began, which excited such vehement opposition, both in the legislature and the country, as these celebrated statutes, which were stigmatised by the popular party as the Pitt and Grenville Acts, in order that they might for ever be held in execration by the country. By the latter, it was required that notice should be given to the magistrate of any public meeting to be held on political subjects; he was authorised to be present, and empowered to seize those guilty of sedition on the spot; and a second offence against the act was punishable with transportation. On the part of the Opposition it was urged, that meetings held under such restrictions, and with the dread of imprisonment hanging over the speakers for any word which might escape from them in the heat of debate, could never be considered as the free and unbiassed meetings of Englishmen; that so violent an infringement had never been attempted on the liberties of the people since the days of the Tudors; that, if the times were so far changed that British subjects could no longer meet and deliberate on public affairs without endangering the state, it would be better at once to surrender their liberties, as in Denmark, into the hands of a despotic sovereign; that it was evident, however, that there really was no such danger as was apprehended, but the alarm was only a pretence to justify the adoption of arbitrary measures; that it was in vain to appeal to the example of France, as vindicating the necessity of such rigorous enactments; everybody knew that the Revolution in that country was not owing to Jacobin clubs, or the meetings of the people, but to the corruptions of the court, and the vices of the political system; and if this bill should pass, the people of this country, rendered desperate by the imposition of similar fetters, would, without all doubt, break out in their own defence into similar excesses.

12. On the other hand, it was argued by the Administration, that it was necessary to consider the bill attentively before representing it in such odious colours; that it imposed restrictions only on public assemblies, and left unfettered the press, the great palladium of liberty in every representative monarchy; that public meetings required to be narrowly watched in turbulent times, because it was in such great assemblages that the passions took fire, and men were precipitated by mutual excitement into violent measures; that the great danger of such meetings arose from the fact, that only one side was heard, and extravagant sentiments were always those which gained most applause; that the object of the meetings against which these enactments were levelled was notorious, being nothing less than the overthrow of the monarchy, and the formation of a republican constitution similar to that established with such disastrous effects in France; that the proposed enactments were certainly a novelty in this country, but so also was the democratic spirit against which they were levelled, and extraordinary times required extraordinary remedies; and that no danger was to be apprehended to public freedom, as long as the press was unfettered, and juries regarded with so much jealousy as they now did all the measures which emanated from the authority of government.

13. The latter bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of two hundred and fourteen to forty-two, and the House of Lords by sixty-six to seven. So exasperated were the Opposition with the success of ministers on this occasion, that Mr Fox and a large part of the minority withdrew altogether for a considerable time from the House—a ruinous measure, dictated by spite and disappointment, and which should never, on any similar occasion, be repeated by true patriots. The bill was limited in its duration to three years; and, after passing both houses, it received the royal assent. On coolly reviewing the subject of such vehement contention in the parliament and the nation, it is impossible to deny that it

is beset with difficulties; and that nothing but the manifest danger of the times could have furnished an excuse for so wide a deviation from the principles of British freedom. At the same time, it is evident that the bills, limited as they were in their duration, and partial in their operation, were not calculated to produce the mischiefs which their opponents so confidently predicted. The proof of this is decisive; the bills were passed, and the liberties of England not only remained entire, but have since that time continually gone on increasing.

14. In truth, the management of a country which has become infected with the contagion of democratic ambition is one of the most difficult matters in government, and one of which the principles are only now beginning to be understood. It is always to be recollected, that the formidable thing in periods of agitation, and that against which governments are in an especial manner called to raise a barrier, is not the discontent arising from real grievance, but the passion springing from popular ambition. The first, being founded in reason and justice, is easily dealt with; it subsides with the removal of the causes which called it forth, and strong measures are very seldom required or justifiable for its suppression. The second, being a vehement passion, arising often from no real evil, but awakened by the anticipation of power, is insatiable; it increases with every gratification it receives, and conducts the nation through blood and suffering by a sure and rapid progress to military despotism. The same danger to freedom is to be apprehended from the prevention of the expression of real suffering, as from concession to democratic ambition. Reform and redress are the remedies suited to the former; resistance and firmness the regimen adapted to the latter. In considering, therefore, whether the measures of Mr Pitt at that period were justifiable or not, the question is, did the public discontents arise from the experience of real evils, or the contagion of democratic ambition? And when it is recollected from what example in the neighbouring kingdom these passions

were excited, how much the liberties of England have subsequently augmented, and what a career of splendour and prosperity has since been opened, it is evident that no rational doubt can any longer be entertained on the subject. The event has proved, that no more danger to freedom is to be apprehended from concession than from resistance in such circumstances, for British liberty has since that time steadily increased under all the coercion applied by a firm government to its excesses; while French enthusiasm led to no practical protection of the people, and the nation fell under a succession of despots, all equally fatal to real freedom, in the vain endeavour to establish a chimerical equality.

15. Previous to the opening of the campaign of 1796, the British Government, in order to bring the French Directory to the test, authorised their agent in Switzerland, Mr Wickham, to make advances to the French minister on the subject of a general peace. The Directory replied that they could only treat on the footing of the constitution—in other words, that they must insist on retaining the Low Countries. This at once brought matters to an issue, for neither Austria nor Britain were as yet sufficiently humbled to consent to such terms. The declaration of this resolution, however, on the part of the Directory, was of great service to the British cabinet, by demonstrating the impossibility of treating, without abandoning all the objects of the war, and putting France permanently in possession of a salient angle, from which it threatened the liberties of all Europe, and which experience has proved cannot be left in its hands without exposing them to imminent hazard. Mr Pitt accordingly announced the resolution of the Directory to the British parliament, and immediately obtained further supplies for carrying on the war. An additional loan, as already mentioned, of £7,500,000 was negotiated, upon as favourable terms as the preceding one; and exchequer bills, to the amount of £8,000,000 more, were put at the disposal of government, out of which £3,000,000 were granted to Austria.

16. The first active operations of this memorable year took place in La Vendée, where the Republican general, HOCHÉ, commanded an army of a hundred thousand men. This vast force, the greatest which the Republic had on foot, composed of all the troops in the west of France, and those drawn from Biscay and the western Pyrenees, was intrusted to a general of twenty-seven years of age, whose absolute power extended over all the insurgent provinces. He was in every respect qualified for the important but difficult duty with which he was charged. Endowed by nature with a clear judgment, an intrepid character, and an unconquerable resolution; firm, sagacious, and humane, he was eminently characterised by that mixture of gentleness and resolution which is necessary to heal the wounds and subdue the passions of civil war. This rare combination of civil and military qualities might have rendered him a formidable rival of Napoleon, and possibly endangered the public peace, had he not united to these shining parts a patriotic heart and a love of liberty which rendered him superior to all temptation, and made him more likely, had he lived, to have followed the example of Washington, than to have trodden in the footsteps of Caesar or Cromwell. But it is more than probable that his independent spirit would never have brooked the usurpation of power by that extraordinary man; and his great popularity with the army would possibly have given him the means of combating his ambition with success, and prolonging in France for a few years longer than the 18th Brumaire the delusive phantom of republican institutions.

17. Lazare Hoche, like all the great warriors of the Revolution, owed his elevation entirely to his own abilities; but they rendered him one of the most remarkable men whom that convulsion brought forth. He was born on February 24, 1768, at Montreuil, near Versailles, where his father pursued the humble occupation of *garde de chenil* under Louis XV.; and he made his first entrance into life at the age of fourteen

as a supernumerary understrapper in the royal stables. His parents having soon after died, he would have been utterly destitute but for the assistance of an aunt, a fruit-woman in Versailles, who from time to time supplied him with small sums of money to add to his scanty wages, and buy books, which he literally devoured, by sitting up at night, after his labours in the stables were over. His inclinations prompting him strongly to a military life, he enlisted at the age of sixteen in the Gardes Françaises. While in that service he almost daily mounted extra guards, and engaged in every species of employment he could obtain consistent with his profession, in order to collect money enough to form a little library, to the study of which his whole evenings were devoted. In 1788 he fought a duel in the quarries of Montmartre, on which occasion he received a wound in the face, the scar of which remained through life, and added to his martial appearance. In the following year he was involved in the general and fatal defection of the French Guards; and having now warmly embraced the principles of the Revolution, he entered into the Municipal Guard of Paris, when it was first raised, immediately after the taking of the Bastille, was soon made sergeant-major, from his remarkable skill in his profession, and at length obtained from the minister Clavière a commission as sub-lieutenant.

18. No sooner had he attained this rank than he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the study of his profession; and the advantage of this at once appeared at the siege of Thionville. The distinction he there acquired procured for him the command of Dunkirk, threatened in 1793 with an attack by the British under the Duke of York. Hoche powerfully contributed, by the spirit which he infused into the garrison, and the ability with which the sorties were directed, to the defeat of that enterprise, and the overthrow of the covering army under Freytag, at the battle of Hondscote. The highest military honours and employments were now open to him, and he proved himself equal to them all. At the age of

twenty-four he obtained the command of the army of the Moselle, and he there found antagonists worthy of his powers, in the Duke of Brunswick and the Prussian army; but such was the vigour and ability of his operations, that, before the close of the campaign, he had driven the Allies entirely out of Alsace. He there, however, underwent a strange mutation of fortune. Having denounced Pichegru as engaged in treasonable correspondence with the enemy, to the Committee of Public Salvation, he incurred the wrath of St Just, by whom that general was protected, and, in consequence, was deprived of his command, and exiled to Nice. Hardly had he set out to the place of his banishment, when he was arrested by orders of the Committee of Public Salvation, brought to Paris, and thrown into the Conciergerie, from whence he would infallibly have been brought to the scaffold, had not the Revolution of the 9th Thermidor cut short the career of his oppressors. It was then that he gave his hand, as already mentioned, to St Just, the author of his arrest, as the latter entered the gates of his prison.

19. The period of his captivity, however, which was very considerable, was of more real service to Hoche than that of his triumphs; for it taught him to think, and enabled him to gain the mastery of his vehement and fiery temper, to which his misfortunes had in some degree been owing. His marvellous career gave him ample room for reflection; for, within the space of ten years, and ere he had yet turned his twenty-fifth year, he had been successively an under-strapper in the royal stables, a general-in-chief of one of the greatest armies of the Republic, and a captive at the point of death from the Revolutionary Tribunal. He became, in consequence, grave and silent, thoughtful and reflecting beyond his years; and he assumed for his maxim the motto, "Things, and not words." These qualities were all necessary to enable him to achieve the difficult task now committed to him by the Directory, of subduing the western provinces, and terminating the dreadful war, which in

that quarter had so long consumed the vitals of the state.

20. Hoche's plan, which was approved of by the Directory, was to reduce La Vendée, and all the provinces to the south of the Loire, before making any attempt upon Brittany, or the departments to the north of that river. All the towns in the insurgent district were declared in a state of siege; the Republican army was authorised to maintain itself in the country where hostilities were continued, and to levy the necessary requisitions from the peasantry; and the towns which fell into the possession of the Republicans were to be protected and provided for like captured fortresses. Pardon was proclaimed to all the chiefs who should lay down their arms, while those who continued the contest were ordered to be shot.

21. During the absence of Hoche at Paris, in the depth of winter, arranging this plan with the Directory, the Royalist chiefs, in particular Charette and Stofflet, gained considerable successes: the project of disarming the insurgent provinces had made little progress; and the former of these chiefs, having broken through the line, had appeared in the rear of the Republicans. But the arrival of the general-in-chief restored vigour and unanimity to their operations. Charette was closely pursued by several columns, under the command of General Travot; while Stofflet, cut off from all communication with the other Royalists, was driven back upon the shores of the ocean. As a last resource, Charette collected all his forces, and attacked his antagonist at the passage of La Vie. The Royalists, seized with a sudden panic, did not combat with their accustomed vigour; their ranks were speedily broken; their artillery, ammunition, and sacred standard, all fell into the hands of the enemy; Charette himself with difficulty made his escape, with forty or fifty followers, and, wandering through forests and marshes long after, owed his safety solely to the incorruptible fidelity of the peasants of the Marais. In vain he endeavoured to elude his pursuers and

join Stofflet: that intrepid chief, himself pressed by the forces of the Republic, after escaping a thousand perils, was betrayed by one of his followers at the farm of Pegrimaud, where he was seized, gagged, and conducted to Angers. He there met death with the same resolution which had distinguished his life.

22. This great success was necessary to establish the credit of the young general, who, accused equally by both parties—by the Royalists of severity, and by the Republicans of moderation—was so beset with difficulties, and so much disgusted with his situation, that he formally demanded his dismissal from the command. But Carnot, aware of his abilities, instead of accepting his resignation, confirmed him in his appointments; and, as a mark of the esteem of government, sent him two fine horses—a present not only highly acceptable, but absolutely necessary to the young general. For, though at the head of one hundred thousand men, and master of a quarter of France, he was reduced to such straits, by the fall of the paper in which the whole pay of the army was received, that he was absolutely without horses, or equipage of any kind, and was glad to supply his immediate necessities by taking half-a-dozen bridles and saddles, and a few bottles of rum, from the stores left by the British in Quiberon Bay.

23. Charette was now the only remaining obstacle to the entire subjugation of the country; for, as long as he lived, it never could be considered as pacified. Anxious to get quit of so formidable an enemy on any terms, the Directory offered him a safe retreat into England with his family and such of his followers as he might select, and a million of francs for his own maintenance. Charette replied, "I am ready to die with arms in my hands; but not to fly, and abandon my companions in misfortune. All the vessels of the Republic would not be sufficient to transport my brave soldiers into England. Far from fearing your menaces, I will myself come to seek you in your own camp." The Royalist officers, who per-

ceived that further resistance had become hopeless, urged him to retire to Britain, and await a more favourable opportunity of renewing the contest at the head of the princes and nobility of France. "Gentlemen," said he, with a severe air, "I am not here to judge of the orders which my sovereign has given me: I know them; they are the same which I myself have solicited. Preserve towards them the same fidelity which I shall do; nothing shall shake me in the discharge of my duty."

24. This indomitable chief, however, could not long withstand the immense bodies which were now directed against him. His band was gradually reduced from seven hundred to fifty, and at last, ten followers. With this handful of heroes he long kept at bay the Republican forces; but at length, pursued on every side, and tracked out like a wild beast by bloodhounds, he was seized, after a furious combat, and brought, bleeding and mutilated, but unsubdued, to the Republican headquarters. General Travot, with the consideration due to illustrious misfortune, treated him with respect and kindness, but could not avert his fate. He was conducted to Angers, where he was far from experiencing from others the generous treatment of this brave Republican general. Maltreated by the brutal soldiery, dragged along, yet dripping with blood from his wounds, before the populace of the town, weakened by loss of blood, he had need of all his strength of mind to sustain his courage; but, even in this extremity, his firmness never deserted him. On the 27th March he was removed from the prison of Angers to that of Nantes. He entered the latter town, preceded by a numerous escort, closely guarded by gendarmes and generals glittering in gold and plumes; himself on foot, with his clothes torn and bloody, pale and attenuated; yet an object of more interest than all the splendid throng by whom he was surrounded. Such was his exhaustion from loss of blood, that the undaunted chief fainted on leaving the Quarter of Commerce; but no sooner was his strength revived by a glass of water, than he marched on, enduring for two

hours, with heroic constancy, the abuse and imprecations of the populace. He was immediately conducted to the military commission. His examination lasted two hours; but his answers were all clear, consistent, and dignified—openly avowing his Royalist principles, and resolution to maintain them to the last. Upon hearing the sentence of death, he calmly asked for the succours of religion, which were granted him, and slept peaceably the night before the sentence was carried into effect. On the following morning he was brought out for execution. The rolling of drums, the assembly of all the troops and national guard, a countless multitude of spectators, announced the great event which was approaching. At length the hero appeared, descended with a firm step the stairs of the prison, and walked to the Place des Agriculteurs, where the execution was to take place. A breathless silence prevailed. Charette advanced to the appointed place, bared his breast, took his yet bloody arm out of the scarf, and, without permitting his eyes to be bandaged, himself gave the command, uttering, with his last breath, the words—"Vive le Roi!"

25. Thus perished Charette, the last and most indomitable of the Vendean chiefs. His character cannot be better given than in the words of Napoleon: "Charette," said he, "was a great character; the true hero of that interesting period of our Revolution, which, if it presents great misfortunes, has at least not injured our glory. He left on me the impression of real grandeur of mind; the traces of no common energy and audacity, the sparks of genius, are apparent in his actions." Though the early massacres which stained the Royalist cause at Macheoul were perpetrated without his orders, yet he had not the romantic generosity, or humanitarianism of mind, which formed the glorious characteristics of Lescaur, Larochejaquelein, and Bonchamp. His mind, cast in a rougher mould, was marked by deeper colours; and, in the later stages of the contest, he executed, without scruple, all the severities which the terrible war in which he was engaged called forth on both sides. If his jeal-

ousy of others was sometimes injurious to the Royal cause, his unconquerable firmness prolonged it after every other chance of success was gone; his single arm supported the struggle when the bravest of his followers were sinking in despair; and he has left behind him the glorious reputation of being alike invincible in resolution, inexhaustible in resources, and unsubdued in disaster. Las Cases has recounted an anecdote of him when in command of a small vessel early in life. Though regarded as a person of mere ordinary capacity, he on one occasion gave proof of the native energy of his mind. While still a youth, he sailed from Brest in his cutter, which, having lost its mast, was exposed to the most imminent danger; the sailors, on their knees, were praying to the Virgin, and totally incapable of making any exertion, till Charette, by killing one, succeeded in bringing the others to a sense of their duty, and thereby saved the vessel. "There!" said Napoleon, "the true character always appears in great circumstances; that was a spark which spoke the future hero of La Vendée. We must not always judge of a character from present appearances: there are slumberers whose rousing is terrible. Kleber was one of them; his wakening was that of the lion."

26. The death of Charette terminated the war in the west of France, and gave more joy to the Republicans than the most brilliant victory over the Austrians. The vast army of Hoche, spread over the whole country from the Loire to the British Channel, gradually pressed upon the insurgent provinces, and drove the peasantry back towards the shores of the ocean. The policy pursued by the Republican general on this occasion was a model of wisdom, worthy the imitation of every government, or commander charged with a similar arduous duty. He took the utmost pains to conciliate the parish priests, who had so powerful an influence over the minds of the people; and as his columns advanced, seized the cattle and grain of the peasantry, leaving at their dwellings a notice that they would be restored to them when they gave up their

weapons, but not till then. The consequence was, that the poor people, threatened with famine, if these their only resources were withheld, were compelled universally to surrender their arms. The army, advancing slowly, completed in this way the disarming of the inhabitants as they proceeded, and left nothing in their rear from which danger was to be apprehended. At length they reached the ocean; and though the most resolute of the insurgent bands fought with the courage of despair when they found themselves driven back to the sea-coast, yet the great work was by degrees accomplished, the country universally disarmed, and the soldiers put into cantonments in the conquered district. The people, weary of a contest from which no hope could now be entertained, at length everywhere surrendered their arms, and resumed their pacific occupations; the Republicans, cantoned in the villages, lived on terms of friendship with their former enemies; mutual exasperation subsided, the clergy communicated openly with a leader who had for the first time treated them with sincerity and kindness; and before the end of the summer, Hoche, instead of requiring new troops, was able to send great reinforcements to the Directory, for the support of the armies on the Rhine and in Italy.

27. Meanwhile the cabinet of Vienna, encouraged by the brilliant achievements of Clairfait at the conclusion of the last campaign, and aware, from the incorporation of Flanders with the French Republic, that no accommodation was to be hoped for, was making the utmost efforts to prosecute the war with vigour. A new levy of twenty-five thousand men took place in the Hereditary States; the regiments were universally raised to their full complement; and every effort was made to turn to advantage the military spirit and numerous population of the newly acquired provinces of Galicia. Clairfait, the conqueror of the lines of Mayence, made a triumphal entry into Vienna with unprecedented splendour. But his fame awakened the usual jealousy of courts; necessity had not yet rendered him in-

dispensable to the public safety; and the Aulic Council repaid his achievements by the appointment of the Archduke Charles to the command of the armies on the Rhine—a step which, however ill deserved by his gallant predecessor, was soon justified by the great military abilities of the young prince.

28. The forces of the contending parties on the Rhine were nearly equal; but the Imperialists had a great superiority in the number and quality of their cavalry. On the Upper Rhine, Moreau commanded seventy thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry; while Wurmsier, who was opposed to him, had sixty-two thousand foot and twenty-two thousand horse; but before this campaign was far advanced, thirty thousand men were detached from this army to reinforce the broken troops of Beaulieu in Italy. On the Lower Rhine, the Archduke was at the head of seventy-one thousand infantry and twenty-one thousand cavalry; while the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, numbered sixty-eight thousand of the former arm, and eleven thousand of the latter. The disproportion between the numerical strength on the opposite sides, therefore, was not considerable; but the superiority of the Germans in the number and quality of their horse gave them a great advantage in an open country, both in profiting by success and arresting disaster. This advantage, however, was more than compensated to the French by their possession of the fortresses on the Rhine, the true base of offensive operations in Germany. They held the fortresses of Luxemburg, Thionville, Metz, and Saarelouis which rendered the centre of their position almost unassailable; their right was covered by Huningen, New Brisach, and the fortresses of Alsace, and their left by Maestricht, Juliers, and the iron barrier of the Netherlands; while the Austrians had no fortified point whatever to support either of their wings. This want, in a war of invasion, is of incalculable importance; and the event soon proved that the fortresses of the Rhine are not less valuable as a base for offensive, than as a barrier to support defensive operations.

29. The plan of the Aulic Council was, in the north to force the passage of the Moselle, carry the war into Flanders, and rescue that flourishing province from the grasp of the Republicans. For this purpose they had brought the greater mass of their forces to the Lower Rhine. On the Upper, they proposed to lay siege to Landau, and, having driven the Republicans over the mountains on the west of the valley of the Rhine, blockade Strassburg. But for some reason, which has never been divulged, they remained in a state of inactivity until the end of May; while Beaulieu, with fifty thousand men, was striving in vain to resist the torrent of Napoleon's conquests in Lombardy. The consequences of this delay proved fatal to the whole campaign. Hardly was the armistice denounced in the end of May, when an order arrived to Wurmsier to detach twenty-five thousand of his best troops by the Tyrolese Alps into Italy—a deduction which, by necessarily reducing the Imperialists on the Upper Rhine to the defensive, rendered it hardly possible for the Archduke to push forward the other army towards the Moselle. There still remained, however, one hundred and fifty thousand Imperialists on the frontiers of Germany, including above forty thousand superb cavalry—a force which, if earlier brought into action, and placed under one leader, might have changed the fate of the war. The French inferiority in horse was compensated by a superiority of twenty thousand foot-soldiers. The Austrians had the immense advantage of possessing two fortified places, Mayence and Mannheim, on the Rhine, which gave them the means of debouching with equal facility on either side of that stream; while the Republicans only held a *tête-de-pont* at Düsseldorf, so far removed to the north as to be of little service in commencing operations. The events of this struggle demonstrate, in the most striking manner, the great importance of early success in war, and by what a necessary chain of consequences an inconsiderable advantage at first often determines the fate of a campaign. A single victory gained by the Austrians on the

Saare or the Moselle would have compelled the French armies to break up, in order to garrison the frontier towns; and the Directory, to defend its own territories, would have been obliged to arrest the career of Napoleon in the Italian plains; while, by taking the initiative, and carrying the war into Germany, they were enabled to leave their fortresses defenceless, and swell, by the garrisons of these, the invading force, which soon proved so perilous to the Austrian monarchy.

30. The plan of the Republicans was to move forward the army of the Sambre and Meuse by Düsseldorf, to the right bank of the Rhine, in order to threaten the communication of the Archduke with Germany, induce him to recross it, and facilitate the passage of the upper part of the stream by Moreau. In con-

formity with this design, KLEBER,* on the 30th May, crossed the Rhine at Düsseldorf, and, with twenty-five thousand men, began to press the Austrians on the Sieg, where the Archduke had only twenty thousand—the great bulk of his army, sixty thousand strong, being on the left bank, in front of Mayence.

31. The Republicans succeeded in defeating the advanced posts of the Imperialists, crossed the Sieg, turned the position of Ukerath, and drove them back to Altenkirchen. There the Austrians stood firm, and a severe action took place. General NEX, with a body of light troops, turned their left, and threatened their communications; while Kleber, having advanced through the hills of Weyersbusch, assailed their front; and SOULT† menaced their reserve at Kropach. The result of these

* Jean Baptiste Kleber was born at Strassburg in 1754. His father was a domestic in the service of Cardinal Rohan, who became so notorious in connection with the affair of the diamond necklace; and he was at first destined for the profession of an architect, for which he evinced a considerable turn. One day at Paris, when pursuing his studies, he saw two foreigners insulted by some young men in a coffee-house; he took their part, and extricated them from the attack: in return, they offered to take him with them to Munich, to which city they belonged, and place him in the Military Academy there. The offer was too tempting to be resisted; the study of architecture was exchanged for the career of arms; and such was the progress made by the young student in his military studies, that General Kaunitz, son of the celebrated minister of the same name, invited him to Vienna, and soon after gave him a commission as sub-lieutenant in his regiment. He remained in the Austrian service from 1776 to 1785, and made his first essay in arms against the Turks; but, disgusted at length with a service in which promotion was awarded only to birth, he resigned his commission, returned to France, resumed his profession of an architect, and obtained the situation of inspector of public edifices at Béfort, which he held for six years.

The Revolution, however, called him to very different destinies. In a revolt at Béfort, in 1791, he espoused the cause of the populace, whom he headed, and defeated the regiment of Royal-Louis, which strove to suppress the tumult. This incident determined his future career: retreat was impossible; he had now no chance of safety but in advancing with the Revolution. In 1792 he entered as a private into a regiment of volunteers of the Upper Rhine, in which his lofty stature, martial air, fearless demeanour, and previous acquaintance with war, soon gained him con-

sideration, and elevated him to the rank of adjutant-major, in which capacity he acted for some time under General Custine. When that officer was brought to trial, he had the courage to do what in those days required stronger nerves than to face a battery of cannon—to give evidence in his favour. The known vehemence of his Republican principles preserved him from the destruction which otherwise would have awaited him for that courageous act; and he was soon after sent as general of brigade to La Vendée, where his talents and intrepidity were experienced with fatal effect by the Royalist forces. His able conduct mainly contributed to the victories of Chollet, Mans, and Savenay, which proved so fatal to the Vendean cause. After having made a triumphant entry into Nantes, and in effect finished the war, he was removed from his command, in consequence of the undisguised manner in which he expressed his abhorrence of the sanguinary cruelties with which the Committee of Public Salvation desolated the country after the contest was over. His unrestrained freedom of speech long prevented Kleber's promotion, as it does in every age that of really great men. Every government, monarchical, aristocratic, or republican, seeks for pliant talent, not lofty intellect. The disasters of the Republic, however, at length rendered his employment indispensable, and he received a command as general of division, in which capacity he bore a part in the battle of Fleurus, and in all the subsequent operations of the army of the Sambre and Meuse in 1795, down to the crossing of the Rhine by Jourdan in spring 1796. —*Biog. Univ.* xxii. 460, 462 (KLEBER).

† Jean de Dieu Soult, afterwards Marshal of France and Duke of Dalmatia, was born at St Amans, in the department of Tarn, on the 29th March 1769, just a month before his great rival Wellington, and in the same year with Lannes, Ney, and so many others of the

movements was, that the Austrians were driven behind the Lahn at Limburg, with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners and twelve pieces of cannon.

32. This victory produced the desired effect, by drawing the Archduke, with the greater part of his forces, across the Rhine, to succour the menaced points. On the 10th he passed that river with thirty-two battalions and eighty squadrons, arrived in the neighbourhood of Limburg four days after, and moved, with forty-five thousand infantry and eighteen thousand cavalry, against the Republicans on the German side. Jourdan, upon this, leaving Marceau with twenty thousand men near Mayence, crossed the Rhine at Neuwied with the bulk of his forces, to support Kleber. His intention was to cover the investment of Ehrenbreitstein, and for this purpose to pass the Lahn and attack Wartensleben, who commanded the advanced guard of the Imperialists; but the Archduke, resolved to take the initiative, anticipated him by a day, and commenced an attack with all his forces. The position of the Republi-

heroes of the Revolution. Descended of humble parents, he entered the army in 1788 as a private in the 23d Royal Infantry; but his intelligence and quickness having early made him conspicuous, he was appointed, in 1791, drill-sergeant to a battalion of volunteers who had been raised on the Upper Rhine, and afterwards received from Marshal Luckner his commission as sub-lieutenant in the same regiment. His talents ere long led to his being employed in important duties. He was chosen captain by the soldiers by acclamation, and soon intrusted by Custine with the command of two battalions. He was distinguished at the battle of Kaiserslautern, at the storming of the lines of Weissenburg, and the siege of Fort Louis; but it was at the battle of Fleurus that he first gave proof of his undaunted character. The brave Marceau there found himself deserted by his troops, who were flying in the utmost disorder towards the Sambre, leaving the right of the army entirely uncovered. In despair, he was about to rush into the thickest of the fight, and seek death from the enemy's bayonets. At that instant Soulé, breathless, came up. "You would die, Marceau," said the future antagonist of Wellington, "and leave your soldiers dishonoured; fly and seek them; bring them back to the charge; it will be more glorious to conquer with them." Marceau, struck with these words, followed his men, succeeded in rallying them, and led them back to share in the ultimate glories of the day.

After this he took part in the actions on

cans was in the highest degree critical, as they were compelled to fight with the Rhine on their right flank, and between them and France, which would have exposed them to utter ruin in case of a serious reverse. The Archduke judiciously brought the mass of his forces against the French left, and, having overwhelmed it, Jourdan was compelled to draw back all his troops to avoid being driven into the river, and completely destroyed amidst its precipitous banks. He accordingly retired to Neuwied, and recrossed the Rhine, while Kleber received orders to retire to Düsseldorf, and regain the left bank. Kray pursued him with the right wing of the Austrians, and a bloody and furious action ensued at Ukerath, which at length terminated to the disadvantage of the French, in consequence of the impetuous charges of the Imperial cavalry. Kleber continued his retreat, and regained the intrenched camp around the *île-de-post* at Düsseldorf.

33. Meanwhile the army on the Upper Rhine, under the command of MOREAU,

the Ourthe and the Roer, at the conclusion of the campaign of 1794, and was engaged in the blockade of Luxembourg till the surrender of that place. During the chequered campaign of 1795, he commanded a light division of three battalions and five squadrons, which rendered essential service, both in the advanced guard during forward, and the rear-guard in retrograde movements. In the course of one of these, he was suddenly enveloped near Herborn by four thousand Austrian cavalry, summoned to surrender to this vast superiority of horse, he set the enemy at defiance, formed his infantry in two close columns, with the cavalry in the interval between them, and in that order marched five hours, constantly fighting, in the course of which he repulsed no less than seven charges without being ever broken, or losing a gun or a standard, until he rejoined in safety the ranks of his countrymen. After ten days' repose he was again in motion, commanded in the combat of Ratte-Eig, fought on the summit of a lofty ridge then knee-deep in snow, where he inflicted a loss on the enemy of two thousand men, and took part in the battle of Friedberg, to the success of which his skill and valour powerfully contributed. His name will be found connected with almost all the great triumphs of Napoleon; and his glorious defence of the south of France against Wellington, in 1818 and 1814, have secured for him a place in the very first rank of military glory.—*Biographie des Contemporains*, xix. 255, 257) SOULÉ.

had commenced offensive operations. This great general, born in 1763, at Morlaix, in Brittany, was the son of a respectable advocate in that town, and had been originally bred to the bar. While yet engaged in that profession he was appointed *Privot-de-droit* at Rennes, in which situation his solid talents, great acquirements, and courteous manners, gave him an entire ascendancy over the students of law in that provincial capital, who styled him in 1787, on occasion of its contest with the crown, "General of the Parliament." Tempering at the same time prudence with firmness, he succeeded in calming the effervescence of the young men, and subduing a revolt which otherwise might have been attended with serious consequences. When the Revolution broke out, he organised a company of artillery volunteers, of which he was elected captain. Weary of pacific service, and finding the legal profession wholly destroyed by the public convulsions, he solicited a situation in 1792, in the gendarmerie or mounted police. Happily his application was unsuccessful; and, having soon after enlisted in a regiment of the line, he made his debut in war under Dumourier, in the campaign of Flanders in 1793. His intelligence and sagacity speedily occasioned his promotion: he was raised by the suffrages of the soldiers to the rank of colonel; before the end of the campaign he was a brigadier-general: and in the following year, on the recommendation of Pichegru, he was appointed general of division, and intrusted with an important command in the maritime districts of Flanders. There, after various lesser successes, he succeeded in planting the Republican standards on the important fort of Ecluse on the Scheldt.

34. At the moment that Moreau was rendering these important services to France, the Jacobins of Brest sent his father to the scaffold. That respectable old man, who, by his beneficence to the unfortunate in Morlaix, where he resided, had gained the surname of the "Father of the Poor," had excited the jealousy of the Revolutionists in his province, by his humanity in ad-

ministering the affairs of some emigrants, who, but for his probity, would have lost their all. This tragic event confirmed his son in the repugnance which he already felt for the atrocities of the Jacobins, and determined him to devote himself exclusively to the career of arms. He commanded the right wing of Pichegru's army in the winter campaign of 1794, which procured for the Republicans the possession of Holland. When that general was transferred from the scene of his Batavian triumph to the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, Moreau received the command in chief of the army of Holland; and, by the wisdom and justice of his administration, attracted universal esteem—the more so, as it exhibited such a contrast to the universal rapacity and shameless extortions of the commissioners of the Convention. After the dismissal of Pichegru from the command of the army in Alsace, in the winter of 1795, he was appointed his successor; and two traits of his conduct in that campaign, overlooked in the whirl of its important events, deserve to be recorded, as marking at once the probity and generosity of his character. When compelled to retreat by the admirable skill of the Archduke Charles from the heart of Bavaria to the Upper Rhine, he preferred forcing his way sword in hand through the defiles of the Black Forest, occupied by the enemy, to violating the neutrality of the Swiss territory near the lake of Constance, which would have given him the means of a bloodless retreat. And when his rival, Napoleon, was hard pressed by the Austrians under Alvinzi in Italy, he detached a corps across the Tyrolean Alps to reinforce him, sufficient again to chain victory to the standards of the Army of Italy. "O Moreau!" said Carnot, on hearing of this—"O my dear Fabius, how great you were in that circumstance! how superior to the wretched rivalries of generals, which so often cause the best-laid enterprises to miscarry!"

35. Moreau was the most consummate general who appeared in the French armies in that age of glory. Without the eagle glance or value-

ment genius of Napoleon, he was incomparably more judicious and circumspect; he never could have made the campaign of Italy in 1796, or in Champagne in 1814; but neither would he have incurred the disasters of the Moscow retreat, nor lost his crown by the obstinacy of his grasp of Spain. More closely than any general in the Revolutionary wars he resembled Marlborough. He had all his prudence, circumspection, and skill in war; but he wanted the knowledge of men and incomparable address which rendered the English hero equally great in the cabinet as in the field. Like Fabius, Epaminondas, and Turenne, he trusted nothing to chance, laid his plans with consummate ability, and, calculating with equal precision the probabilities of success or disaster, often succeeded in achieving the former without incurring the latter. But he was great as a general alone—as a man he was only good. He had no turn for political affairs, and was wholly unfit to be the head of a party. Gifted with rare

sagacity, an imperturbable coolness in presence of danger, and a rapid *coup-d'œil* in the field of battle, he was eminently qualified for military success; but his modesty, indecision of mind, and retiring habits, rendered him unfit to cope in political life with the energy and ambition of Napoleon. He was, accordingly, illustrious as a general, but unfortunate as a statesman: a sincere republican, he disdained to accept elevation at the expense of the public freedom; and, after vanquishing the Imperialists at Hohenlinden, he sank before the audacity and fortune of his younger and less scrupulous rival.

36. On arriving at the command, after the dismissal of Pichegru, he applied himself assiduously, with the aid of Reynier, to reorganise and restore the army, whose spirit the disasters of the preceding campaign had considerably weakened. The French centre, thirty thousand strong, cantoned at the foot of the Vosges Mountains, was placed under the orders of DESAIX;* the left, under St Cyr,† had its head-

* Louis Charles Desaix was born at St Hilaire in 1768, of a noble family. At the age of fifteen he entered the regiment of Bretagne, and was soon distinguished by his severe and romantic character. In 1791, he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Victor de Broglie. His first action in the Revolutionary army was in the combat of Laaterburg, 1793, in which his heroic courage was so conspicuous that it procured for him rapid promotion. In 1796 he commanded one of Moreau's divisions. "Of all the generals I ever had under me," said Napoleon, "Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents—especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved war as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures; whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised everything else. Desaix was wholly wrapped up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasures were valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He despised comfort and convenience; wrapt in a cloak, he threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as in a palace. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs the Just Sultan. Kleber and Desaix were an irreparable loss to the French army."—O'MEARA, i. 237, 238; and *Biog. Univ.* xi. 128 (DESAIX).

† Laurent Gouvion St Cyr, afterwards Marshal and Peer of France, was born at Toul on the 18th April 1761. When called upon to decide upon his profession, he declined the army, to which his father had destined him, on account of the slow promotion and indolent life of the officers in peace, and took to

painting, in pursuance of which he travelled to Italy, and studied some years in Rome. Having completed his preparatory education, he returned to Paris, where he began to practise his art in the atelier of the painter Brenet: but the 10th of August soon arrived; the fine arts were forgotten in the whirl of the Revolution; and the young painter, abandoning his pacific pursuits, enrolled himself in one of the numerous corps of volunteers which were then forming in the capital. There he was speedily raised, by the voice of his comrades, to the rank of captain, and sent, in November 1792, to the army of the Lower Rhine, with which he continued to act down to the peace of Campo-Formio. It is to this circumstance that we owe the valuable Memoirs which he has left on that period of the war, and which, published in 1831, accompanied by a magnificent Atlas, have become one of the most important military records of the Revolution. His name will frequently appear in the following pages, particularly in Catalonia in 1809 and 1810, and during the campaigns of Moscow and Germany, in 1812 and 1813. His talents for war were remarkable. Few of his generals possessed more of the confidence of Napoleon, and none has left such scientific and luminous military memoirs on the campaigns in which he was engaged. His abilities were of the solid and judicious, rather than the showy and dazzling kind; his understanding was excellent, his penetration keen, his judgment sound, his survey of affairs comprehensive, and he was brave and tenacious of purpose;

quarters at Deuxponts; while the right, under Moreau in person, occupied Strassburg and Huningen. The Austrians, in like manner, were in three divisions: the right wing, twenty-two thousand strong, was encamped in the neighbourhood of Kayerslautern, and communicated with the Archduke Charles; the centre, under the orders of Starrray, amounting to twenty-three thousand infantry and nine thousand horse, was at Muschbach and Mannheim; while the left wing, comprehending twenty-four thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry, extended along the course of the Rhine from Philipsburg to Bâle. Thus, notwithstanding all their misfortunes, the Imperialists still adhered to the ruinous system of extending their forces—a plan of operations destined to bring about all but the ruin of the monarchy.

37. Moreau resolved to pass the Rhine at Strassburg, as that powerful fortress was an excellent point of departure; while the numerous wooded islands, which there interrupted the course of the river, afforded every facility for the concealment of the project. The fortress of Kehl, on the opposite shore, being negligently guarded, lay open to surprise, and, once secured, promised the means of a safe passage to the whole army. The Austrians on the Upper Rhine were, from the very beginning of the campaign, reduced to the defensive, in consequence of the large detachment sent under Wurmser to the Tyrol; while the invasion of Germany by the army of Jourdan spread the belief that it was in that quarter that the serious attack of the Republicans was to be made. To mislead the Imperialists still further as to his real design, Moreau made a general attack on their intrenchments at Mannheim, which had the effect of inducing them to withdraw the greater part of their forces to the right bank, leaving

only fifteen battalions to guard the *île-de-pont* on the French side. Meanwhile Wurmser, having departed at the head of twenty-eight thousand choice troops for Italy, the command of both armies devolved on the Archduke. Moreau deemed this juncture favourable for the execution of his design upon Kehl; and accordingly, on the evening of the 23d, the gates of Strassburg were suddenly closed, all intercourse with the German shore was rigidly prohibited, and columns of troops marched in all directions towards the point of embarkation.

38. The points selected for this hazardous operation were Gambaheim and Kehl. Twelve thousand men were collected at the first point, and sixteen thousand at the second, both detachments being under the orders of Desaix; while the forces of the Imperialists were so scattered, that they could not assemble above seventeen thousand men in forty-eight hours in any quarter that might be menaced. At midnight the troops defiled in different columns and profound silence towards the stations of embarkation; while false attacks, attended with much noise and constant discharges of artillery, were made at other places to distract the attention of the enemy. At half-past one Desaix gave the signal for departure; two thousand five hundred men embarked in silence, and rowed across the arm of the Rhine to the island of Ehlsar Rhin, which was occupied by the Imperialists. The French fell, without firing a shot, with so much impetuosity upon the videttes, that the Germans fled in disorder to the right bank, without thinking of cutting the bridges of boats which connected the island with the shore. Thither they were speedily followed by the Republicans, who, although unsupported by cavalry or artillery, ventured to advance into the plain, and approach the ramparts of Kehl. With heroic resolution, but adopting the most prudent course in such circumstances, the commander sent back the boats instantly to the French side, to bring over reinforcements, leaving his little band, alone and unsupported, in the midst of the enemy's army. Their advanced guard was

but he had not the eagle glance of Napoleon, nor the heroic energy of Ney; and he was better qualified to make a circumspect commander-in-chief than a brilliant leader of a corps of an army.—See *Vie de St Cyr*, prefixed to his Memoirs, vol. i. 1-12; and *Biographie des Contemporains*, viii. 263, 264 (GOUVION-ST-CYR).

speedily assailed by the Suabian contingent, greatly superior in numbers, which was encamped in that neighbourhood; but they were repulsed by the steadiness of the French infantry, supported by two pieces of artillery, which they had captured on first reaching the shore. Before six o'clock in the morning, a new detachment of equal strength arrived; a flying bridge was established between the island and the left bank, and the Republicans found themselves in such strength, that they advanced to the attack of the intrenchments of Kehl. They were carried at the point of the bayonet; the troops of Suabia, intrusted with the defence, flying with such precipitation that they lost thirteen pieces of cannon and seven hundred men. On the following day a bridge of boats was established between Strassburg and Kehl, and the whole army passed over in safety. Such was the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, which at the time was celebrated as an exploit of the most glorious character. Without doubt the secrecy, rapidity, and decision with which it was carried into effect, merit the highest eulogium. But the weakness and dispersion of the enemy's forces rendered it an enterprise of comparatively little hazard; and it was greatly inferior, both in point of difficulty and danger, to the crossing of the same river, in the following campaign, at Diersheim, or the passages of the Danube at Wagram, and of the Berezina at Studienka by Napoleon.

39. Moreau had now the fairest opportunity of destroying the Austrian army on the Upper Rhine, by a series of diverging attacks, similar to those by which Napoleon had discomfited the army of Beaulieu in Piedmont. He had effected a passage, with a superior force, into the centre of the enemy's line; and, by rapid movements, might have struck, right and left, as weighty blows as that great captain dealt out at Dego and Montenotte. But the French general, however consummate a commander, had not the fire or energy by which his younger rival was actuated, and trusted for success rather to skilful combinations or methodical arrangements, than to those master-strokes which are at-

tended with peril, but frequently master fortune by the magnitude of the losses they inflict on the enemy, and the intensity of the passions which they awaken among mankind. Having at length collected all his divisions on the right bank, Moreau, at the end of June, advanced to the foot of the mountains of the Black Forest, at the head of seventy-one thousand men. This celebrated chain forms a mass of rocky hills covered with fir, separating the valley of the Rhine from that of the Neckar, and pierced only by narrow ravines or gles. The Suabian contingent, ten thousand strong, was already posted at Ranschen, once so famous in the wars of Turenne, occupying the entrance of the defiles which lead through the mountains. They were attacked by the Republicans, and driven from their position with the loss of ten pieces of cannon and eight hundred men. Meanwhile the Imperialists were collecting their scattered forces with the utmost haste, to make head against the formidable enemy who had thus burst into the centre of their line. The Archduke Charles had no sooner received the intelligence, than he resolved to hasten in person to arrest the advance of an army threatening to fall upon his line of communications, and possibly get the start of him on the Danube. For this purpose he set off on the 26th, with twenty-four battalions, and thirty-nine squadrons, from the banks of the Lahn, and advanced by forced marches towards the Black Forest, while the scattered divisions of the army formerly under Wurmser were converging towards the menaced point.

40. Moreau's plan was to descend the valley of the Rhine, with his centre and left wing, under the command of Desaix and St Cyr; while his right, under Ferrino, attacked and carried the defiles of the Black Forest, and pushed on to the banks of the Neckar. The Austrians on the Upper Rhine and the Murg were about forty-eight thousand strong; while the Archduke was hastening with half that number to their support. Previous to advancing to the northward, Moreau detached some brigades from his centre to clear the right flank of

the army, and drive the enemy from the heights of the Black Forest, which operation was successfully accomplished. Meanwhile the left wing, continuing to descend the valley of the Rhine through a broken country, intersected with woods and ravines, approached the corps of Latour, who defended the banks of the Murg with twenty-seven thousand men. He was attacked there by the centre of the Republicans, with nearly the same force, the left under St Cyr not having yet arrived; and after an indecisive engagement, the Austrians retired in the best order, covered by their numerous cavalry, leaving to their antagonists no other advantage but the possession of the field of battle. Important reinforcements speedily came up on both sides; the Archduke arrived with twenty-four thousand men to the support of the Imperialists, while Moreau counterbalanced the acquisition by bringing up St Cyr, with the whole left wing, to his aid. The forces on the two sides were now nearly equal, amounting on either to about fifty thousand men; and their situation was nearly the same, both being at right angles to the Rhine, and extending from that stream through a marshy and woody plain to the mountains of the Black Forest.

41. The Archduke, who felt the value of time, and was apprehensive of being speedily recalled to the defence of the Lower Rhine, already threatened by Jourdan, resolved to commence the attack, and, in order to render his numerous cavalry of service, to engage as much as possible in the plain. For this purpose he advanced the Saxons on his left to turn the French right in the mountains, and threaten their rear, strengthened the plateau of Rothensol, where his left centre rested, advanced his centre to Malsch, and arranged his formidable cavalry, supported by ten battalions, so as to press the left of the Republicans in the plain of the Rhine. His attack was fixed for the 10th July; but Moreau, who deemed it hazardous to remain on the defensive, anticipated him by a general assault on the preceding day. Wisely judging that it was of importance to avoid the plain, where the numer-

ous cavalry of the Imperialists promised to be of such advantage, he entirely drew back his own left, and directed the weight of his force by his right against the Austrian position in the mountains. St Cyr, who commanded the Republicans in that quarter, was charged with the assault of the plateau of Rothensol, an elevated plain in the midst of the rocky ridges of the Black Forest, the approaches to which were obstructed by shrubs, scaurs, and underwood, and which was occupied by six Austrian battalions. These brave troops repulsed successive attacks of the French columns; but having, on the defeat of the last, pursued the assailants into the rugged and woody ground on the declivity of the heights, their ranks became broken, and St Cyr, returning to the charge, routed the Imperialists, carried the position, and drove back their left towards Pforzheim. Meanwhile Dessaix, with the French centre, commenced a furious attack on the village of Malsch, which, after being taken and retaken several times, finally remained in the hands of the Austrians. Their numerous cavalry now deployed in the plain; but the French kept cautiously under cover of the woods and thickets with which the country abounded; and the Austrians, notwithstanding their great superiority in horse, were unable to obtain any further success than repulsing the attacks on their centre and right, towards the banks of the Rhine.

42. The relative situation of the contending parties was now very singular. Moreau had dislodged the Imperialists from the mountains, and, by throwing forward his right, he had it in his power to cut them off from the line of communication with the Hereditary States, and menace their retreat to the valley of the Danube. On the other hand, by so doing, he was himself exposed to the danger of being separated from his base in the valley of the Rhine, seeing Dessaix crushed by the victorious centre and numerous cavalry of the Austrians, and St Cyr isolated and endangered in the mountains. A general of Napoleon's resolution and ability would possibly have derived from this combination of circumstances the means of achieving

the most splendid successes; but the Archduke was prevented from following so energetic a course by the critical circumstances of the Austrian dominions, which lay exposed and unprotected to the attacks of the enemy, and the perilous situation in which he might be placed in case of disaster, with a hostile army on one side, and a great river, lined with the enemy's fortresses, on the other. For these reasons he resolved to forego the splendid, to pursue the prudent course—to retire from the frontier to the interior of Germany, and to regain, by the valleys of the Maine and the Neckar, the plain of the Danube, which river, supported by the fortresses of Ulm and Ratisbon, was the true frontier of Austria, and brought him as much nearer his own, as it withdrew the enemy from their resources. With this view he retired, by a forced march in the evening, to Pforzheim, without being disquieted in his movement; and, after throwing garrisons into Philipsburg and Mannheim, prepared to abandon the valley of the Rhine, and retreat by the Neckar into the Bavarian plains. Agreeably to this plan, the Imperialists broke up on the 14th from Pforzheim, and retired slowly and in the best order towards Stuttgart and the right bank of the Neckar. By so doing they drew nearer to the army of the Lower Rhine under Wartensleben, and gained the great object of obtaining a central and interior line of communication, from which the Archduke soon derived the most brilliant advantages. Meanwhile Moreau advanced his right centre, under St Cyr, through the mountains to Pforzheim, while the right wing, under Ferino, spread itself through the Black Forest to the frontiers of Switzerland. The result was, that by the middle of July the Republican army covered a space of fifty leagues broad, from Stuttgart to the Lake of Constance.

43. Meanwhile important operations had taken place on the Lower Rhine. No sooner was Jourdan informed of the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, and the departure of the Archduke to reinforce the army of the Upper Rhine, than he hastened to recross the same river at

Düsseldorf and Neuwied, advancing, as he had always before done, towards the Lahn, with a view to debouch into the valley of the Maine. The Imperialists, under Wartensleben, there consisted only of twenty-five thousand infantry and eleven thousand cavalry—a force totally inadequate to make head against the Republicans, who amounted now, after the necessary deductions to blockade Mayence, Cassel, and Ehrenbreitstein, to fifty thousand men. At the period of the passage of the river, the Austrian army was scattered over a long line, and might have been easily beaten in detail by an enterprising enemy; but Jourdan allowed them to concentrate their troops behind the Lahn, without deriving any advantage from his superiority of force and their exposed situation. After some inconsiderable skirmishing, the Republicans crossed that river; and the Austrians having stood firm in the position of Friedberg, a partial action ensued, which terminated to the disadvantage of the latter, who, after a vigorous resistance, finding their right flank turned by Lefebvre, retreated with the loss of two pieces of cannon and twelve hundred men. After this success, Jourdan advanced to the banks of the Maine, and, by a bombardment of two days, compelled his adversaries to evacuate the great city of Frankfort, and retire altogether to the left bank of that river. The Austrians now drew all their disposable troops out of the fortress of Mayence, and raised their force under Wartensleben to thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry; while Jourdan's army, on the right bank of the Maine, was swelled, by the addition of some of the blockading corps, to forty-six thousand of the former, and eight thousand of the latter.

44. The Directory, in prescribing the conduct of the campaign to the generals, were constantly influenced by the desire to turn at once both flanks of the enemy—an injudicious design, which, by giving an eccentric direction to their forces, and preventing them from communicating with or assisting each other, led to all the disasters which signalled the conclusion of the campaign. On

the other hand, the Archduke, by giving a concentric direction to his forces in their retreat, and ultimately arriving at a point where he could fall, with an overwhelming force, on either adversary, ably prepared all the triumphs which effaced its early reverses. In conformity with these different plans—while Moreau was extending his right wing to the foot of the Alps, pressing through the defiles of the Albis and the Black Forest into the valley of the Danube, and Jourdan was slowly advancing up the banks of the Maine towards Bohemia—the Archduke regained the right bank of the Neckar, and Wartensleben the left bank of the Maine—movements which, by bringing them into close proximity with each other, rendered unavailing all the superiority of their enemies. In truth, nothing but this able direction of the retreating, and injudicious dispersion of the advancing force, could have enabled the Imperialists at all to make head against their enemies; for, independent of the deduction of twenty-eight thousand men despatched under Wurmser into Italy, the Austrians were weakened by thirty thousand men whom the Archduke was obliged to leave in the different garrisons on the Rhine; so that the force under his immediate command consisted only of forty thousand infantry and eighteen thousand cavalry, while Moreau was at the head of sixty-five thousand of the former force, and six thousand of the latter.

45. But the admirable plan of operations which the Archduke sketched out at Pforzheim, "to retreat slowly, and disputing every inch of ground, without hazarding a general engagement, until the two retiring armies were so near that they could unite, and he might fall with a superior force upon one or other of his adversaries," ultimately rendered abortive all this great superiority, and threw back the French forces with disgrace and disaster to the Rhine. Having assembled all his parks of artillery, during his short stay at Pforzheim, and thrown provisions into the fortresses, which were to be left to their own resources, the Archduke com-

menced his retreat, during which his force was still further weakened by the withdrawing of the Saxon and Suabian contingents, amounting to ten thousand men, the government of whose states, alarmed by the advance of the Republicans, now hastened to make their separate submissions to the conquerors. By the 25th July, the Archduke's army was concentrated on the right bank of the Neckar, betwixt Cannstadt and Esslingen. It was there attacked, on the following morning, by Moreau, with his whole centre and left wing; and, after an obstinate engagement, both parties remained on the field of battle. Next day the Imperialists retired in two columns, under the Archduke and Hotze, through the Alb mountains, which separate the valley of the Neckar from that of the Danube. The one followed the valley of the Reims and the route of Schorndorf, the other the valley of the Fils. Their united force did not now exceed twenty-five thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. Moreau followed them nearly in a parallel line, and on the 23d debouched into the plains near the sources of the Danube, and the upper extremity of the valley of the Reims.

46. The Archduke took a position at the top of the long ridge of Bömmkirch, with the design of falling upon the heads of the enemy's columns, as they issued from the valleys into the plain, and in order to gain time for the evacuation of the magazines of Ulm. The formidable nature of his position there, and the dispersion of his own forces, which were toiling through the defiles in the rear, compelled Moreau to halt for six days to concentrate his forces. Six days afterwards the Imperial general resumed his retreat, which was continued with uncommon firmness, and in the best order, till he reached the Danube, where he prepared to recommence the offensive. He there found himself in communication with his left wing, under Frellich, which had retired through the Black Forest, and amounted to fourteen thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry; while the corresponding wing of the Republicans, under Ferino, approached Mo-

reau, and raised his force to fifty-eight thousand infantry and seven thousand horse. The Archduke advanced in order of battle to Neresheim; but his left wing, under Frölich, did not arrive in time to take any part in the action which there ensued. His design in so doing was to gain time for the evacuation of his magazines at Ulm, and be enabled to continue his retreat with more leisure towards Wartensleben, who was now falling back towards the Naab: but, as he gave battle with his rear to the Danube, he ran the risk of total destruction in case of defeat. By a rapid movement he succeeded in forcing back and turning the right of Moreau, and, pressing forward with his left wing, got into his rear, and caused such an alarm, that all the parks of ammunition retreated in haste from the field of battle. But the centre, under St Cyr, stood firm; and the Austrian force being disunited into several columns, over a space of ten leagues, the Archduke was unable to take advantage of his success, so as to gain a decisive victory. Meanwhile Moreau, nowise intimidated by the defeat of his right wing, or the alarm in his rear, strengthened his centre by his reserve, and vigorously repulsed all the attacks of the enemy; and at two o'clock in the afternoon the firing ceased at all points, without any decisive success having been gained by either party, both of whom had to lament a loss of three thousand men. On the day following, the Imperialists crossed the Danube without being disquieted by the enemy, and broke down all the bridges over that river as far as Donauwörth. Meanwhile Frölich was retreating through the Forest, followed by Ferino, and between these corps several bloody but indecisive actions took place. But more important events were now approaching, and those decisive strokes about to be struck, which saved Germany and determined the fate of the campaign.

47. Jourdan, after having remained a few days at Frankfort, and levied a heavy contribution on that flourishing city, prepared to resume his march, in order to co-operate with Moreau in the advance into the Empire. He com-

menced his march, with forty-seven thousand men, up the valley of the Maine, on the great road to Würzburg; while Wartensleben retired, with a force somewhat inferior, through the forest of Spessart, to the neighbourhood of that town. Würzburg soon after surrendered to the invaders, and the latter general retired successively to Zell, Bamberg, and Forchheim, where a sharp action ensued between the cavalry of the two armies, in which the French honourably resisted a superior force. From thence the Austrians continued their retreat towards the Naab, and after bloody actions at Neukirchen, Sulzbach, and Wöhring, in which no decisive success was obtained by either party, crossed that river, and finally arrested their retrograde movement on the 18th August. The converging direction of the retiring columns of the two Austrian armies might have apprised so experienced an officer as Jourdan of the object of the Archduke, and the danger which he ran by continuing any farther his advance. But he did not conceive himself at liberty to deviate from the orders of the Directory; and, instead of interposing between their approaching armies, continued his eccentric movement to turn their outermost flank.

48. The time had now arrived when the Archduke deemed it safe to put in practice his long-meditated movement for the relief of Wartensleben. In the middle of August he set out from the environs of Neuburg on the Danube, with twenty-eight thousand men, and moved northwards towards the Naab, leaving General Latour with thirty-five thousand to make head during his absence against Moreau. He arrived on that river on the 20th, and orders were immediately given for attacking the enemy. By the junction of the corps under the Archduke with that under Wartensleben, their united force was raised to sixty-three thousand men; while the troops of Jourdan's army opposed to them did not exceed, after the losses it had sustained, forty-five thousand. Thus this young prince had solved the most difficult and important problem in war, that of accumulating, with forces upon the whole inferior,

a decided superiority at the decisive point. Bernadotte, who commanded the advanced guard of Jourdan's army, which had crossed the ridge of hills forming the northern boundary of the valley of the Danube, had taken post at Teining. He was there attacked by the Archduke, and, after an obstinate resistance, driven back into the mountains he had recently passed, which separate the valley of the Maine from that of the Danube; while Hotze, who came up towards the close of the action, pursued his discomfited troops to the gates of Neumarkt. Early on the following morning the Austrians resumed the pursuit, and drove the Republicans from that town so far back, that they found themselves on the flank of Jourdan's army on the Naab, which was no sooner informed of these disasters than it retired to Amberg. Leaving Hotze to pursue the remains of Bernadotte's army towards Altdorf, the Archduke turned with the bulk of his forces upon Jourdan; and, having put himself in communication with Wartensleben, concerted with him a general attack upon the main body of the Republicans at Amberg. The Austrians, under the Archduke, advanced in three columns; and when the soldiers perceived, far distant on the horizon to the northward, the fire of Wartensleben's lines, the importance of whose co-operation the whole army understood, opening on the enemy's flank, nothing could restrain their impetuosity, and loud shouts announced the arrival of the long-wished-for moment of victory. The French made but a feeble resistance: assailed at once in front and flank, they fell back to the plateau in the rear of

their position, and owed their safety to the firmness with which General Ney* sustained the attacks of the enemy with the rearguard.

49. The situation of Jourdan was now in the highest degree critical. By this success at Amberg, the Archduke had got upon his direct road to Nuremberg, through which his retreat necessarily lay, and he was, in consequence, compelled to fall back through the mountains which separate the Naab from the Maine by cross roads, with all his baggage and parks of artillery. During this critical operation, the firmness and discipline of the French troops alone saved them from total destruction. Ney, with the rearguard, continued to make head against the numerous cavalry of the enemy, and, after a painful passage of six days, during which they were pressed with the utmost vigour, and incurred great dangers, they at length extricated themselves from the mountains, and reached Schweinfurt on the Maine, in the deepest dejection, at the end of August. Hotze passed that river on the 1st September, and soon after his advanced guard made itself master of Würzburg; while the Archduke likewise conducted the bulk of his forces to the right bank of the river. Jourdan, deeming an action indispensable in order to obtain some respite for his retreating columns, made preparations for a general attack on his pursuers, at the same time that the Archduke was collecting his forces for an action on his own part. The courage and vivacity of the Republican soldiers appeared again when they faced the enemy, and they prepared with the utmost alacrity to occupy all the positions which were deemed ne-

* MICHEL NEY, the bravest hero whom France produced in that age of glory, was born on 17th January 1769, in the same year with Wellington, Lannes, and so many other illustrious men of the Revolution. He was the son of a cooper at Saarelouis, who had formerly served in the army; but, though his father wished him to become a crier, his ardent and aspiring disposition led him, at sixteen, to enlist in a regiment of hussars, in which he was a non-commissioned officer when the Revolution broke out. His extreme intrepidity, coolness in danger, and eminent talent in the field, soon became conspicuous: he was rapidly promoted by the election of the soldiers in his own regiment, and ere long

was first appointed aide-de-camp to General de Lallemand, and afterwards adjutant-general to General Kleber. It was in this latter capacity that he was engaged in the campaign of 1796, in Germany, in the course of which he repeatedly distinguished himself, and was appointed general of brigade. His character will more fully find a place in a subsequent chapter, after his numerous great and heroic deeds have been recounted; but the reader may mark him even now as one of the most distinguished of Napoleon's lieutenants, and one whose tragic fate has given a melancholy interest to his memory.—*Ney's Memoirs*, l. i, 36; and *Biographie Universelle*, xxxi 106, (NEY).

cessary before commencing the battle. On the 2d September both parties were engaged in completing their preparations, and on the 3d the battle decisive of the fate of Germany took place.

50. The French army was drawn up on the right bank of the Maine, from Würzburg to Schweinfurt, partly on a series of heights which formed the northern barrier of the valley, and partly on the plains which extended from their foot to the shores of the river. Jourdan imagined that he had only to contend with a part of the Austrian force, and that the Archduke had returned in person to make head against the Republicans on the Danube; but instead of that, the Austrian prince had rapidly brought his columns to the right bank, and was prepared to combat his antagonist with superior forces. A thick fog, which concealed the armies from each other, favoured the motions of the Imperialists; and, when the sun broke through the clouds at eleven o'clock, it glittered on the numerous squadrons of the Imperialists, drawn up in double lines on the meadows adjoining the river. The action commenced by Kray attacking the left flank of the French, while Lichtenstein spread himself out in the plain, followed by Wartensleben, who, coming up upon the left bank of the Maine, threw himself at the head of the cavalry into the river, and followed close after the infantry, who had defiled along the bridge. The French general, Grenier, who was stationed at the menaced point, made a vigorous resistance with the Republican cavalry and light infantry; but the reserve of the Austrian cuirassiers having been brought up, Jourdan was obliged to support the line by his reserve of cavalry. A desperate charge of horse took place, in which the Imperialists were at first repulsed; but the Austrian cuirassiers having assailed the Republican squadrons when disordered by success, they were broken, thrown into confusion, and driven behind the lines of their infantry. Meanwhile the grenadiers of Werneck, united to the corps under Starray, routed the French centre; Hotze pressed their right, and Kray drove the division of Grenier entirely

off the field into the wood of Gramchatz. Victory declared for the Imperialists at all points; and Jourdan esteemed himself fortunate in being able to reach the forests which stretched from Gramchatz to Arnstein, without being broken by the redoubtable Austrian squadrons.

51. Such was the battle of Würzburg, which delivered Germany, and determined the fate of the campaign. The trophies of the victors were by no means commensurate to these momentous results, amounting only to seven pieces of cannon and a few prisoners: but it produced a most important effect upon the spirit of the two armies, elevating the Imperial as much as it depressed the Republican forces, and procuring for the Archduke the possession of the direct line of communication from the Maine to the Rhine. Disastrous as it was in its consequences, the battle itself was highly honourable to the defeated army; for they had to contend with thirty thousand men of all arms, against thirty-one thousand infantry, and thirteen thousand splendid cavalry.

52. After this disaster, Jourdan had no alternative but to retire behind the Lahn, a position in which he might rally round his standards the force under Marceau, which blockaded Mayence, and the reinforcements which were expected from the north. In doing this, however, he was obliged to retreat through the mountains of Fulda, the roads of which are as bad as the country is rugged and inhospitable. At the same time Marceau received orders to raise the blockade of Mayence, and make all haste to join the Republican commander-in-chief behind the Lahn. The Archduke, nothing intimidated by the menacing advance of Moreau into Bavaria, wisely resolved to pursue his beaten enemy to the Rhine; but, instead of following him through the defiles of the mountains, where a resolute rearguard might have arrested an army, he determined to advance, by a parallel march, straight to the Lahn, by the great road of Aschaffenburg. The losses sustained by the Republicans in their retreat were very great. The citadel of

Würzburg soon surrendered with eight hundred men; one hundred and twenty-two pieces of cannon, taken by them during their advance, were abandoned at Schweinfurt; sixty pieces, and an immense quantity of ammunition, at Freudenberg; and eighty-three pieces soon after. The peasants, who were extremely exasperated at the enormous contributions levied by the Republicans during their advance, supported by the Austrian light troops, who were detached in pursuit of the enemy, fell upon the flanks and rear of the retreating army, and cut off vast numbers of the stragglers who issued from their ranks.*

53. The Republicans reached the Lahn in the most disorganised and miserable state on the 9th September, and four days afterwards they were joined by the blockading force from Mayence, under Marceau, fifteen thousand strong, and a division of ten thousand from the army of the north, which in some degree restored the balance of the two armies. The Archduke, having concentrated his forces at Aschaffenburg, resolved to attack them in this position, and drive them behind the Rhine. The action took place on the 16th. The Austrians advanced in three columns, amounting to thirty-eight thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, having received some reinforcements from the garrison of Mayence. Under cover of a powerful fire of artillery, they forced the bridges of the Lahn, after an obstinate engagement; made themselves masters of Limburg and Diez, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of heroism on the part of General Marceau; and defeated the enemy at all points. During the night the Republicans beat a retreat, under cover of a thick fog, which long concealed their

movements from the Imperialists; and, when it cleared away on the following morning, they found all the positions of the French abandoned. The pursuit was continued with the utmost vigour during the two following days; and on the 19th a serious engagement took place with the rearguard at Altenkirchen, where General Marceau was severely wounded, and fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The Archduke, who admired his great military qualities, paid him the most unremitting attention; but in spite of all his care he died a few days after, and was buried with military honours amidst the tears of his generous enemies, within the Austrian camp, in front of Coblenz, amidst discharges of artillery from both armies.† Such was the de-

† Francois Severin Marceau was born at Chartres on the 1st May 1769, the same day with the Duke of Wellington, and in a year unusually prodigal of heroic characters. His father was a village attorney, and had neglected his education; but his elder sister, who had come to supply the place of a mother, inspired him with those elevated sentiments and heroic dispositions by which he was afterwards so distinguished. His passions, however, were ardent, his habits irregular, and his temper vehement, inasmuch that his relations were glad to get him enlisted, at seventeen, as a common soldier, in the regiment of Savoy-Carignan, in which he rapidly rose to the highest rank of a non-commissioned officer. No sooner did the Revolution break out than he attached himself with vehemence to the popular side, mingled in the revolt on 14th July 1789, which terminated in the storming of the Bastille, and was soon after appointed inspector of the national guard in his native town of Chartres. When the war broke out in 1792, he set out for the frontiers as commander of the national guard of the department of the Eure-et-Loire. Though he distinguished himself in the very first campaign, yet he soon found the license and irregular discipline of these volunteer corps altogether insupportable; and he, in consequence, solicited employment in the troops of the line, in which he was appointed captain of cuirassiers in the German Legion, and sent to combat the Vendéans. No sooner had he arrived at Tours, on his way to the army, than he was arrested by the Commissioners of the Convention, and made a narrow escape from the guillotine. He afterwards, at the battle of Saumur, saved the life of Bourbotte, a member of the Convention, at the imminent hazard of his own; and this generous action having attracted universal attention, he was appointed general of brigade, at the age of twenty-four, and soon after intrusted, at the recom-

* The French themselves admit that it was the hatred inspired by their exactions which occasioned this popular exasperation against them. "The animosity of the Germans," said Carnot, in his confidential letter announcing these disasters to Napoleon, "and the unhappy consequences which have flowed from it, are a fresh and painful warning to us how speedily the relaxation of discipline becomes fatal to an army."—*Letter Confid.*, 20th September.

moralised and disjointed state of the Republican army, that, notwithstanding the great reinforcements which they had received, they were totally unable to make head against the enemy. They recrossed the Rhine on the 20th at Bonn and Neuwied, and were reduced to a state of total inactivity for the remainder of the campaign, having lost not less than twenty thousand men

in the command of Kleber, with the command of the northern Army of the West, which he led at the battle of Mans, and the fatal rout of Savenay.

Here, however, a new peril, greater than the bayonets of the Royalists, awaited him. During the sack of Mans, a young and beautiful Vendean threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to save her from the brutality of the soldiers. With the spirit of a true soldier, Marceau extricated her from their grasp, and had her conveyed to a place of safety. The Jacobins immediately lodged information against him as sheltering the aristocrats; he was thrown into prison, and only saved from the guillotine by the efforts of the Conventionallist Bourbette, whom he had saved on the field of battle. His life, by his intercession, was spared, but he was deprived of his command, and for some months remained in a private station. Carnot, however, had too much discernment to permit his talents to waste long in obscurity; he was again intrusted with a division in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and bore a distinguished part in the battle of Fleurus. Subsequently, he passed to the army of the Lower Rhine, and was intrusted with the defence and ultimate destruction of the bridges of the Rhine, after the Republican army had crossed over in the close of the campaign of 1796. In despair at seeing the division of Bernadotte, which had not yet passed over, endangered by the premature destruction of the bridge by an engineer under his orders, Marceau drew his sword and was going to kill himself, when his arm was arrested by Kleber, who persuaded him to make an effort to repel the enemy, till the bridge was repaired, which was gallantly and effectually done. Generous, humane, and disinterested, he was yet vehement, and sometimes hasty; but his failings were those of a noble character. His military qualities were thus summed up by Kleber—"I never knew a general so capable as General Marceau of changing with sang-froid a disposition of battle amidst the enemies' bullets." His civil virtues were thus attested by the magistrates of the hostile city of Coblenz—"He did not seduce our daughters; he dishonoured not our husbands; and in the midst of war he alleviated its severities on the people, and protected property and industry in the conquered provinces." A monument, designed by Kleber, was raised by the generous care of the Archduke Charles, and still remains an equally honourable memorial of both nations.—*Biog. Univers.* xxvi. 583, 584; *Biog. des Cont.* xii. 391, 392.

since they left the frontiers of Bohemia, by the sword, sickness, and desertion.

54. While the Austrian Prince was pursuing this splendid career of victory on the banks of the Maine, the corps left under the command of Latour to oppose Moreau, which did not exceed thirty-four thousand men of every arm, even including the detachment of Frélich, was sustaining an unequal conflict on the banks of the Danube. Had the French general, the moment that he received intelligence of the departure of the Archduke, followed him with the bulk of his forces, the Imperialists, placed between two fires, would have been exposed to imminent danger, and the very catastrophe which they were most anxious to avert, viz. the junction of the Republican armies in the centre of Germany, have been rendered inevitable. Fortunately for the Austrians, instead of adopting so decisive a course, he resolved to advance into Bavaria, hoping thereby to effect a diversion in favour of his colleague—a fatal resolution, which, though in some degree justified by the order of the Directory to detach fifteen thousand men at the same time into the Tyrol, utterly ruined the campaign, by increasing the great distance which already separated the Republican armies. After remaining several days in a state of inactivity, he collected an imposing body of fifty-three thousand men, on the banks of the Lech, and forced the fords of that river on the very day of the battle of Amberg. Latour, who had extended his small army too much, in his anxiety to cover a great extent of country, found his rearguard assailed at Friedberg, and was defeated with the loss of seventeen hundred men and fourteen pieces of cannon. After this disaster he retreated behind the Isar, in the direction of Landshut; his centre fell back to the neighbourhood of Munich, while the left wing stretched to the foot of the mountains of the Tyrol. Moreau continued for three weeks occupied in inconsiderable movements in Bavaria; during which a severe combat took place at Langenberg, between four thousand Austrian horse and Desaix's division, in which, after the

French troops had been at first broken, they ultimately succeeded, by heroic efforts, in repulsing the enemy. The Archduke was nothing moved by these disasters, but resolutely continued his pursuit of Jourdan. "Let Moreau advance to Vienna," said he, on parting with Latour; "it is of no moment, provided I beat Jourdan." Memorable words! indicating at once the firmness of a great man, and the eye of a consummate general.

55. This resolute conduct had the desired effect. After the battle of Würzburg, the Archduke detached Murferd with a small division to join the garrison of Mannheim, and combine an attack on the *Île-de-pont* at Kehl, directly in the rear of Moreau, and commanding his principal communication with France. The French were driven into the works, which were assaulted with great bravery by the Imperialists; and, though the attack was repulsed, it spread great consternation through the French army, who saw how nearly they had lost their principal communication with their own country. Moreau, who began to be apprehensive that he might be involved in disaster if he advanced farther into Germany, proceeded with great circumspection, and arrived on the Isar on the 24th September. Being there informed of the disasters of Jourdan, and that a part of Latour's corps, under Nauendorf, was rapidly advancing upon Ulm to turn his left flank, he halted his army, and next day began a retreat. His situation was now in the highest degree critical. Advanced into the heart of Bavaria, with the defiles of the Black Forest in his rear, at the distance of two hundred miles from the Rhine, with Latour at the head of forty thousand men pressing the one flank, and the Archduke and Nauendorf with twenty-five thousand ready to fall on the other, he might anticipate even greater disasters than Jourdan had sustained before he regained the frontiers of the Republic. But, on the other hand, he was at the head of a superb army of seventy thousand men, whose courage had not been weakened by any disaster, and who possessed the most

unlimited confidence, both in their own strength and the resources of their commander. There was no force in Germany capable of arresting so great a mass. It is not with detached columns, or by menacing communications, that the retreat of such a body is to be prevented.

56. Fully appreciating these great advantages, and aware that nothing is so likely to produce disaster in retreat as any symptoms of apprehension in the general, he resolved to continue his retrograde movement with the utmost regularity, and to dispute every inch of ground with the enemy when they threatened to press upon his forces. The Austrian armies likely to assail him were as follows: Nauendorf, with nine thousand men, was on the Danube, ready to turn his left flank; Latour, with twenty-four thousand, in Bavaria, directly in his rear; Frolich, with fourteen thousand, on the Upper Iller and in the Tyrol; while the Archduke, with seventeen thousand, might be expected to abandon the Lahn, and hasten to the scene of decisive operations on the Upper Rhine. It was by maintaining a firm front, and keeping his troops together in masses, that the junction or co-operation of these considerable forces could alone be prevented. Aware that the Archduke might probably block up the line of retreat by the Neckar, Moreau retired by the valley of the Danube and the Black Forest. Resting one of his wings on that stream, he sent forward his parks, his baggage, and his ammunition, before the army, and, covering his retreat by a powerful rearguard, succeeded both in repulsing all the attacks of the enemy, and in enabling the body of his army to continue their march without fatigue or interruption.

57. Want of concert in the Austrian generals at first eminently favoured his movements. Having retired behind the lake of Federsee, he found that Latour was isolated from Nauendorf, who was considerably in advance on the Danube, and the opportunity therefore appeared favourable for striking with superior forces a blow upon his weakened adversary. This was the more necessary,

as he was approaching the entrance of the defiles of the Black Forest, which were occupied by the enemy, and it was of the last importance that his movement should not be impeded in traversing those long and difficult passages. Turning, therefore, fiercely upon his pursuers, he assailed Latour near Biberach. The Austrian general, believing that a part only of the enemy's force was in the front, gave battle in a strong position, extending along a series of wooded heights, lined by a formidable artillery. The action was for a long time fiercely contested; but at length the superior forces and abler manoeuvres of the Republicans prevailed. Desaix broke their right, while St Cyr turned their left, and a complete victory crowned the efforts of the French, which cost the Imperialists four thousand prisoners and eighteen pieces of cannon.

58. After this decisive blow, Moreau proceeded leisurely towards the Black Forest, directing his steps towards the Valley of Hell, in hopes of being able to debouch by Freiburg, before the Archduke arrived to interrupt his progress. He had already passed the separation of the road by the Neckar, and Nauendorf occupied that which passes by the valley of the Kinzig. He therefore directed his centre towards the entrance of the Valley of Hell, under the command of St Cyr, while he stationed Desaix and Ferino on the right and left, to protect the movements of the principal body. The Austrian detachments in the mountains were too weak to oppose any effectual resistance to the passage of so powerful and concentrated a body as the French army. St Cyr speedily dissipated the clouds of light troops which invested the pine-clad mountains of the Valley of Hell, and Latour, rendered cautious by disaster, without attempting to harass his retreat, moved by Homberg to unite himself to the Archduke. So ably were the measures of the French general concerted, that he not only passed the defiles without either confusion or loss, but debouched into the valley of the Rhine, rather in the attitude of a conqueror than as a fugitive.

59. Meanwhile the Archduke Charles, being now assured of the direction which Moreau had taken, directed Latour and the detached parties to join him by the valley of the Kinzig, while Nauendorf covered their movements by advancing between them and the French columns. The greater part of the Austrian forces were thus collected in the valley of the Rhine in the middle of October, and, though still inferior to the enemy, the Archduke resolved to lose no time in attacking and compelling them to recross that river. Moreau, on his part, was not less desirous of the combat, as he intended to advance to Kehl, and either maintain himself at the *île-de-pont* there, or cross leisurely over to Strassburg. The action took place at Emendingen, on the slopes where the mountains melt into the plain; and afforded an example of the truth of the military principle, that in *tactics*, or the operations of actual combat—in this respect widely different from *strategy*, or the general movements of a campaign—the possession of the mountains in general secures that of the valleys which lie at their feet. Waldkirch was felt by both parties to be the decisive point, from the command which it gave over the neighbouring valleys, and accordingly each general strove to reach it before his adversary; but the French, having the advantage of better roads, were the first to arrive. They were there attacked, however, by Nauendorf, who descended from the heights of the Black Forest, and after a bloody action drove St Cyr, who commanded the Republicans, out of the town with severe loss. Meanwhile the success of the Austrians was not less decisive at other points; the Imperial columns having at length surmounted the difficulties of the roads, attacked and carried the village of Malterdingen, while their centre drove the Republicans back from Emendingen; and at length Moreau, defeated at all points, retired into the forest of Nemburg, behind the Elz, with the loss of two thousand men.

60. The Archduke made preparations on the following morning for re-establishing the bridges over the Elz, and

renewing the combat; but Moreau retreated in the night, and commenced the passage of the Rhine. Desaix passed that river at Old Brisach, while the general-in-chief took post in the strong position of Schliengen, determined to accept battle, in order to gain time to defile in tranquillity by the bridge of Huningen. The valley of the Rhine is there cut at right angles by a barrier of rocky eminences, which stretch from the mountains of Hohenblau to the margin of the stream. It was on this formidable rampart that Moreau made his last stand, his left resting on the Rhine, his centre on a pile of almost inaccessible rocks, his right on the cliffs of Sizenkirch. The Archduke divided his army into four columns. The Prince of Condé on the right drove in the Republican advanced posts, but made no serious impression; but Latour in the centre, and Nauendorf on the left, gallantly scaled the precipices, drove the Republicans from their positions, and, chasing them from height to height, from wood to wood, threw them before nightfall into such confusion, that nothing but the broken nature of the ground, which prevented cavalry from acting, and a violent storm which arose in the evening, saved them from a complete overthrow. Moreau retreated during the night, and on the following day commenced the passage of the Rhine, which was effected without molestation from the Imperialists.

61. After having thus effected the deliverance of Germany from both its invaders, the Archduke suggested to the Aulic Council to detach a powerful reinforcement by the Tyrol into Italy, in order to strengthen the army of Alvinzi, and effect the liberation of Wurms in Mantua,—a measure based on true military principles, and which, if adopted by the Imperial government, would probably have changed the fate of the campaign. Moreau, on his side, proposed an armistice to the Austrians, on condition that the Rhine should separate the two armies, and the Republicans retain the *têtes-de-pont* of Huningen and Kehl; a proposal which the Archduke received with secret satisfaction, as it promised him the means of

securely carrying into effect his meditated designs for the deliverance of Italy. But the Austrian government, intent upon the expulsion of the French from Germany, and deeming the forces put at the disposal of Alvinzi adequate for the relief of Mantua, declined both propositions, and sent positive orders for the immediate attack of the fortified posts possessed by the Republicans on the right bank of the Rhine.

62. The conduct of the siege of Kehl, during the depth of winter, and with an open communication between the besieged and the great army on the opposite bank, presented obstacles of no ordinary kind; but the perseverance and energy of the Austrians ultimately triumphed over all difficulties. Thirty thousand men, under the command of Desaix and St Cyr, were destined for the defence of the works, while a powerful reserve was stationed in the islands of the Rhine; and the troops engaged in the defence were changed every three days, to prevent their being overwhelmed with the fatigues of the service. Forty thousand Austrians, under Latour, formed the besieging force, while the remainder of the army was cantoned in the valley of the Rhine. Though the fort was invested on the 9th October, no material progress was made in the siege, from the extreme difficulty of bringing up the battering-train and heavy stores till the end of November. This long delay gave time to the indefatigable Desaix to complete the defences, which, when the Imperialists first sat down before the place, were in a very unfinished state. The trenches were opened on the 21st November; and about the same time a grand sortie was attempted, under the command of Moreau in person, to destroy the works, and gain possession of the Austrian park of artillery. This attack was at first successful; the Republicans carried the intrenchments of Sundheim, and had nearly penetrated to the magazines and parks; but the Archduke and Latour having come up with reinforcements to the menaced point, they were at length repulsed with severe loss, though not without carrying with them nine pieces of cannon, which they

had captured during the affray. Moreau and Desaix exposed themselves to the hottest of the fire, and were both slightly wounded. After this repulse, the labours of the siege were continued without any other interruption than that arising from the excessive severity of the weather, and the torrents of rain, which, for weeks together, filled the trenches with water. On the night of the 1st January, the Imperialists carried by assault the first line of intrenchments round the Republican camp, and a few days afterwards the second line was also stormed after a bloody resistance. Kehl was now no longer defensible; above 100,000 cannon-balls, and 25,000 bombs, projected from forty batteries, had riddled all its defences. The Imperialists, masters of the intrenched camp, enveloped the fort on every side; and the Republicans, after a glorious defence, which does honour to the memory of Desaix and St Cyr, who directed it, evacuated the place by capitulation on the 9th January.

63. During the siege of Kehl, the Imperialists remained in observation before the *fort-de-pont* of Huningen; but no sooner were they at liberty, by the surrender of the former place, than they prosecuted the siege of the latter with extraordinary vigour. Ferino had been left with the right wing of the French to superintend the defence of that important post, but notwithstanding all his exertions he was unable to retard their advances; the trenches were opened in form on the 25th of January, and, a sortie having been repulsed on the night of the 31st, the place was evacuated by capitulation on the 1st of February, and the victors found themselves masters of a heap of ruins.

64. This last success terminated the campaign of 1796 in Germany—the most remarkable, in a military point of view, which had occurred, with the exception of that of Napoleon in the same year in Italy, since the commencement of the war. The conquerors in both triumphed over superior forces by the application of the same principles—viz. the skilful use of a central position, and interior line of communication, and the rapid accumulation of superior forces

against one of the assailing armies, at a time when it was so situated that it could not receive any assistance from the other. The movements of the Archduke between the armies of Moreau and Jourdan, and the ability with which, by bringing a preponderating force against the decisive point, he compelled their vast armies to undertake a disastrous retreat, are precisely parallel to the blows struck by Napoleon from the interior line of the Adige, on the converging forces of Quasdanovich and Wurms on the opposite sides of the lake of Garda; and of Alvinzi and Provera, on the plateau of Rivoli and the shores of the Mincio. The difference only lies in the superior energy and activity with which the Republican general flew from one menaced point to another, the accurate calculation of time on which he rested, and the greater difficulties with which he had to struggle from the closer proximity of the attacking forces to each other.

65. The results of this campaign proved the justice of the observation of Napoleon, that the decisive blows against Austria were to be struck in the valley of the Danube; and that Carnot's plan of turning both flanks of the Imperialists at once, along the vast line from the Maine to the Alps, was essentially defective. In truth, it offered the fairest opportunity to an enterprising general, aware of the importance of time and rapid movement in war, to fall with a preponderating force first on the one and then on the other. If, instead of dispersing the invading host into two armies, separated from each other by above a hundred miles, and acting without concert, he had united them into one mass, or moved them by converging lines towards Ulm, the catastrophe of 1805 to Austria at that place, or of Leipzig in 1813 to France, might have been anticipated with decisive effect upon the issue of the war. And after giving all due praise to the just views and intrepid conduct of the Austrian hero, the deliverer of Germany, it must be admitted that he did not carry his enlightened principles into practice with such vigour as might have been done; and that, had Napoleon been in his place on

the Murg and at Amberg, he would have struck as decisive blows as at Medola and Rivoli.

66. The unsuccessful irruption of the French into Germany was attended with one important consequence, from the effectual manner in which it withdrew the veil from the eyes of the lower classes as to the real nature of democratic ambition, and the consequences with which it was attended to the inhabitants of the vanquished states. The Republicans, being destitute of everything, and in an especial manner denuded of money, when they crossed the Rhine, immediately put in practice their established principle of making war support war, and oppressed the vanquished people by the most enormous contributions. The lesser German states only purchased neutrality by the heaviest sacrifices.* The people contrasted these cruel exactions with the seductive promises of war to the palace and peace to the cottage; and all learned at length, from bitter experience, the melancholy truth, that military violence, under whatever names it may be veiled, is the same in all ages; and that none are such inexorable tyrants to the poor, as those who have recently revolted against authority in their own country. Although, therefore, the terror of the Republican arms at first superseded every other consideration, and detached all the states whose territory had been overrun from the Austrian alliance, yet this was merely the effect of necessity; the hearts of the people remained faithful to the cause of Germany, their exasperation broke out in unmeasured acts of violence against the retreating forces of Jourdan, and they waited only for the first opportunity to resume their an-

cient attachment to the Imperial standards.

67. The same causes which thus weakened the predilection of the lower orders in Germany for French principles, operated most powerfully in rousing the ancient and hereditary loyalty of the Austrian people to their own sovereign. When the Republicans approached Bohemia, and had well-nigh penetrated through Bavaria to the Hereditary States, the Emperor issued an animating appeal to his subjects in the threatened provinces, and, with the spirit of Maria Theresa, called on them to repel the renewed Gallic aggression. Austria, in this trying emergency, relied on the constant success which has so long attended its house through all the vicissitudes of fortune, and, unsubdued by defeat, maintained that unconquerable spirit which has always characterised its race, and so often is found to triumph over the greatest reverses. The people nobly answered the appeal. The peasants flew to arms; new levies were speedily raised; contributions in stores of every kind were voted by the nobility; and from the first invasion of France may be dated the growth of that patriotic spirit which was destined ultimately to rescue Germany from foreign subjugation.

68. This year witnessed the still closer drawing together of the unhappy bands which united Prussia to France, and so long aided to perpetuate on the Continent the overwhelming influence of Gallic power. Hardenberg and Haugwitz, who directed the cabinet of Berlin, and who, notwithstanding their differences on many other points, were cordially united in all measures calculated to augment the influence of Prussia in the north of Germany, had laboured assiduously all the summer to form a federal union for the protection of the states in that portion of the Empire; and they had succeeded in obtaining a convocation of the circle of Lower Saxony and of Westphalia on the 20th June, to arrange the formation of a formidable army of observation, of which Prussia was the head, to cause their neutrality to be respected by the belligerent powers. The French minister at Berlin, artfully improving

* The Duke of Wirtemberg was assessed at 4,000,000 francs, or £160,000 sterling; the circle of Suabia at 12,000,000, or nearly £500,000, besides 8000 horses, 5000 oxen, 150,000 quintals of corn, and 100,000 pairs of shoes. No less than 8,000,000, or £520,000, was demanded from the circle of Franconia, besides 6000 horses; and immense contributions from Frankfort, Würtzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, and all the towns through which they passed. These enormous exactions, which amounted in all to 25,000,000 francs, (£1,000,000), 12,000 horses, 12,000 oxen, 800,000 quintals of wheat, and 300,000 pairs of shoes, excited universal indignation.

upon the terrors produced by Napoleon's successes in Italy, and Jourdan's irruption into Franconia, easily persuaded Haugwitz that the period had now arrived when the interests of Prussia indispensably required the breaking up of the old Germanic Empire, and the cession of the left bank of the Rhine as the boundary of France. In consequence, two conventions, one public, the other secret, were signed at Berlin on the 5th August. By the first, which alone at that time was published, the line of demarcation, beyond which hostilities were not to pass, was extended, and made to run from Wesel on the Rhine, following the frontiers of the mountains of Thuringia, stretching along the North Sea, including the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and so round by the frontiers of Holland to Wesel again. Beyond this, in addition to the line already agreed to by the treaty of Bâle, the Directory became bound not to push their military operations. By the second, which was kept secret, Prussia recognised the extension of France to the Rhine; and the principle, that the dispossessed German princes were to be indemnified at the expense of the ecclesiastical princes of the Empire. The third article provided an indemnity to the Prince of Orange, now evidently and apparently finally expelled from his dominions; and Prussia engaged to endeavour for this purpose to procure the secularisation of the bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg. "Such was the Secret Convention," says Hardenberg, "which in a manner put the cabinet of Berlin at the mercy of France in the affairs of Germany." It may be added, such was the commencement of that atrocious system of indemnifying the greater states at the expense of the lesser, and satisfying the rapacity of temporal powers by the sacrifice of the Church, which soon after not only shook to its foundation the constitution of the Germanic Empire, but totally overturned the whole balance of power and system of public rights in Europe.

While these important transactions were in progress in the heart of Europe,

events of another kind, but not less important in their future effect upon the fate of the war, were preparing upon another element.

69. Three years of continued success had rendered the British flag omnipotent upon the ocean. Britannia literally ruled the waves; the enemies' colonies successively fell beneath her strokes; and the fleets of France, blockaded in her harbours, were equally unable to protect the commerce of the Republic, or acquire the experience requisite for maritime success. The minister of the marine, Truguet, in proposing a new system for the regulation of the navy, gave a gloomy but faithful picture of its present condition. "The deplorable state of our marine," said he, "is well known to our enemies, who insult us in our very harbours. Our fleets are humiliated, defeated, blockaded in their ports; destitute of provisions and naval equipments; torn by internal faction, weakened by ignorance, ruined by desertion: such is the state in which the men, to whom you have intrusted its direction, have found the French marine." The ruin of the French navy was not the consequence merely of the superior skill and experience of the British sailors; it arose necessarily from the confusion of finances, loss of colonies, and failure of resources, which were the result of the revolutionary convulsion. Fleets cannot be equipped without naval stores, nor navigated but by a body of experienced seamen: it is impossible, therefore, to become a powerful maritime state without a regular revenue and an extensive commerce, both of which had disappeared during the distractions of the Revolution. Severe internal distress, by filling the ranks of the army, may form a formidable military power, and destitute battalions may issue from a convulsed state to plunder and oppress the adjoining nations; but a similar system will never equip a fleet, nor enable a revolutionary to contend with a regular government on the ocean. From the very elements by which the contest was carried on, it was already evident that, though France might defeat the land forces of Europe, Britain

would acquire the dominion of the waves.

70. The hostilities carried on by the naval and military forces of Great Britain in the West and East Indies, were attended with the most decisive success. The island of Granada, which had long been in a state of revolt, yielded to the perseverance and ability of General Nicols: Ste Lucie was reduced in May by General Abercromby, and Essequibo and Demerara by General White; while the French could only set off against these losses the destruction of the merchandise and shipping at Newfoundland by Admiral Richery. In the Indian seas, the successes of the British were still more important. A Dutch squadron of three ships of the line, three frigates, and many vessels of inferior size, having on board two thousand land troops, destined to retake the Cape of Good Hope, was captured by Admiral Elphinstone in the bay of Saldanha; while the Batavian settlements of Ceylon, the Malaccas, and Cochin, with the important harbour of Trincomalee, were, early in the year, taken possession of by the British forces. Thus was the foundation laid, in both hemispheres, of the colonial empire of Great Britain, which has subsequently grown up to such an extraordinary magnitude, and promises, in its ultimate results, to exert a greater and more widespread influence on mankind than any which has been effected by human agency, since the Roman legions ceased to conquer and civilise the world.

71. These important successes, particularly the reduction of the Cape, formerly detailed, that of Ceylon, and the Malaccas, diffused general joy through the British nation. It was justly observed, that the first was a half-way-house to India, and indispensable to the mighty empire which we had acquired in the plains of Hindostan; while the last secured the emporium of the China trade, and opened up the vast commerce of the Indian Archipelago. The attention of the people, by these great acquisitions, began to be turned towards the probable result and final issue of the war: they looked to the

conquests of the British at sea, as likely to counterbalance the acquisitions of the Republicans at land. They observed that Rhodes long maintained a doubtful contest with Rome after its land forces had subdued Spain, Carthage, and part of Gaul; and that, in a similar contest, Great Britain would have incomparably greater chances of success than the Grecian commonwealth, from the superior internal strength which the population of its own islands afforded, and the far more extensive commerce which enriched it from every quarter of the globe. "Athens," said Xenophon, "would have prevailed over Lacedæmon, if Attica had been an island inaccessible save by water to the land forces of its opponent;" and it was impossible not to see that nature had given that advantage to the modern, which she had denied to the ancient maritime power. The formation of a great colonial empire, embracing all the quarters of the globe, held together and united by the naval power of Britain, and enriching the parent state by its commerce, and the market it would open for its manufactures, began to engage the thoughts not only of statesmen, but of practical men; and the Cape and Ceylon were spoken of as acquisitions which should never be abandoned.

72. St Domingo still continued in the distracted and unfortunate state into which it had been thrown by the visionary dreams of the French Republicans, and the frightful flames of a servile war which had been lighted up by their extravagant philanthropists. All the efforts, both of the French and British, to restore anything like order among its furious and savage population, had proved unsuccessful. The latter had never been in sufficient force to make any serious impression on its numerous and frantic inhabitants; and the former were hardly able to retain a scanty footing in the northern part of the island, far less to attempt to regain the splendid and prosperous colony which they had lost. The blacks, taught by experience, perfectly acquainted with the country, and comparatively unaffected by its climate, maintained a suc-

cessful contest with European forces, who melted away more rapidly under its fatal evening gales, than either by the ravages of famine or the sword of the enemy. Toussaint had already risen to eminence in the command of these desultory forces, and was taken into the French service with the division he had organised, in the vain attempt to re-establish the sinking authority of the Republican commissioners.

73. Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the principal colony of France, and the great losses which she had sustained in her maritime possessions, Great Britain showed herself disposed during this year to make great sacrifices to her, to obtain a general peace. In truth, notwithstanding her naval successes, the situation of Britain, from the disasters of her allies, had become sufficiently alarming. Spain, detached by the treaty of Bale from all connection with the Allies, had lately fallen under the Republican influence, and yielded to that jealousy of the British naval power which is so easily excited among the European states. The

* Many grounds of complaint were assigned in the Spanish manifesto on this occasion; but they met with a decisive refutation from the British cabinet, in an able state-paper, drawn up by Mr Canning. It was urged by the Spanish court, that the conduct of the British during the war, but especially at the siege of Toulon, and in the expedition to Quiberon, had determined the cabinet of Madrid to make peace with France as soon as it could be done with safety to the monarchy; that the bad faith of the British government further appeared in the treaty of 19th November 1794, concluded, without regard to the rights of Spain, with the United States, in the injustice with which they seized the St Jago, at first taken by the French, but afterwards retaken by the English, which, by the subsisting convention, ought to have been restored, and in the intercepting of ammunition for the Spanish squadrons; that the crews of her ships had frequently landed on the coast of Chili, and carried on a contraband trade, as well as reconnoitred these valuable possessions, and had evinced a clear intention of seizing part of the Spanish colonial territories, by sending a considerable force to the Antilles and St Domingo, and by her recent acquisition of the Dutch settlement of Demerara; that frequent insults and acts of violence had been committed by the British cruisers upon Spanish vessels in the Mediterranean; that the Spanish territory had been violated by descents from British ships

Directory, artfully improving these advantages, had fanned the Spanish discontents into a flame, by holding out hopes of some acquisitions in Italy, won by the sword of Napoleon, in case they joined the Republican alliance. Influenced by these considerations, the Spaniards fell into the snare, from which they were destined hereafter to experience such disastrous effects, and on the 19th August concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, on the footing of the family compact. By this treaty, the powers mutually guaranteed to each other their dominions both in the Old and the New World, and engaged to assist each other, in case of attack, with twenty-four thousand land troops, thirty ships of the line, and six frigates. This was followed, in the beginning of October, by a formal declaration of war, on the part of Spain, against Great Britain. Thus Britain, which had commenced the war with so many confederates, saw herself not only deprived of all her maritime allies, but the whole coasts of Europe, from the Texel to Gibraltar, arrayed in fierce hostility against her.*

on the coast of Galicia and at Trinidad; and, finally, that the majesty of Spain had been insulted by the decrees of a court in London, authorising the arrest of its ambassador for a small sum. "By all those insults," it concluded, "equally deep and unparalleled, that nation has proved to the universe, that she recognises no other laws than the aggrandisement of her commerce; and by her despotism, which has exhausted our patience and moderation, has rendered a declaration of war unavoidable."

To this manifesto, the acrimonious style of which too clearly betrayed the quarter from which it had proceeded, it was replied by the British government, that "the unprovoked declaration of war on the part of Spain had at length compelled the King of England to take measures to assert the dignity of his crown: that a simple reference to the Spanish declaration, and a bare enumeration of the frivolous charges which it contains, must be sufficient to satisfy every reasonable and impartial person that no part of the conduct of Great Britain towards Spain has afforded the smallest ground of complaint. The acts of hostility attributed to England, consist either of matters perfectly innocent, or of imputed opinions and intentions, of which no proof is adduced, nor effect alleged, or of complaints of the misconduct of unauthorised individuals, concerning which his Majesty has always professed his willingness to institute inquiry, and grant redress, where it was really due.

74. Impressed with these dangers, and desirous also of disarming the numerous and powerful party in Great Britain who contended against the war as both unnecessary and impolitic, Mr Pitt, in the close of this year, made overtures for a general peace to the French government. Lord Malmesbury was despatched to Paris to open the negotiations; but it is probable that no great hopes of their success were entertained, as, nearly at the same time, an alliance was concluded with Russia, for the aid of sixty thousand auxiliary troops to the Austrian forces. The British envoy arrived at Paris on the 22d October, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and proposals of peace were immediately made through him. These were, the recognition of the Republic by the British govern-

ment, and the restitution of all the colonies to France and Holland, which had been conquered since the commencement of the war. In return for these concessions, they insisted that the French should restore the Low Countries to the Emperor, Holland to the Stadtholder, and evacuate all their conquests in Italy; but they were to retain Luxembourg, Namur, Nice, and Savoy. It was hardly to be expected that the Republican government, engaged in so dazzling a career of victory as they had recently followed in Italy, and entirely dependent on popular favour, would consent to these terms, or that they could have maintained their place at the head of affairs, if they had submitted to them. Accordingly, after the negotiations had been continued for two months, they were abruptly broken

The charge of misconduct on the part of the British admiral at Toulon is unprecedented and absurd; and this is perhaps the first instance that it has been imputed as a crime to one of the commanding officers of two powers, acting in alliance, and making a common cause in war, that he did more than his proportion of mischief to the common enemy. The treaty with America did nothing more than what every independent power has a right to do, or than his Spanish Majesty has since that time himself done; and inflicted no injury whatever on the subjects of that monarchy. The claims of all parties in regard to the condemnation of the *St Jago*, captured by his Majesty's forces, were fully heard before the only competent tribunal, and one whose impartiality is above all suspicion. The alleged misconduct of some merchant-ships, in landing their crews on the coast of Chili and Peru, forms no legitimate ground of complaint against the British government; and, even if some irregularities had been committed, they might have been punished on the spot, or the courts of London were always ready to receive and redress complaints of that description.

"In regard to the expedition of *St Domingo* and *Demerara*, with all the regard which he feels to the rights of neutral powers, it is a new and unheard-of extension of neutral rights which is to be restricted by no limits, and is to attach not to the territories of a neutral power itself, but whatever may once have belonged to it, and to whatever may be situated in its neighbourhood, though in the actual possession of an enemy. The complaint in regard to *St Domingo* is peculiarly unfortunate, as the cession of part of that island, by the recent treaty, from Spain to France, is a breach of that solemn treaty under which alone the crown of Spain holds any part of its American possessions. Such an act would at once have justified any mea-

sures of retaliation on the part of the British government; but so earnest was their desire to maintain peace, that they repeatedly endeavoured to ascertain when the Spanish right to the ceded territory was to terminate, in order that their efforts might be directed against the French alone. Some irregularities, in the course of so long and vast a contest, may have been committed by the British cruisers in the exercise of the undoubted right of search enjoyed by every belligerent state; but to the readiness of the British government to grant redress, in every case where an injury has been committed, even Spain herself can bear testimony. The complaint regarding the alleged decree against the Spanish ambassador, is, if possible, still more frivolous, that being nothing more than a simple citation to answer for a debt demanded, the mistaken act of an individual who was immediately disavowed and prosecuted by the government, and made repeated but vain submissive applications to the Spanish ambassador for forgiveness, such as in all former cases had been deemed satisfactory.

"It will be plain to posterity, it is now notorious to Europe, that neither to the genuine wishes, nor even the mistaken policy of Spain, is her present conduct to be attributed; that not from enmity towards Great Britain, not from any resentment of past, or apprehension of future injuries, but from a blind subservience to the views of his Majesty's enemies—from the dominion usurped over her councils and actions by her new allies, she has been compelled to act in a quarrel, and for interests, not her own; to take up arms against one of those powers in whose cause she had professed to feel the strongest interest, and to menace with hostility another, against whom no cause of complaint is pretended, but an honourable adherence to its engagements."—*Ann. Reg.* 1796, 147; *State Papers*.

off, by the Directory ordering Lord Malmesbury to quit Paris in twenty-four hours, and he immediately returned to his own country. But it must ever be a matter of pride to the British historian, that the power which had been uniformly victorious on its own element, should have offered to treat on terms of equality with that from which it had so little to dread; and that Britain, to procure favourable terms for her allies, was willing to have abandoned all her own acquisitions.

While these negotiations were yet pending, a measure was undertaken by the French government, which placed Britain in the utmost peril, and from which she was saved rather by the winds of heaven than by any exertions of her own. It was the extravagant expectations they had formed of success from this operation, which led to the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation.

75. Ireland, long the victim of oppressive government and barbaric indolence, and now convulsed by popular passion, was at this period in a state of unusual excitement. The successful issue of the French Revolution had stimulated the numerous needy and ardent characters in that distracted nation to project a similar revolt against the authority of England; and above two hundred thousand men, in all parts of the country, were engaged in a vast conspiracy for overturning the established government, and erecting a democracy, after the model of France, in its stead. Overlooking the grinding misery which the convulsions of the Republic had occasioned to its inhabitants—without considering how an insular power, detached from the Continent, and with no habits of industry or accumulated wealth to support the contest from its own resources, was to maintain itself against the naval forces of Britain, the patriots of Ireland rushed blindly into the project, with that ardent but inconsiderate zeal and inveterate rancour against the British government for which the people of that country have always been distinguished. The malcontents were enrolled under generals, colonels, and officers, in all

the counties: arms were secretly provided; leaders and rallying-points universally chosen; and nothing was wanting but the arrival of the French troops to proclaim the insurrection in every part of the country. Their design was to break off the connection with Britain, confiscate every shilling of British property in Ireland, and form a Hibernian Republic in close alliance with the great parent democracy at Paris. With such secrecy were the preparations made, that the British government had but an imperfect account of its danger; while the French Directory, accurately informed by its emissaries of what was going forward, was fully prepared to turn it to the best account.*

* The intentions of the Irish revolutionists, and the length to which they had in secret carried their preparations for the formation of a Hibernian Republic, will be best understood from the following passages, in a memorial presented by Wolfe Tone, one of their principal leaders, to the French Directory:—

"The Catholics of Ireland are 3,150,000, all trained from their infancy in a *hereditary hatred and abhorrence of the English name*. For these five years they have fixed their eyes most earnestly on France, whom they look upon, with great justice, as fighting their battles, as well as those of all mankind who are oppressed. Of this class, I will stake my head there are 500,000 men who would fly to the standard of the Republic, if they saw it once displayed in the cause of liberty and their country.

"The Republic may also rely with confidence on the support of the Dissenters, actuated by reason and reflection, as well as the Catholics, impelled by misery and inflamed by detestation of the English name. In the year 1791, the Dissenters of Belfast first formed the club of United Irishmen—so called, because in that club, for the first time, Dissenters and Catholics were seen together in harmony and union. Corresponding clubs were rapidly formed, the object of which was to subvert the tyranny of England, *establish the independence of Ireland, and frame a free republic on the broad basis of liberty and equality*. These clubs were rapidly filled, and extended in June last over two-thirds of that province. Their members are all bound by an oath of secrecy, and could, I have not the smallest doubt, on a proper occasion, raise the entire force of the province of Ulster, the most populous, warlike, and best informed in the nation.

"The Catholics also have an organisation commencing about the same time with the clubs last mentioned, but composed of Catholics only. Until within these few months this organisation baffled the utmost vigilance of the Irish government, unsuccessfully applied to

76. Hoche, at the head of a hundred thousand men, on the shores of the ocean, in La Vendée and Brittany, burned with the desire to eclipse the great exploits of Napoleon and Moreau against the Imperial forces. Ireland offered a theatre worthy of his army and his reputation; and, by striking a decisive blow against the British power in that quarter, he had an opportunity of crippling the ancient rival of France, and achieving greater benefits for his country than either the victory of Fleurus or the triumphs of Rivoli. Truguet, the minister of marine, seconded him warmly with all his influence; and by their joint exertions an expedition was quickly prepared at Brest, more formidable than could have

been anticipated from the dilapidated state of the French navy. It consisted of fifteen ships of the line, on board each of which were embarked six hundred soldiers, twelve frigates and six corvettes, each carrying two hundred and fifty men, and a number of transports and other vessels, conveying in all twenty-five thousand land forces. This armament was to be joined by seven ships of the line, under Richery, from the harbour of Rochefort. The troops were the best in Hoche's army: the general-in-chief was sanguine of success; and such were the hopes entertained of the result of the expedition, that the Directory transmitted orders for it to sail several weeks before Lord Malmebury left Paris, and their expectations of

discover its principles; and to this hour they are, I believe, unapprised of its extent. The fact is, that, in June last, it embraced the whole peasantry of the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught, three-fourths of the nation, and I have little doubt that it has since extended into Munster, the remaining province. These men, who are called Defenders, are completely organised on a military plan, divided according to their respective districts, and officered by men chosen by themselves; the principle of their union is implicit obedience to the orders of those whom they have elected as their generals, and whose object is the emancipation of their country, the subversion of English usurpation, and the bettering the condition of the wretched peasantry of Ireland. The eyes of this whole body, which may be said almost without a figure to be the people of Ireland, are turned with the most anxious expectation to France for assistance and support. The oath of their union recites, 'that they will be faithful to the united nations of France and Ireland,' and several of them have already sealed it with their blood. I suppose there is no conspiracy, if a whole people can be said to conspire, which has continued for so many years as this has done, where the secret has been so religiously kept, and where in so vast a number so few traitors are to be found.

"There is also a further organisation of the Catholics, which is called the General Committee, a representative body chosen by the Catholics at large, which decides the movements of the city of Dublin, and possesses a very great influence on the minds of the Catholics throughout the nation. I can add, from my personal knowledge, that a great majority of the able and honest men who compose it are sincere Republicans, warmly attached to the cause of France, and, as Irishmen and as Catholics, doubly bound to detest the tyranny and domination of England, which has often deluged the country with their best blood.

"The militia are about eighteen thousand

strong, as fine men as any in Europe. Of these sixteen thousand are Catholics, and of those a very great proportion are sworn Defenders. I have not a shadow of doubt that the militia would, in cases of emergency, to a man join their countrymen in throwing off the yoke of England."—First Memorial, delivered to the French Directory (Feb. 1796), by WOLFE TONE. *Wolfe Tone's Memoirs*, ii. 187-191.

"It would be just as easy, in a month's time, to have an army in Ireland of two hundred thousand as ten thousand. The peasantry would flock to the Republican standard in such numbers as to embarrass the general-in-chief. A proclamation should instantly be issued, containing an invitation to the people to join the Republican standard, organise themselves, and form a National Convention for the purpose of framing a government, and administering the affairs of Ireland till it was put in activity.

"The first act of the Convention thus constituted should be, to declare themselves the representatives of the Irish people, free and independent, and in that capacity to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French Republic, stipulating that neither party should make peace with England till the two Republics were acknowledged.

"The Convention should next publish a proclamation, notifying their independence and their alliance with the French Republic, forbidding all adherence to the British government, under the penalty of high treason, ordering all taxes and contributions to be paid only to such persons as should be appointed by the provisional government. Another to the militia, recalling them to the standard of their country; and another to the Irishmen in the navy, recalling them directly from that service; and this should be followed by another, confiscating every shilling of English property in Ireland of every species, movable or fixed, and appropriating it to the national service."—Second Memorial, addressed to the French Directory by WOLFE TONE. *Wolfe Tone's Memoirs*, ii. 197, 201.

its achievements were the principal motive for breaking off the negotiation.

77. To distract the attention of the enemy, the most inconsistent accounts were spread as to the object of the expedition;—sometimes, that it was destined for the West Indies; at others, for the shores of Portugal. But, notwithstanding these artifices, the British government readily discerned where the blow was really intended to be struck. Orders were transmitted to Ireland to have the militia in readiness; a vigilant watch was kept up on the coasts; and directions were given that, in the event of a descent being effected, all the cattle and provisions should be driven into the interior—precautions which in the end proved unnecessary, but which were dictated by a prudent foresight, and gave the French government an idea of the species of resistance which they might expect in the event of such an invasion being really effected. But, notwithstanding all these preparations, the most serious apprehensions were entertained by the strongest heads in Britain, as to the consequences of the landing of any considerable French force in Ireland. "Without," said Lord Wellesley at the time, "being prejudiced by the deep stake I have in Ireland, I think I may say, that to neglect the defence of *that* country is to insure the conquest of this, with all its attendant horrors of revolution and pillage. A revolution in Ireland would be the infallible consequence of the landing of even a small French force in that country, and then what sort of neighbour would Ireland become? My gloomy apprehensions are the result of serious and deliberate reflection; and my great fear is a blow in Ireland, before sufficient preparation has been made for our defence in that most vulnerable, and, at the same time, mortal part."*

78. The expedition set sail in the middle of December, two days before the negotiation was broken off at Paris; but it encountered disasters from the very moment of its leaving the harbour. A violent tempest arose immediately after its departure; and though the

mist with which it was accompanied enabled the French admiral to elude the vigilance of the British squadron, yet one ship of the line struck on the rocks near the isle of Ushant, and was lost; several were damaged, and the fleet was totally dispersed. This tempestuous weather continued the whole time the fleet was at sea. Hoche himself, who was on board a frigate, was separated from the remainder of his squadron; and, after a stormy passage, a part of the expedition reached the point of rendezvous, in Bantry Bay, eight days after its departure from the French harbour. Admiral Bouvet, the second in command, resolved to land the troops, although only eight ships of the line and some of the transports were assembled, having on board six thousand land forces. But the violence of the tempest, and the prodigious swell of the sea on that iron-bound coast, rendered that impossible; and the crew of a boat, which was sent through the surf to reconnoitre, were speedily made prisoners by the numerous bodies of armed men who appeared on the beach to oppose a landing. Dispirited by such a succession of disasters, unwilling to undertake the responsibility of hazarding a part only of the land forces in the absence of the general-in-chief, and apprehensive that provisions for the crews of the vessels would fail, from the long time that they had been at sea, Bouvet resolved to make the best of his way back to the French harbours. He set sail accordingly, and had the good fortune to reach Brest on the last day of December, whither he was soon followed by the scattered divisions of his fleet, after two ships of the line and three frigates had been lost; one of the former by the violence of the elements, and the other by the attacks of the British. Hoche himself, after escaping a thousand perils, was landed on the island of Rhé; and the Directory, abandoning the expedition for the present, moved the greater part of his forces to the Rhine, to replace the losses of Jourdan's army, to the command of which they destined him.

79. Such was the issue of this expedition, which had so long kept Great

* Lord Wellesley to Mr Pitt, Sept. 4, 1796; *Pellett's Life of St. John*, i. 174.

Britain in suspense, and revealed to its enemies the vulnerable quarter in which it might be attacked with the greatest chance of success. Its result was pregnant with important instruction to the rulers of both countries; to the French, as demonstrating the extraordinary risks which attend an expedition by sea in comparison with a land campaign—the small number of forces which can be embarked on board even a great fleet, and the unforeseen disasters which frequently on the former element defeat the best-concerted enterprises; to the British, as showing that the empire of the seas does not always afford security against invasion—that, in the face of superior maritime forces, her possessions had been for sixteen days at the mercy of the enemy, and that neither the skill of her sailors nor the valour of her armies, but the fury of the elements, had saved them from danger in the most vulnerable part of their dominions. While these considerations are fitted to abate the confidence of the invader, they are calculated at the same time to weaken an overweening reliance on naval superiority; and to demonstrate, that the only defence on which certain trust can be placed, even by an insular power, is a well-disciplined army, and the patriotism of its own subjects.

80. It is a curious subject for speculation, what might have been the result had Hoche succeeded in landing with twenty-five thousand of his best troops on the Irish shores. To those who consider, indeed, the patriotic spirit, indomitable valour, and preserving character of the British people, and the complete command they had of the sea, the final issue of such a contest cannot appear doubtful; but it is equally evident that the addition of such a force, and so able a commander, to the prodigious and organised body of Irish malcontents, would have engendered a dreadful domestic war, and that the whole energies of the empire might for a very long period have been employed in saving itself from dismemberment. When it is recollected, also, how widely the spirit of discontent was diffused even through the population of Great

Britain at that period, in what a formidable manner it soon after broke out in the mutiny at the Nore, and what serious financial embarrassments were already pressing upon the treasury, and preparing the crisis which led to the suspension of cash payments in the following spring, it must be admitted that the nation then stood upon the edge of an abyss; and that, if ever Providence interferes in human affairs otherwise than by the energy which it infuses into the cause of justice, and the moral laws to which the deeds of free agents are rendered subservient, its protection never appeared in so remarkable a manner to the British Islands since the winds and the waves, two hundred years before, dispersed the Spanish Armament. With truth was it said at the time, "The goodness of Providence to us has exhibited a second Armada. Once more wrote Lord Rivers, 'Efflavit Deus et dissipantur.'"

81. The close of this year was marked by the death of the Empress Catherine, and the accession of the Emperor Paul to the Russian throne—an event of no small importance to the future fate of the war and destiny of the world. Shortly before her death, she had by art and flattery contrived to add Courland to her immense dominions. She had recently made herself mistress of Derbend in Persia; and the alliance with Great Britain and Austria secured to her the concurrence of these powers in her favourite project of dismembering the Turkish dominions, and placing her youngest son on the throne of Constantina. She thus seemed to be fast approaching the grand object of her desire, and might have lived to see the cross planted on the dome of St Sophia, when death interrupted all her schemes of ambition, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, and the thirty-sixth of her reign. Her latest project was the formation of a powerful confederacy for the defence of Europe against the French Republic; and she had given orders for the levy of a hundred and fifty thousand men, intended to take a part in the German campaigns—a design which, if carried into effect by her firm and intrepid hand, might have accelerated,

by nearly twenty years, the catastrophe which closed the war.

82. Few sovereigns will occupy a more conspicuous place in the page of history, or have left, as regards their conduct on the throne, a more marked reputation. Prudent in council, and intrepid in conduct; cautious in forming resolutions, but vigorous in carrying them into execution: ambitious, but of great and splendid objects only; passionately fond of glory, without the alloy, at least in public affairs, of sordid or vulgar inclinations; discerning in the choice of her counsellors, and swayed in matters of state generally by lofty intellects; munificent in public, liberal in private, firm in resolution, unwearied in purpose, she dignified a despotic throne by the magnanimity and patriotism of a more virtuous age. But these great qualities were counterbalanced by as remarkable vices, and more truly perhaps of her than of the Virgin Queen of England it might be said, in Burleigh's words, "that if to-day she was more than man, to-morrow she would be less than woman." Vehement, sensual, and capricious in private life, she seemed, as a woman, to live only for the gratification of her passions; her successive lovers, under the name of favourites, formed as regular a part of her establishment as her ministers of state, and received a much larger share of her revenues; tyrannical, overbearing, and sometimes cruel in her administration, she filled her subjects with unbounded awe for her authority. Like Henry VIII. of England, she spared neither man in her lust, nor woman in her hate. She was not always able to withstand the influence of her favourites in affairs of state; they were frequently selected from the officers of her guard, for no other quality but personal beauty, and many of the worst acts of her government may be traced to their ascendancy. In the lustre of her administration, however, the career of her victories, and the rapid progress of her subjects under so able a government, mankind forgot her dissolute manners, the occasional elevation of unworthy minions, frequent acts of tyranny, and the bloody deeds which sig-

nalised her accession to the throne: they overlooked the frailties of the woman in the dignity of the princess; and paid to the abilities and splendour of the Semiramis of the north that involuntary homage which commanding qualities on the throne never fail to secure, even when stained by irregularities in private life.*

83. The end of the same year witnessed the resignation of the presidency of the United States of America by General Washington, and his voluntary retirement into private life. Modern history has not a more spotless character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs, and the perseverance of his character, than by any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific counsels when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there are few compositions of uninspired wisdom which can bear a com-

* The elegant flattery of France applied to the Empress the noble lines of Voltaire in the *Sémiramis*, perhaps written with that very view:—

"Que de Sémiramis les beaux jours pleins de gloire
Effacent ce moment heureux ou malheur-
eux
Qui d'un fatal hymen brisa le joug affreux.
Ninus, en vous chassant de son lit et du trône,
En vous perdant, madame, eût perdu Baby-
lone,
Pour le bien des mortels vous prévintes ses coups,
Babylone et la terre avaient besoin de vous:
Et quinze ans de vertus et de travaux utiles,
Les arides deserts par vous rendus fertiles,
Les sauvages humains soumis au frein des lois,
Les arts dans nos cités naissant à votre voix,
Ces hardis monumens que l'univers admire,
Les acclamations de ce puissant empire,
Sont autant de témoins dont le cri glorieux
A déposé pour vous au tribunal des dieux."

Sémiramis, Act I. scene 5.

arison.* He was modest without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame without vanity; independent and dignified without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not to licentiousness—not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her British descent, and which were opposed to nothing so much as the extravagant love of power in the French democracy. Accordingly, after having dignified his life by successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain; and exerted his whole influence, shortly before his resignation, to effect the conclusion of a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition; a Sylla without his crimes; and, after having raised his country, by his

exertions, to the rank of an independent state, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed. If it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst Transatlantic wilds, to such a man; and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself; and indulge with satisfaction in the reflection, that that vast empire, which neither the ambition of Louis XIV. nor the power of Napoleon could dismember, received its first shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring; and that, amidst the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that nation alone, which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom.

* This great man observes, in that admirable composition: "Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanence of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretences. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government as of other human institutions; that experiment is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the mere credit of hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of

the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

"Let me now warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally. It is, unfortunately, inseparable from our nature, having its roots in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or oppressed, but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy. The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party discussion, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a most horrid despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of a single individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this despotism to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty." What words, to be spoken by the founder of the American Republic, the refuser of the American crown, at a time when the career of Napoleon had just commenced in Europe!—*Ann. Reg.* xxxviii. 293; *State Papers*.